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THE SLAVONIC  
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*American Series*

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# THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

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VOLUME TWENTY-ONE

MARCH, 1943

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PRINCE ANTIOKH KANTEMIR (1708-1744)

SATIRE I

*TO HIS MIND: ON THE SCORNERS OF LEARNING\**

TRANSLATED BY JEANNETTE EYRE

L'ardeur de se montrer, et non pas de médire,  
Arma la vérité du vers de la Satire.

Boileau, *Art Poétique*, Chant II.

Oh Mind, brief Learning's unripe fruit, be still!  
Do not compel my hand to take the quill;  
'Tis possible to find some road to fame,  
Not writing all one's days, without the name  
Of Author. Many paths, and easy, lead  
Thereto today — bold footsteps have no need  
To falter. Least agreeable of all  
Nine barefoot Sisters traced; for many fall  
Before they reach it; one must sweat and pine,  
And all will shun you like a plague malign,  
Mock you, disdain you. He who sits alone,  
Stares wide-eyed at a book, will never own  
Great palaces, adorned with marble blocks;  
He adds no ewes unto his father's flocks.  
Great hope, 'tis true, our youthful Monarch's name  
Gives to the Muses; ignorance with shame  
Flees him — Apollo's glory doth obtain  
A champion who honors Phoebus' train;

Though not published until 1762, by the Academy of Sciences, this satire (and the second) circulated in manuscript form at St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1729. In fact, the satires appeared abroad in French (1744) and German (1752) translations before their publication in Russia. This translation is made from the first nineteenth-century Russian edition, St. Petersburg, Smirdin, 1847.

The god hath seen him striving without cease  
 Parnassus-dwellers' number to increase:  
 But many, out of fear, praise in the Tsar  
 What in his Subjects they would fain debar.  
 "Schism and heresy call Learning sire;  
 "The clever man is but a better liar;  
 "The bookworm into Atheism tumbles,"  
 Thus garland-handed Criton sighs and grumbles.  
 And, all in tears, the saintly soul beseeches  
 Us view what harm the snake of knowledge teaches  
 Among us — children who, obedient  
 And quiet, in their fathers' footsteps went,  
 Served God, and things unknown with trembling heard,  
 Now start to read the Bible word for word;  
 Argue, seek reason, cause for every least  
 Detail — trust little in the rank of priest;  
 Lack manners, drink no kvass; and should you beat  
 Them with a stick, they'll eat no salted meat.  
 They set no candles, fast-days have forgot,  
 And to the Church no temporal power allot,  
 Large holdings scarce befit, they all allege,  
 Churchmen eschewing earthly privilege.  
 Now Silvan sees this danger to the nation:  
 Learning, he says, will lead us to starvation;  
 We lived ere learning Latin, runs his lay,  
 In far more plenty than we live today.  
 In ignorance we reaped more grain; instead,  
 Now learning foreign tongues, we lose our bread.  
 To grieve the courtier has no need or duty  
 Because his speech is weak, or lacks in beauty.  
 The base take care of order, argument:  
 The highborn but denies, or gives assent.  
 The man is mad who would investigate  
 The confines of the soul, who sweats till late  
 To learn the order of the world, the cause  
 And change — a futile search for Nature's laws!  
 Will I live longer, or my chest become  
 A penny richer? Can I learn therefrom  
 What stewards steal per year? How to add more  
 Rain to my pond, or bottles to my store?  
 And he who restless fills his eyes will smoke  
 To learn the parts of metals — what a joke!  
 To learn our A's and B's no more we're told,  
 But properties of copper, silver, gold.  
 Botany, medicine — all idle chatter!  
 Headache? The doctor takes, to find the matter,

Your hand! If you have faith, the blood must speak  
For all our ills. 'Tis blood, if we feel weak,  
Too slowly flows, cries "fever" if too free —  
Though living bodies are a mystery.  
And while with fables thus the time he passes,  
Our tastiest tidbits on his plate he masses.  
Why chart the courses of the stars, or why  
Sit up all night for one fleck in the sky?  
He loses sleep from curiosity  
Whether the sun moves, or the earth and we.  
The sun-dial tells each day throughout the year  
The date, and when the Sun should disappear.  
We need no Euclid, true, to quarter earth,  
Nor Algebra to tell a ruble's worth  
In kopecks. Silvan only decks with praises  
Science which cuts expense, or income raises.  
He calls work harmful, or but crazy chatter  
Which does not seek to make the pocket fatter.  
Thus speaks Luka, with three-fold belching noise:  
"Science the brotherhood of man destroys.  
"God made us social beings, and we own  
"Our reason not for private gain alone.  
"Why should I hide, cast off each living friend,  
"For dead men's sake alone? It serves what end  
"That all my friends and all my company  
"Ink, paper, pen and sand shall solely be?  
"Our lives should pass in jollity and song,  
"Why make life shorter, when it's far from long,  
"Moping with books, reading one's eyes away?  
"Better to drink and revel night and day.  
"Wine is a gift of God, and brilliance lends,  
"Gives birth to conversation, makes men friends,  
"It lightens poverty, bans melancholy,  
"Puts heart into the weak, and makes folk jolly,  
"Moroseness bars, softens the heart malign;  
"The lover wins his goal more easily with wine.  
"Only when men plough furrows down the sky,  
"When stars stand forth on earth's periphery,  
"When rapid rivers flow back to their source,  
"And ages past turn back upon their course,  
"When monks dried sturgeon eat in time of fast,  
"I'll spurn the cup, and turn to books at last."  
Medor, who grieves that too much paper's spent  
On books and letters, thinks it evident  
None will be left to curl his frizzled locks;  
All Seneca's not worth a powder-box.

Virgil's not worth two cents in Yegor's<sup>1</sup> view:  
 To Rex,<sup>2</sup> not Cicero, are praises due.  
 Such is the talk my ears must daily brave.  
 Thus, Mind, I warn: be silent as the grave,  
 For where there is no hope of gain, renown  
 Inspires, or else the heart becomes cast down.  
 — To suffer blame, not praise, how much the more!  
 Worse than a drunkard's losing liquor, or  
 Priests robbed of Holy Week with all the props,  
 Merchants with beer without three poods of hops.  
 I know, Mind, thou canst show in divers ways  
 That Virtue finds Ill-Nature hard to praise,  
 That dandy, miser, bigot must defame  
 The cause of Learning — their malicious blame  
 Thinkers should scorn — ignore them utterly —  
 Fair is thy judgment, and should come to be.  
 But now the wicked's words command the sage,  
 And, more, the sciences, in this our age,  
 By far more foes than those I named are cumbered.  
 (For briefness' sake, the bolder ones I numbered).  
 Enough? Ye guardians of the heavenly gates,  
 And ye, vouchsafed the golden scales and weights  
 By Themis, for true learning have scant love.  
 Wouldst be a Bishop — don a gown — above,  
 'Gainst pride, with striped chasuble bedeck  
 Thy frame, a golden chain about thy neck,  
 Hide head with cowl, and belly with a beard,  
 And let the crook be borne through streets all cleared;  
 Thus, seated angry in your equipage,  
 All must you bless, though bursts your heart with rage.  
 And all must know the Shepherd by this sign,  
 And reverently praise the sire benign.  
 What gain from learning to the Church accrues?  
 If some wise sermonizer should an attest lose,  
 The income's less, the Church's true foundation  
 Doth lie therein, and all its reputation.  
 Wouldst be a judge? Wear wigs with many a knot,  
 Abuse the man who pleads without a jôt;  
 Cold-hearted, stony, scorn the poor's despair;  
 Sleep, while the clerk is reading, on your chair;  
 If one remind you of the civil laws,  
 Or people's rights, or Natural Law and Cause,  
 Spit in his phiz, tell him he's lying — fudge!

<sup>1</sup> A famous Moscow shoemaker, died 1729.

<sup>2</sup> A well-known Moscow tailor, a German by birth.

Impose so great a burden on a judge!  
The clerk must mountains scale of paper-stuff —  
For judges, fixing sentence is enough.  
The time's not yet when Wisdom shall preside  
O'er all, awards of glory to decide,  
Alone to be the means of future gain —  
The Golden Age our days do not attain.  
By riches, pride, and sloth fair Wisdom is defaced,  
And Ignorance, in the seat of Learning placed,  
Beneath the mitre flaunts its ornaments,  
Gives judgment on the bench, leads regiments.  
Learning is flayed, and dressed in rags or worse,  
Driven from 'most all houses with a curse,  
To meet her all refuse, her friendship flee,  
As ships are shunned by those abused at sea.  
They all cry out, the scholar's fruits are null,  
His hands are empty, though his head be full;  
If one can shuffle cards, and wines can tell,  
Plays three songs on the bagpipes fairly well,  
And uses colors in his clothes with art,  
He thinks the highest rank, at his life's start,  
Not recompense too great, and thus engages  
To be a member of the seven sages.  
"Injustice!" is a brainless Churchman's cry:  
"I know the prayer-book, yet no Bishop I;  
"The Epistles and Psalter I can read,  
"In Chrysostom don't stutter, though, indeed,  
"I grasp it not." A warrior doth exclaim  
He does not lead his troop, though signs his name.  
Because he has no judgeship doth despair  
The Scribe who copies something clean and fair.  
What insult, living in obscurity,  
Seven boyars upon one's family tree,  
Two thousand families in one's domain,  
Although one tries to read and write in vain.  
— Now thou hast seen such models, I entreat,  
Mind, be not restive in thy calm retreat:  
What if thy lot seem sad? yet nothing daunts  
The man who hides away in quiet haunts;  
If aught is granted by the blessed Muse  
Of knowledge, joy thyself, thyself peruse  
Pure Learning's use: seek not, through explanations,  
To win, not praise, but evil imprecations.

# LERMONTOV IN RUSSIAN MUSIC

By NINA VERNADSKY

In the beginning, out of the mists of Time, hand in hand, came those twin sisters of Art, Music and Verse

J. P. DABNEY

## I

MUSIC AND POETRY have been closely linked together throughout the ages in the cultural development of every nation. The interweaving of music and verse is especially clear in the history of Russian civilisation. This is even more true with regard to Old Russia, Russia of the byliny and the folksongs, than of Modern Russia, the Russia of instrumental music and songs. While modern Russian verse is tonic and, in some cases, syllabic, the old folk verse may be called metric, if it could be placed in any category of conventional theory of versification at all. In fact the old Russian folk verse is inseparable from music; it is not poetry in any conventional sense, but song, the rhythm of words being completely merged in it with the rhythm of music. *Logos* is here controlled by *melos* and ruled by the latter's laws, and vice versa. The proverb, "you cannot omit a word from a song" ("iz pesni slova ne vykineš") is characteristic indeed in this connection. I recollect well from the memories of my youth how carefully peasant singers in Russia tried to reproduce the words of a song with utmost accuracy, the omission of a word being equal to a sacrilege, so firm was the old tradition of a complete harmony of verse and music established in the people's minds and ears.

There probably was no division of labor between the musician and the poet in old Russia. The author of verse supplied the music for it as well, or rather, verse and music were created simultaneously. To be sure, we do not know the names of the old author-composers (with the exception of the legendary Bayan), but this does not necessarily imply that the folk-songs and byliny were the result of "collective" creative efforts. In new Russia, with the adaptation of European patterns and with the development of instrumental music, the musician and the poet were divorced. Music and verse constituted each a separate branch of art, but the inward connection between them still was not altogether severed. Poetry remained an important source of inspiration for musical composers. Both the folk-song and the modern verse were used for their work by the creators of the new Russian music. The collaboration between the poet and the composer is of course most intimate in the field of vocal music, and the rise of the Russian art-song (*romans*) was the result of it. But the influence of



poetry was felt in the field of the opera and instrumental music as well. The poem of a great poet would supply the subject-matter for an opera by a great composer: such was, for example, the case of Pushkin's *Ruslan i Ludmila* and *Eugene Onegin* as set to music by Glinka and Tchaikovsky respectively.

As if Russian composers were predestined to cooperate with Russian poets, great composers and great poets were born in clusters, in subsequent waves. It is truly one of the miracles in the development of Russian culture. The Golden Age of Poetry coincided with the Golden Age of Music. Pushkin (born 1799) belonged indeed to the same generation as Glinka (b. 1803). The poets Baratynski (b. 1800) and Tyutchev (b. 1803) and the composer Varlamov (1801) fall in the same group. In the next decade come Lermontov (1814), Fet (1820), and Nekrasov (1821); the contemporary composer is Serov (1820). With these the first wave in the appearance of the poets and composers came to a close. A lull followed, as if the poets and composers born in the first two decades of the nineteenth century needed time to permeate the souls and minds of their readers and listeners with their music and verse. While in the first cluster of births — that of 1799–1821 — the poets were represented in greater number than the composers, in the second cluster — that of the 1830's and 1840's — the composers showed a decided preponderancy. In 1829 Anton Rubinstein was born, somewhat prematurely (as it were) in terms of our chronology. In the cluster proper Borodin came first (1834); then followed Cui (1835), Balakirev (1836), Musorgsky (1839), Tchaikovsky (1840), Rimski-Korsakov (1844). The counterpart on the side of the poets brought rather a meager crop in the persons of Apukhtin (1841) and Golenishchev-Kutuzov (1848).

To the next cluster we refer the following composers: Ippolitov-Ivanov (1859), Arenski (1860), Grechaninov (1864), Glazunov (1865), Skryabin (1872), Rachmaninov (1873), Glière (1875); as poets, Balmont (1867) and Bryusov (1873).

The decade of the 1880's (in a broader sense) produced the composers, Medtner (1879) Myaskovski (1881), Stravinski (1882), Prokofiev (1891); and the poets Blok (1880), Bely (1880), Gumilev (1886), and Anna Akhmatova (1889).

While the composers of the first cluster had at their disposal the verses of only those poets who belonged to their generation (not speaking of earlier poets), each subsequent generation of composers could draw their inspiration from a larger and still larger stock of poems. The composers of each generation approached, of course, the poems of an older poet through the mental and artistic background

of their own times. And in case the same poem was musically wrought upon in turn by several composers, whether of the same generation or of different ones, each of them introduced his individual interpretation and applied his own touch to it.

There are thus certain poems by Pushkin or Lermontov for each of which several composers wrote the music in turn. It is likewise interesting to note that, while no composer of art songs did restrict himself to the poems of only one given poet, there are cases when some special attraction of one particular composer to one particular poet is as obvious as to make us think of a congeniality between the two. Thus, it is apparent that Tchaikovsky had, in his art songs, a special preference for Alexei Tolstoy; Rimski-Korsakov's best art songs are on Pushkin's verses, Musorgski had a predilection for Golenishchev-Kutuzov. Balakirev may be connected with Lermontov.

## II

In the interplay of Russian music and verse in the nineteenth century Lermontov's poetry occupies a characteristic place of its own. Both the poet's personality and the nature of his creative effort are responsible for it. No one can be a poet who has no sense of rhythm. But there are poets with rather a poor ear for music, and in any case not every poet is musical. Lermontov was endowed with the gifts of both verse and music. As a child he was taught both violin and piano, and while he did not become a virtuoso, he played fairly well. In 1829 he participated as a violonist at a recital at Moscow University. He played there the Allegro from Maurer's concerto "with success," according to a report in the *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*. Incidentally, it was the first mention of Lermontov's name in the press.<sup>1</sup> Later on he used to play piano informally at private parties. Alexandra Vereshchagina mentions for example his playing the overture to Auber's *Fenella*.<sup>2</sup> This opera was very popular among the officers of the Hussar regiment of the Guards to which Lermontov belonged in 1835. It is also mentioned in Lermontov's unfinished novel "Princess Ligovskaya." One of Lermontov's classmates in the Guard Officers' School, A. F. Tiran, recollected that Lermontov used to sing *romansy* (art songs) with great expressiveness.<sup>3</sup> According to Vereshchagina Lermontov used to sing arias from *Fenella* and other operas. It seems that at one time Lermontov thought of writing an

<sup>1</sup> E. Kann and A. Novikov, "Muzyka v zhizni i tvorčestve Lermontova," *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 1939, No. 9-10, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> P. E. Shchegolev, *Kniga o Lermontove* (Moscow, 1929), I, 220.

<sup>3</sup> See Note 1.

opera himself. His tragedy "The Spaniards" (*Ispantsy*) might have been meant as a libretto for an opera. He also started rearranging Pushkin's "Gypsies" (*Tsygane*) apparently with the intention of adapting it for music. It is said likewise that Lermontov composed music for at least one of his own poems, the "Kazachya Kolybel'naya" ("Cossack Cradle-Song"). Lermontov's biographer, P. A. Viskovatov, met in the 1870's General Potapov who told him that Lermontov composed it in 1840 or early in 1841 when staying at his (Potapov's) estate and that the copy of the music must still be kept there. Upon Viskovatov's suggestion Potapov wrote to his steward instructing him to search for the music, but he did not succeed in finding it.<sup>4</sup>

What matters above all is that Lermontov's soul was tuned for music. Lermontov felt as if he were able to hear music which sounded somewhere in the heavenly spheres. And this music was simultaneously verse. His attitude as a musician and a poet was that man could not create either music or poetry by himself, but was only able to record what he heard of heavenly music-verse. It was Lermontov's mother who awakened in him, in his childhood, the longing for music. "When I was three years old, there was a song which used to make me weep; I cannot recall it now but I am sure that if I would hear it, it would affect me as before. It was my mother who used to sing it to me."<sup>5</sup>

When Lermontov was 17 years old he expressed his feeling about the heavenly music with amazing force in the poem "Angel":

И звук его песни в душе молодой  
Остался без слов, но живой.  
И долго на свете томилась она  
Желанием чудным полна,  
И звуков небес заменить не могли  
Ей скучные песни земли.

It is fundamentally the same idea which we find expressed in Emerson's philosophical essays: "For poetry was all written before time was, and whenever we are so finely organized that we can penetrate into that region where the air is music, we hear those primal warblings." Or, in the words of Charles Kingsley: "Man did not make the laws of music, he only found them out."<sup>6</sup>

The feeling of heavenly music is one of the leading motives of

<sup>4</sup> See Kann and Novikov (as in Note 1), p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Shchegolev, I, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from J. P. Dabney, *The Musical Basis of Verse* (New York and London, 1901), p. 16.

Lermontov's poetry. Another of his early poems, "Sounds" (*Zvuki*) (1830) is characteristic in this regard:<sup>7</sup>

Что за звуки! неподвижен внемяю  
Сладким звукам я.  
Забываю вечность, небо, землю  
Самого себя . . . .  
Всемогущий, что за звуки. Жадно  
Сердце ловит их,  
Как в пустыне путник безотрадный  
Каплю вод живых.

Or take this poem, "To \*\*" (*K\*\**) (1832):

Есть звуки — значенье ничтожно  
И презрено гордой толпой.  
Но их позабыть невозможно:  
Как жизнь, они слиты с душой.

Here we find an additional motive: only few elect are able to hear the heavenly music and to interpret its meaning. Hoi polloi lack this gift. Sometimes only the poet and his beloved can really understand sounds and words the poet hears in his soul. The poem quoted above continues as follows:

И в мире поймут их лишь двое,  
И двое лишь вздрогнут от них.

Sometimes it is the poet alone who has the clue:

Их многие слышат,  
Один понимает.

Since for Lermontov the source of both music and verse is fundamentally the same, music and musical instruments play an important role in the inventory of his poems. Angel and Demon, water nymph and fisher-girl, child and woman, bird, and even fish, every one of them sing in Lermontov's verse. Several times in his poems Lermontov mentions snowstorms, and the first thing which strikes him in a blizzard is always that it sings:

Так песнь метелица поет ("Русская Песня," 1830),  
Гонит их метелица, распеваячи ("Песнь про купца Калашникова," 1837),  
[Метель] песню долгую заводит ("Демон").

Musical instruments, especially the harp and the lute, as well as

<sup>7</sup> See H. W. Müller, *Das Musicalische in der Dichtung Lermontows* (Frankfurt am Main, 1936), p. 10 ff.

chords, are frequently mentioned in Lermontov's poems, cf. "И арфы шотландской струну бы задел."

Pervaded as Lermontov's poems are with music, his verse is musical to the utmost. The noted literary critic Belinski said aptly: "When reading any line from Lermontov's pen one has the impression of listening to musical accords."<sup>8</sup> In Lermontov's verse, says Belinski in another article, "poetry becomes music."<sup>9</sup> This result was achieved by Lermontov through constant work on the rhythm and meter of his verse.

Lermontov's prosody is much more variegated than Pushkin's. Not content with the iambus and the trochee, Lermontov was always in search of new combinations of rhythms in his versification.<sup>10</sup> He would combine two-syllable and three-syllable measures, and gradually his preference went to the three-syllable foot, such as the amphibrach, dactyl and especially the anapest. He even experimented with the four-syllable foot, which, according to the treatises on versification, does not exist in Russian verse. Thus, while Lermontov's poem, "Iz pod tainstvennoi kholodnoi polumaski" may be formally considered as iambus, it actually sounds like a paeon (Paeon IV: ~ ~ ~ ~).

But it is not only through rhythm that the secret of the music of Lermontov's verse should be approached. His careful selection of sounds is no less important. May we not, in search for parallels between music and verse, liken the consonants to the instruments? Thus, hard consonants, like Russian **б, п, т** etc., would have the same function in versification as the percussion instruments in an orchestra. The nasals **м, н** would rather correspond to string instruments, etc. Whether consciously or subconsciously, Lermontov used the consonants and sonants in his verse accordingly. One of the striking examples of the effect of skilful use by Lermontov of a certain consonant, in this case, the sonant **л**, is his poem "Rusalka":

Русалка плыла по волне голубой  
Озаряема полной луной.  
И хотела она доплеснуть до луны  
Серебристую пену волны.

This is one of the most musical among Lermontov's poems, it sounds like music. The impression has been achieved by the use of **л, ла, лу, ле**.

In the "Angel" we have the interplay of **л** and **н**:

По небу полуночи Ангел летел  
И тихую песню он пел.

<sup>8</sup> V. G. Belinski, *Lermontov: statii i recenzii* (Leningrad, 1940), p. 207.

<sup>9</sup> Belinski, p. 189. <sup>10</sup> P. Bizzilli, *Etjudy o russkoi poezii* (Prague, 1926), pp. 241 ff.

In the "Cliff" (*Utes*) the poet's method is to play upon the interrelation between the consonants and the vowels. The interrelations differ in the first and the second part of the poem.

The first part gives a peaceful picture of nature:

Ночевала тучка золотая  
На груди утеса великана  
Утром в путь она умчалась рано  
По лазури весело играя.

The number of consonants is almost equal to that of the vowels. There are 42 consonants as against 38 vowels, but out of the 42 consonants ten really represent five double consonants (**гр, тр, мч, чк** all of them voiced or semi-voiced). In the group of the vowels we have 23 phonetic *a*'s.

The second part of the poem is rather gloomy, melancholic, with the sad solitariness of the Cliff made comparable to the despondence of a lonely old man:

Но остался влажный след в морщине  
Старого утеса. Одиноко  
Он стоит; задумался глубоко  
И тихонько плачет он в пустыне.

The number of syllables in this second part of the poem is equal to that in the first part. The interrelation between the consonants and the vowels is different, however: 54 consonants as against 37 vowels.

### III

In view of the musical quality of Lermontov's verse, there is no wonder that quite a number of his poems were used by diverse composers for their musical compositions. It was not, however, due only to the musical nature of Lermontov's verse that composers were attracted to his poems in their search for subject-matters for their music. In no less degree the composers' interest towards Lermontov may be explained by the contents of his poems. That aspect of Lermontov's poetry which may be called romanticism influenced a great deal both his contemporaries and some of his later admirers. Tragic love, desperate characters, the "Weltschmerz" as one of Lermontov's moods, all this may be mentioned in this connection. The picturesque of the setting in Lermontov's poems devoted to the Caucasus or to old Russia, added another important motive in composers' preference for these particular poems. Love lyrics, quiet enjoyment of nature's beauty, the spirit of forbearance and prayer, all of which

is characteristic for some of Lermontov's best verses, determined likewise the interest of the composers in many a case.

The reader will find in the appendix a list of Lermontov's works on which music was written by Russian composers. I have tried to make this list as complete as possible, but there must be gaps in view of the fact that I have written this article outside of Russia and because of present conditions which make the collection of information especially difficult. There are, in any case, 71 titles in my list, including both poems and larger works by Lermontov.

Lermontov's larger works served chiefly for operas. Thus, Agrenev-Slavyanski wrote an opera on *Boyarín Orsha*; Rubinstein — on *Demon* and *Pesnya pro Kuptsa Kalashnikova*; of Glazunov we have the overture and the intermissions for *Maskarad*. As to the short poems they have been used by the composers chiefly for songs. In some cases, however, the composer was inspired not by Lermontov's verse as such, but by the subject-matter of the poem. In such case, the result would be not a song but a piece of instrumental music. Thus, Balakirev wrote a "Symphonic poem" on "Tamara"; Rachmaninov — likewise a symphonic poem on the *Utës* ("Cliff") etc. Some of Lermontov's poems were arranged for vocal duet, trio etc. Thus we have Rubinstein's duets on "Angel," "Gornye vershiny" and others, Dargomyzhski's trio on *Utës*, Afanasiev's quintet on "Kak luch zari." A number of poems was used for choral compositions, as for example "Angel" (arranged for female chorus by Rachmaninov), and "Rusalka" (arranged for women chorus with orchestra by several composers in turn — Rubinstein, Ilinski, Katuar, and Sternberg).

It is interesting to note that while only 55 of Lermontov's poems were arranged for art-songs, each poem out of this number was used by several composers. The minimum, according to Bulich,<sup>11</sup> is nine songs (on "Angel"), the maximum 31 (on "V minutu zhizni trudnuyu"). It seems paradoxical that no solo song has been written on "Rusalka." There exist, as we have seen, four choral compositions on "Rusalka," also one "melomimicry" (this latter by Rebikov). In two of the choral compositions there is a solo part (Katuar; Sternberg). But a real solo song on "Rusalka" is still lacking. As we have already said (section II, above), this is perhaps the most musical of all Lermontov's poems, and a *romans* (art-song) written on it by a great composer would be probably among the best in such kind. The lack of an art-song on "Rusalka" shows clearly that the richness and

<sup>11</sup> See S. K. Bulich, "M. IU Lermontov i Russkaja muzyka," Lermontov's *Collected Works*, edited by D. Abramovich, v (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 230-235.

variety of Lermontov's verse is far from having been sufficiently exploited by the composers.

From the work of the professional composers of "high" music we now turn to the realm of the "low music." Lermontov himself was very much interested in the popular poetry. He was well acquainted with bylinas and folk-songs, and was able to reproduce the folk-lore style in some of his own poems, such for example, as the "Song of the girl smuggler" (*Pesnya kontrabandistki*) (included into his short story, *Taman*) and "The Song of the Merchant Kalashnikov" (*Pesnya pro kuptsa Kalashnikova*). It is significant that a number of Lermontov's poems were absorbed by the singers of the people and became merged with modern folk-lore. Thus, in addition to the "art-songs" (*romans*) on Lermontov's words, there also exist some folk-songs (*pesni*) on his texts. In most cases we do not know when and by whom Lermontov's verses were adapted for singing, but there is good evidence for their popularity in Russia. In I. N. Rosanov's collection, "Pesni Russkikh Poetov" (Songs by Russian poets),<sup>12</sup> eleven poems by Lermontov are listed. Four of them belong to Lermontov's experiments in popular style. Such are: "Pesnya kontrabandistki," "Russkaya pesnya," "Volya" and "Kazachya kolybelnaya." It is but natural that they were adopted by the singers of the people. Three poems — "Zhelanie," "Uznik," and "Sosedka," the hero of which is in each case a prisoner longing for freedom, became popular among the jail-inmates — both political prisoners and criminals. They were also among the favorite songs of politically-minded students. The four others are "Utès," "Tamara," "Vykhozhu odin ya na dorogu" and of all things the "Vozdushny korabl."

#### IV

Over fifty Russian composers wrote music on Lermontov's poems. Some foreign composers also became interested in Lermontov. While I have made no attempt to collect information about Lermontov in foreign music, I have encountered two songs on Lermontov's words by foreign composers. One of them is "Les nuages" by the French composer Bouval; the other is "Das Gebet" by Franz Liszt.

Among Russian composers who became connected with Lermontov there are both great leaders in Russian music and men of less renown, as well as mere amateurs. Of the famous "Five" or "the Mighty Band," four — Balakirev, Cui, Musorgski and Rimski-Korsakov are on the list; only one — Borodin — is absent. Borodin,

<sup>12</sup> I. N. Rozanov, *Pesni russkikh poetov* (Moscow, 1936), pp. 345-463. See also pp. 423-427.



it may be noted, has not left many songs generally; for most of those he wrote (except four) he supplied his own text, of these four exceptions one is on Pushkin's words, one on Nekrasov, and two use texts of foreign poets.

Among the composers belonging to Pushkin's and Lermontov's generation the two greatest — Glinka and Dargomyzhski — were probably personally acquainted with Lermontov. They might have met the poet in Prince Odoevski's "salon littéraire." According to Sollogub's memoirs, in Odoevski's drawing-room "Pushkin was listening to Zhukovski; Countess Rostopchina read her poems to Lermontov; Glinka inquired Count Vielhorski of the solution of some problems of counterpoint; Dargomyzhski was planning his new opera while looking for some one who would write a libretto for him."<sup>13</sup> Glinka was an admirer of Pushkin rather than of Lermontov. He wrote, however, two songs on Lermontov's text "The Prayer" (*Molitva*) and "Slyshu li golos tvoi." They are among Glinka's best songs. The second is particularly harmonious, although the words are not always well coordinated with the melody.

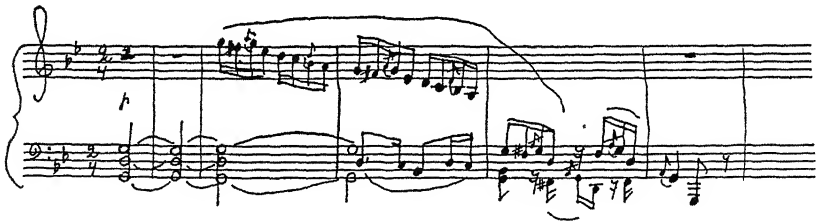
Dargomyzhski was much closer to Lermontov than Glinka. It seems that he was particularly attracted by Lermontov's mood of *Weltschmerz*. Of such mood are especially two of Dargomyzhski's songs "Mne grustno" and "I skuchno i grustno" The first is very melodious. The second is in the style of dramatic recitative; there is little "pure" music in it. "The Song of the Golden Fish" (from Mtsyri) is, on the contrary, remarkable for the ornamented design of its musical rhythm; the hearer feels the flow of the water in the mountain brook. As to Dargomyzhski's trio on "Utës" I consider it one of the best among all musical compositions written on this poem. "Tuchki nebesnye" is much inferior, and besides the coloratura part in it is of western pattern.

Rubinstein, one of the most prolific Russian composers, has written more music on Lermontov's text than any other musician. He wrote three operas on Lermontov's subject-matter, besides many solo songs and duets. The quality of his music is less impressive, however, than its quantity. Almost everything he wrote is melodious, but lacks vigor and colour. In "Demon" there are charming songs and dances of oriental color, such as the Lesginka and the chorus of Georgian girls ("Khodim my k Aragve svetloi"). But the Demon is not demonic and the Angel not sufficiently angelic. In Rimski-Korsakov's songs on Lermontov's text, such as the "Utës" and "Kak nebesa tvoi vzor blistaet" we feel a real oriental flavor. These songs are among

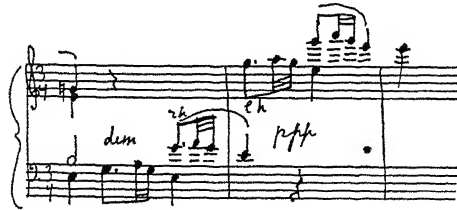
<sup>13</sup> M. Aronson and S. Reiser, *Literaturnye kružki i salony* (Leningrad, 1929), p. 171.

Rimski-Korsakov's best. The last mentioned reminds me of Ravel's "Bolero." It was written, however, in 1867, eight years before Ravel's birth. Cui's songs on Lermontov are likewise artistic. Bulich rates two of them as belonging to the group of the chefs-d'oeuvre among Russian art-songs. As to Musorgski, he wrote only one song on Lermontov's text—the "Prayer" (*Molitva*). He dedicated it to his mother.<sup>14</sup>

Since in many cases several great composers tried their hand on the same poem, it is interesting to note how each of them approached Lermontov's poem. Let us take "Utës" as an illustration. At first glance the music of the trio by Dargomyzhski and of the songs by Balakirev, Rimski-Korsakov and Rubinstein on "Utës" have much in common. All of them emphasize the contrast between the giddy cloud and the sullen cliff. And yet the way they treat the subject is different in each case. Rubinstein did not go deeper than sentimental melodiousness. Dargomyzhsky's way to express the passage of the cloud is by using in the right hand a gay descending scale with small embellishment notes (*Vorschlag*); it is a harmonious minor scale. The cliff is represented with long and heavy bass notes.



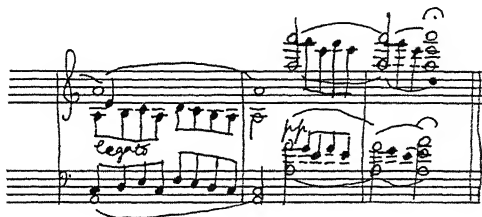
The theme of Rimski-Korsakov's cloud is expressed by a phrase ascending through several octaves.



His cliff sobs in natural minor seventh chord; the effect achieved is the feeling of desert and emptiness. Rimski-Korsakov (just as,

<sup>14</sup> A. N. Rimski-Korsakov (Editor), *M. P. Musorgski: pisma i dokumenty* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1932), p. 45.

after him, the French impressionists used to do) paints his picture with sounds and the listeners hear his music rather with their eyes.



Balakirev has given to "Utes" the color of a Russian folk-song. The cloud is represented, in the right hand, by means of arpeggio with embellishment notes. The cliff is expressed by beautiful minor arpeggios spreading over the whole keyboard. The general effect is that of sadness. Balakirev wrote the "Utes" in 1909. It was his swan-song (he died in 1910).



Balakirev's attitude towards Lermontov requires special consideration. As has already been said, these two giants of art were congenial in many respects. Both Balakirev and Lermontov had a vision of some distant land, of heavenly spheres. Balakirev's music and Lermontov's verse alike tear themselves away from the "dull songs of the earth" and are projected beyond the horizons of earthly life.

For both Lermontov and Balakirev this attitude resulted in a feeling of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with life. Also, each of them was at times haunted by visions of primary Evil — each of them had his spells of temptation. Had they lived in the Middle Ages, each of them, in their search of God might have landed into Satan's trap and sign with him a pact with their blood.

The struggle between the Good and the Evil, the Angel and Demon, is one of the leading motives in Lermontov's poetry, beginning with the poem "Angel" (1831) and ending with the "Demon" on which he worked throughout his brief life. Temptation impersonated

in a beautiful and cruel woman is the subject of Lermontov's poem "Tamara." It is characteristic that this latter poem inspired Balakirev to write his "symphonic poem" of the same name, a remarkable piece of instrumental composition. In Bulich's words "Balakirev's 'Tamara' is one of the best samples of the Oriental style in Russian music." Balakirev wrote it in the Oriental style because the scene of Lermontov's poem is laid in the Caucasus.

Both Balakirev and Lermontov were fascinated with the Orient, as was the case with many other Russian poets and composers beginning with Pushkin and Glinka. Borodin and Rimski-Korsakov went perhaps farther than any other composer in this direction. However, none of the Orient-minded poets or composers repeated each other. On the contrary, each of them had something original to say and to write. In any case, both Balakirev and Lermontov were sincere and creative in their admiration for the beauty of the Caucasus and the Orient at large. Balakirev's music supplements Lermontov's verse in complete harmony. "The song of Selim" and "Sosna" may be especially mentioned in this regard.

It was, however, not only the demonic and the oriental aspects in Lermontov's poetry which attracted Balakirev to Lermontov. He also composed music for some of Lermontov's lyric poems. Balakirev's song on "Slyshu li golos tvoi" is remarkable by the feeling of affectionate tenderness it creates in the hearer.



mysterious way, approaches in half-steps the accented notes and fancy words like "mechta" and "tainstvenny." Take for example the words "dymku legkuyu." "Dymka" is expressed by a small *Vorschlag* which makes the word, as it were, not ponderable. On the word "legkuyu" (to be pronounced "lyokhkuyu") there is in the music a jump down on a fourth.



This, in combination with the sound *kh* (in "l<sup>é</sup>khku<sup>i</sup>u") makes the word really light (which is the meaning of the Russian word, "l<sup>é</sup>gki"). At the end — with the words "besplotnoe videnie" there must be a sudden change in the tempo of the music. After a sequence of half-step notes the voice spreads out in a long note. To sum up, in this song music is completely merged with words.

Because of this, the song requires an exceptional performer in order not to break its charm. If performed by a singer of average artistic taste, the song would sound rather banal. It is significant that Balakirev dedicated it to M. A. Olenina d'Alheim, one of the greatest chamber singers of our age. I remember well how I was affected while attending M. A. Olenina's recital, years ago in Moscow, when she sang this song. The combined effort of the great poet, a great composer, and a great singer resulted in achieving the heights of artistic expression.

Of a different nature is Balakirev's song "Kogda volnuetsya zhelte yushchaya niva" (written in 1895). This is one of Lermontov's poems written in religious spirit. It is peaceful and dignified. Balakirev must have been in the same mood when he set to write the music for it. In melody this song is simple and even somewhat monotonous, but on the other hand the melody also has some serenity and sternness in it. As to the accompaniment, it is written in the style of Russian church singing. The harmony of it lifts one above the earth, especially after the last words "I v nebesakh ya vizhu Boga." With the last accord one has the same feeling of aloofness as at a Russian church service — if the service is really good. No doubt Balakirev applied here the results of his experience as the Director of the Imperial Chapel. The triple accords of the accompaniment correspond to the triple "Lord, have mercy on us" (*Gospodi pomilui*) in Russian church singing. Incidentally, the rhythm of the triple

"Lord, have mercy on us" affected not only Balakirev, but some other Russian composers as well, including Tchaikovsky. I think this explains to a certain degree the fact that Tchaikovsky uses the rhythm 3:2 so often.

As there are close parallels between Balakirev's art and Lermontov's art, there are likewise parallels in the creative life of these two men. While both are among the greatest each in his sphere, neither of them achieved the heights to which each was potentially destined. Lermontov died at the age of 27. Balakirev had a breakdown at the age of 34. After about ten years he resumed composing but at rather a slow pace. While some of the songs he wrote in his old age are on the level of his former works, the fact remains that during a greater part of his life he was a dormant volcano.

From the point of view of psychology it is interesting to note that Balakirev was not always even in his attitude towards Lermontov. In 1862 Balakirev, in a letter to Stasov, professed his great love and admiration towards Lermontov. "I breathe through Lermontov," Balakirev writes. "After having reread all of his works I must say that out of all the Russian authors it is Lermontov who impresses me most."<sup>15</sup> Later on, however, Balakirev happened to criticize Lermontov rather passionately. We may think that Balakirev was at that time in a mood of temptation to struggle with the gods. In any case, he finally came back to Lermontov. The last song Balakirev wrote was, as we have seen (above, Section IV), on Lermontov's "Utës."

## VI

Balakirev's songs on Lermontov's text were highly appreciated by Tchaikovsky. In his letter to Madam Von Meck, of August 4, 1881, Tchaikovsky wrote: "You ask me about Balakirev's songs. I entirely share your opinion on them. They are really little chefs d'oeuvre, and I am passionately fond of some of them. There was a time when I was not able to listen to his 'Song of Selim' without tears; I also rate highly his 'Song of the Goldfish.' In good performance this latter song produces a charming impression."<sup>16</sup> Tchaikovsky himself wrote only one song on Lermontov's text — "the love from beyond the Grave" (*Lyubov mertvesta*). It may seem strange that Tchaikovsky neglected Lermontov, since he himself often expressed in his music that tragic sadness which is one of important moods with Lermontov. Tchaikovsky's own mood is, however, fundamentally different from that of Lermontov. Tchaikovsky's sadness was of intimate personal

<sup>15</sup> V. Karenin ed., *Perepiska M. A. Balakireva s V. V. Stasovym*, I (Moscow, 1935), 166.

<sup>16</sup> P. I. Tchaikovsky, *Perepiska s N. F. von Meck*, II (1935), 546.

nature. It hardly can be characterized as "Weltschmerz." By the essential traits of his character Tchaikovsky seems to have been predestined for a peaceful life. His habits and tastes were steady and regular. It is only by a freak of nature and due to personal tragedy that he became in some degree neurotic.

In contrast, it seems rather paradoxical that Rachmaninov wrote nothing on Lermontov except for a choral composition on the "Angel" and a "symphonic poem" on the "Cliff." There is much in Lermontov's spirit which, it seems to me, should have attracted Rachmaninov's attention. Few composers, if any, could have expressed the "*Weltschmerz*" aspect of Lermontov's poetry with such force as Rachmaninov. Let us hope that he may yet do so.

Among the recent musical compositions on Lermontov's text, songs by Grechaninov and Myaskovski might be mentioned. Grechaninov wrote five songs on Lermontov in 1927. They were published by Schirmer in New York in 1931. The words are printed both in Russian and in English. This collection comprises not only three songs on which music by other composers already exists ("Angel," "Kogda volnuetsya" and "Slyshu li golos tvoi"), but also two songs on texts never used before ("Tebe moi dar" and "Nebo i zvezdy"). The "Angel" is dedicated to Anna M. Ian Ruban, another great Russian chamber singer. In my opinion, "Slyshu li golos" and "Nebo i zvezdy" are the best songs of this group.

Myaskovski's collection of 12 songs on Lermontov's text was published in Moscow in 1937. Six of them are on poems already used by other composers; the other six are first introduced into the realm of music. Myaskovski's approach to Lermontov is entirely different from that of Balakirev and other composers of the nineteenth century. He shows no interest whatever for Oriental aspects of Lermontov's poetry. Of poems of sadness Myaskovski has chosen only one "Vykhozhu odin ya na dorogu." Most of Myaskovski's songs are either love songs or feminine portraits (among the latter: "Kak malchik kudryavy," "Kak solntse zimnee," "Ona poet"). They all are pure lyric. Feminine portraits frequently supply subject-matter for Lermontov's poems, but before Myaskovski they were seldom used for songs. In the song: "Vykhozhu odin ya na dorogu" Myaskovski emphasizes certain words by making the singer repeat them. Such words are put in parentheses on the score since in Lermontov's text they are not repeated, e.g., "No ne tem (ne tem) kholodnym snom mogily (ne snom mogily)." This is the way of the folk-songs, e.g., "To moë (moë) serdechko stonet," or "Vecher pozdno (pozdno) iz lesochku" etc., and fits Lermontov's style perfectly.

Myaskovski's "Kazachya Kolybelnaia" is also very interesting. The appearance of the "cruel mountaineer" (*zloi chechen*) who crawls in darkness towards his victim is expressed by ominously sounding triplets. In the song "Iz Alboma" ("Lyubil i ia v bylye gody") Myaskovski's music is likewise especially well adapted to the mood of the poem. This poem is among those introduced by Myaskovski.

The enrichment of the stock of songs on Lermontov's poems with recent compositions by Grechaninov and Myaskovski is a clear evidence to the effect that Lermontov's role in Russian music has not come to a close.<sup>17</sup> Each new generation will certainly approach Lermontov from its own angle, each will enjoy him in its own way. The riches of Lermontov's legacy cannot be exhausted for many years to come.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

## APPENDIX

### I. List of Lermontov's works used by Composers.

Заглавия стихотворений Лермонтова	Фамилии композиторов, написавших музыку на эти стихотворения.
Ангел	Варламов Гречанинов Медтнер Римский-Корсаков Рубинштейн (дуэт) Ребиков (меломимика) Рахманинов (для женского хора)
Ангел смерти (восточная повесть)	Корещенко, двух-актная неоконченная опера
Арбенин (на сюжет Маскарада)	Фистуляри (опера)
Бела	Александров (опера)
Благодарность. За все, за все тебя благодарю.	Варламов Смирнитская
Боярин Орша (поэма)	Агренов-Славянский (опера) Кротков (опера последних гг. 19 ст.) Фистуляри (опера, издана только одна ария Арсения)
Будь со мною.	Кюи (рекомендуется Буличем, как хороший романс)

<sup>17</sup> The following new musical compositions on Lermontov's poems are mentioned in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, 1941: "Ashik-Kerib," ballet by B. Asafiev (*S.M.*, 1941, No 2, p. 104), "Bela," opera by Anatoli Aleksandrov (*ibid.*, p. 26); five songs by T. Sotnikov "Son," "Slyshu li golos," "Utes," "Veche," and "Chasha Zhizni" (*S.M.*, 1941, No, 1 p. 93)



Белеет парус одинокий	Рубинштейн
Вверх одна горит звезда	Ребиков (меломимика) Кюи Ляпунов
Вечер	Сотников
Воздушный корабль (мелодекламация)	Мясоедов Н. И. (сенатор)
Выхожу один я на дорогу.	Давыдов Мяковский Шашина
В альбом	Мяковский
Волны и люди	М. Бегичева. Кн. Куракин, Плюто, Шенк
Герой нашего времени (см. Бэла)	
Горные вершины (дуэт)	Рубинштейн
Дары Терекa	Давыдов (симфоническая поэма)
Два великана (мелодекламация)	Кпршбаум
Демон (Поэма)	Рубинштейн (опера) Бларамберг (кантата) Направник (симфоническая поэма Аранжирована для 4 рук автором и к каждой части композиции приве- дены строфы из поэмы. Христианович, Н. Ф. (Кантата, не издана)
Еврейская мелодия	Балакирев Рубинштейн
Есть речи—значение	Огарев
Жила грузинка молодая	Лодыженский
Из альбома	Мяковский
Из под таинственной холодной полумаски	Балакирев
И скучно и грустно	Лентовский, В., Гунье, Делюсто, Кастриото—Скандербек Гурилев Даргомыжский Евсеев
К портрету (Как мальчик кудрявый)	Мяковский
Казачья Колыбельная	Лермонтов Н. Бахметев Гречанинов Мяковский Черепнин

Казначейша (поэма)	Архангельский, А (опера) Асафьев
Как дух отчаянья и зла	Давыдов
Как луч зари	Афанасьев Н. (вокальный квинтет) Москва 1878
Как небеса твой взор блистает	Давыдов Римский-Корсаков
Как одинокая гробница	Аренский
Кинжал	Давыдов Кюи Рубинштейн
Когда волнуется желтеющая нива	Балакирев Гречанинов Римский-Корсаков.
Купец Калашников (поэма)	Рубинштейн (опера)
Любовь мертвеца	Чайковский (для мужского голоса)
Маскарад (драма)	Гербер Ю Г (1ый акт неоконченной оперы) Глазунов (увертюра и антракты, нигде не исполнялись)
Метель шумит и снег валит	Кюи
Мне грустно	Балакирев Даргомыжский Римский-Корсаков
Молитва (В минуту жизни трудную)	Глинка, Мусоргский Лист, Ф (на немецкий перевод)
Мцыри (поэма)	Ипполитов-Иванов (симфоническая по- эма), Голос с оркестром: Песня ры- бки Сенилов (симфоническая поэма)
На севере диком (см. Сосна)	Давыдов Даргомыжский (трио)
Не плачь, не плачь, мое дитя	Мяковский
Небо и звезды (Чисто вечернее небо) Почевала тучка золотая, см Утес	Гречанинов
Нет, не тебя так пылко я люблю	Мяковский
Она поет и звуки тают	Кюи Мяковский
Они любили друг друга	Блюменфельд Кенеман Кюи Мяковский Черепнин, Н.

Отворите мне темницу	Рубинштейн
Пленный рыцарь	Кюн
Пророк	Кюн
Прости, мы не встретимся боле.	Мясковский
Песня (желтый лист о стебель бьется)	Балакирев
Песня золотой рыбки	Аренский Балакирев Даргомыжский Ипполитов-Иванов (см. Мцыри)
Песня Селима	Балакирев
Разстались мы	Шиловская
Романс (Ты идешь на поле битвы)	Мясковский
Русалка	Плынский, А. А. (для женского хора с оркестром) Катуар (для соло, хора и оркестра, Москва Юргенсон) Рубинштейн (для женского хора и оркестра) Штернберг, М. (для оркестра, сопрано соло и женского хора) Ребиков (меломимика)
Слышу ли голос твой	Балакирев Блюменфельд Глинка Гречанинов Даргомыжский Рубинштейн Сотников
Солнце	Мясковский
Сон (В полдневный жар)	Балакирев Сотников
Сосна из Гейне (см. На севере диком)	Балакирев Давыдов Даргомыжский (трио) Ребиков (меломимика)
Соседка	Свиридов, Ю. (для мужского голоса)
Тамара	Балакирев (симфоническая поэма) Барон Фитингоф-Шелль (опера) на сюжет Демона
Тебе мой дар смиренный	Гречанинов
Три пальмы	Спендиаров (симфоническая картина оп. 10, изд. Беляева. С успехом неоднократно исполнялась)

Тучки небесные (Les nuages)	Bouval (French) Даргомыжский Огарев Рубинштейн
У врат обители святой	Блюменфельд Давыдов Кюи Медтнер Направник
Умирающий гладиатор	Блюменфельд Лисовский, Л (мелодекламация) Бларамберг П И (симфоническая картина)
Утес (Ночевала тучка золотая)	Балакирев Блюменфельд Давыдов Даргомыжский (Трио) Касьянов Лукин (музыкальная картина для арфы) Рахманинов (симфоническая поэма, ор. 7, 1893 с эпитафией. Ночевала тучка золотая) Римский-Корсаков Рубинштейн Ребиков (меломимика) Сотников
Хаджи-Абрек (Поэма)	Рубинштейн (опера) Траилин, С.А.
Чаша жизни	Сотников

## II List of Composers

Afanasiev	Как Луч зари (вокальный квинтет)
Agrenev-Slavyanski	Боярин Орша (опера) поставлена в Тифлисе в 1910
Aleksandrov, An.	Бэла (опера)
Arenski	Песня рыбки из Мцыри Как одинокая гробница (для хора)
Arkhangelski, A	Казначейша (опера)
Asafiev	Казначейша Ашик-Кериб (Балет)
Balakirev	Слышу ли голос твой Из под таинственной холмоной полу- маски. Когда волнуется желтеющая нива. Мне грустно Песня рыбки

	Сосна Сон Утес Песня Селима Еврейская мелодия. Песня (желтый лист о стебель бьется) Тамара (симфоническая поэма)
Bakhmetev	Казачья Колыбельная
Begicheva	Волны и люди
Blaraberg	Умиравший Гладиатор (симфоническая картина) Демон (кантата для концертного исполнения)
Blumenfeld	У врат обители святой Слышу ли голос твой Они любили друг друга. Умиравший гладиатор Утес
Bouval (French Composer)	Les Nuages (Hale, Modern French Song, Vol I)
Chaikovski see Tchaikovsky	
Cherepnin, N	Колыбельная. Они любили друг друга
Cui	Кинжал Она поет и звуки тают Они любили друг друга Будь со мною (op 33, No 6) Вверху одна горит звезда Метель шумит и снег валит У врат обители святой Пленный рыцарь Пророк (С тех пор как вечный судия)
Davidov	Выхожу один я на дорогу Как дух отчаянья и зла Как небеса твой взор блистает Кинжал На севере диком У врат обители святой Утес Дары Терека (симфоническая поэма)
Dargomyzhski	Мне грустно И скучно и грустно Песня рыбки из Мцыри Тучки небесные На севере диком (трио) Утес (трио) Слышу ли голос твой
Delusto	И скучно и грустно
Evseyev	И скучно и грустно

Fistuliani,	Арбенин (на сюжет Маскарада) опера Боярин Орша (опера)
Fitinhof-Shell Baron	Тамара (опера) на сюжет Демона
Gerber	Маскарад (1ый акт неоконченной оперы)
Glazunov	Маскарад (увертюра и антракты)
Glinka	Слышу ли голос твой Молитва (в минуту жизни трудную)
Grechaninov	Колыбельная 5 Songs translated into English: Тебе, мой друг смиренный По небу полуночи Ангел летел Когда волнуется желтеющая нива Слышу ли голос твой Небо и звезды
Gunke	И скучно и грустно
Gunlev	И скучно и грустно
Ilyinski, A. A.	Русалка (для женского хора с оркест- ром)
Ippolitov-Ivanov	Мцыри (симфоническая поэма) Голос с оркестром. Песня рыбки
Kasianov A	Утес (Москва, 1925)
Kastriot-Skanderberg	И скучно и грустно
Katuar	Русалка (ор 5 для соло, хора и оркестра)
Keneman	Они любили друг друга
Kirshbaum	Два Великана (мелодекламация)
Koreschenko, A	Ангел смерти (опера), ор 10 2х актная неизданная (из 90-х гг. 19 ст.)
Krotkov	Боярин Орша (опера), последние гг. 19 ст.
Kurakin, Prince	Волны и Люди
Khristianovich, N. F	Демон (кантата, неизданная)
Lentovski	И скучно и грустно
Lermontov	Казачья колыбельная (утеряно)
Lyapunov	Вверху одна горит звезда
Lisovski	Умиравший Гладиатор (мелодекла- мация)
Liszt, Fr.	Молитва (В минуту жизни трудную) на немецкий перевод.

Lodyzhenski	Жила грузинка молодая
Lukin	Утес (музыкальная картина для арфы)
Musorgski	Молитва
Medtner	У врат обители святой, ор. с 3 Ангел (ор. 1 а)
Myaskovski	Колыбельная Выхожу один я на дорогу Нет, не тебя так пылко я люблю К портрету (Как мальчик кудрявый) Солнце Они любили друг друга В альбом (Как одинокая гробница) Романс (Ты идешь на поле битвы) Она поет Не плачь, не плачь, мое дитя Из альбома (Любил и я в былые годы) Прости, мы не встретимся боле
Myasoyedov, N	Воздушный корабль (методекламация)
Napravnik	Демон (симфоническая поэма) Аранжирована для 4 рук автором К каждой части композиции приведены определенные строфы поэмы
Ogarev	Есть речи-значение Тучки
Pluto	Волны и люди
Rachmaninov	Ангел (для женского хора) Утес (симфоническая поэма) оп. 7, 1893, эпиграф: Ночевала тучка золотая.
Rebikov	Меломимики на следующие стихотв. Утес Русалка Парус Сосна Ангел Ор. 19, No. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 (Москва, Юргенсон)
Rimski-Korsakov	Утес Как небеса твой взор блистает Когда волнуется желтеющая нива, ор. 40 изд. Беляева Ангел, то же, ор. 41 Мне грустно (все для средн. гол.)
Rubinstein, A.	Отворите мне темницу Утес Белеет парус одинокий Еврейская мелодия

	Слышу ли голос твой Тучки небесные Кинжал Ангел (дуэт) Горные вершины (дуэт) Демон (опера) Купец Калашников (опера) Хаджи Абрек (опера) Русалка (женский хор и оркестр)
Senilov	Мцири (симфоническая поэма)
Shashina	Выхожу один я на дорогу
Shilovskaya	Разстались мы
Smirnitskaya	Благодарность
Sotnikov	Вечер Слышу ли голос Сон Утес Чаша жизни
Spendiarov	Три пальмы (симфоническая картина). ор. 10, изд. Беляева, Leipzig— Спб. 1907.
Sternberg,	Русалка (ор с 4), соло, хор и оркестр
Sviridov	Соседка (для мужского голоса)
Tchaikovsky	Любовь мертвеца (для мужского голо- са, ор 38, No 5)
Trailin	Хаджи Абрек (опера) никогда не исполнялась
Varlamov	Ангел (соло) Благодарность (за все, за все тебя благодарю я)



## KLYUCHEVSKI AND RECENT TRENDS IN RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

By MICHAEL KARPOVICH

WORKS of broad historical synthesis have been rare in all periods and all countries. Modern Russian historiography is not an exception. Among the Russian historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only three names can be cited as coming under this head: Karamzin, Solovyov, Klyuchevski. And of these three Klyuchevski occupies a position which is, in a sense, unique. Karamzin, the "Columbus of Russian history" as Pushkin has called him, discovered that subject for the general reader to whom he appealed more than to the specialists in the field. By no means a mere dilettante, as he has been so often pictured, he still was primarily a great literary artist, and only in the second place a scholar. His importance lay more in the field of general Russian culture than in that of historical scholarship. On the contrary, Solovyov has remained essentially a historian for historians. Devoid of literary brilliance, and lacking in architectonic ability, he has left us the twenty-nine volumes of his *History of Russia from the Earliest Times*,<sup>2</sup> to be consulted with the help of the index rather than to be read through and enjoyed. Both the size and the arrangement of his monumental work have given it a somewhat forbidding nature. For a casual reader his general conception of Russian history is hidden behind the mass of detailed material, for the most part presented in a strictly chronological order. Of the three masters of Russian historiography, Klyuchevski alone combines a great literary skill, rivaling that of Karamzin, with profound scholarship, not inferior to that of Solovyov; hence his simultaneous and equally powerful appeal to the general reader and the specialist.

Chronologically, the historical synthesis of Klyuchevski was destined to have a much longer life than either that of Karamzin or of Solovyov. Karamzin's conception of Russian history, at least in some respects, was an anachronism at the time when it was formulated. Sharp criticism, from the point of view of "newer" history, was advanced against the *History of the Russian State* almost immediately after its publication.<sup>3</sup> Solovyov's influence in Russian historiography

<sup>1</sup> Based on a paper read at the 1940 annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoriya Rossii s drevneishch vremen* (1851-1879)

<sup>3</sup> Karamzin's *Istoriya gosudarstva rossiskago* was published in twelve volumes in 1816-1829. For the summary of contemporary criticism, see P. Milyukov, *Glavnyia techeniya russkoi istoricheskoi mysli* (1898) and N. Orlov's introduction to *Nikolai Polevoi i materialy po istorii russkoi literatury i zhurnalistiki tridcatykh godov* (1934).

was of a longer duration. Since the end of the 1840's, for a generation the so-called "juridical" school, of which he was one of the leading representatives, occupied a predominant position in Russian historical literature. But Solovyov's synthesis did not long survive its creator. The unfinished twenty-ninth volume of Solovyov's *History* was written in 1879, the year of the author's death, and only seven years after that young Milyukov could treat the "juridical" school of Russian historiography as a thing of the past, as a phase that had been irrevocably left behind in the forward march of Russian historical science.<sup>4</sup>

In this respect, Klyuchevski has been much more fortunate than both his predecessors. To a large extent his synthesis is still a living influence in Russian historiography. To-day, a generation after the publication of the *Course of Russian History*<sup>5</sup> and the death of its author, this synthesis has not yet been replaced by a new one that would be widely accepted by Russian historians. In making this statement, I am fully aware of the existence of the Marxist historiography in Soviet Russia. This, however, is a somewhat special case. In view of the fact that the triumph of Marxist history in Russia was secured largely with the help of extra-historiographical factors, it remains an open question whether the same result would have been achieved had Russian historical science retained the same degree of relative autonomy which it had possessed before the Revolution. Let us not forget that outside of Soviet Russia workers in the field of Russian history, Russians and foreigners alike, have remained to a large extent within the Klyuchevski tradition.

This longevity of the Klyuchevski scheme of Russian history becomes even more striking if one remembers that the chronological limits of its existence should be extended backwards far beyond the date of the publication of the *Course*. As far as the medieval and the Moscow periods are concerned, all the substantial elements of the scheme already are present in Klyuchevski's doctoral dissertation on *Boyarskaya Duma* (1882). Moreover, the whole synthesis, essentially the same as it finally appears in a developed and perfected form in the printed version of the *Course*, goes back to the early 1870's when Klyuchevski first began to lecture on the subject.<sup>6</sup> We are faced, therefore, with a remarkable phenomenon: the vitality of a historical conception which today is at least seventy years old.

The very date of the birth of this conception is highly significant.

<sup>4</sup> "Juridičeskaja škola v russkoi istoriografii," *Russkaja Mysl*, 1886, vi.

<sup>5</sup> *Kurs russkoi istorii*, I-IV (1904-1910). The fifth volume was published posthumously in 1921.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Kizevetter, "Pervy kurs Ključevskago," *Zapiski Russkago Naučnago Instituta v Belgrade*, III (1931).

As every historian, Klyuchevski was the child of his age. In approaching his work we should never lose sight of the fact that his fundamental ideas on Russia's historical development were formed in the 1860's and 1870's. A good deal of discussion has been devoted to the elucidation of the question whether Klyuchevski was a Westerner or a Slavophil. I venture to say, however, that the discussion has been perhaps superfluous. By the time Klyuchevski began to formulate his historical theories, that famous controversy ceased to be a burning issue. I think it was precisely because of that that he was able, with considerable ease, to achieve a kind of a synthesis between the two opposite points of view, both of which he could approach with equanimity. I believe with G. P. Fedotov<sup>7</sup> that much more significant for Klyuchevski's development was the predominance in the intellectual climate of the time of two other elements which somewhat vaguely can be described as "realism" and "populism."

It was "realism" that led Klyuchevski to go beyond the surface of laws and institutions, which loomed so large in the works of the "juridical" school, to the economic and social stuff of history, to what might be called the "physiology" of historical life. And even when he dealt specifically with the history of institutions, as in the *Boyarskaia Duma* or in his studies on the Zemski Sobor, he did it for the purpose of analyzing the social forces and economic interests which had been shaping these institutions. Likewise, even when he followed Solovyov in the periodization of Russian history, his "realism" led him to fill the general schemes of his teacher with much more concrete contents, giving them a new substance, as it were, and endowing them with flesh and color. Thus, for the first time in Russian historical literature, both Kievan Russia and Russia of the appanage period appeared as living entities on the pages of Klyuchevski's works. And in both cases the effect was achieved largely by means of an economic interpretation, by emphasizing the importance of trade and urban centers for Kiev Russia, and that of colonization for the later Middle Ages.

To be sure, Klyuchevski's "economism" was not a thorough-going one. He could not qualify as an economic materialist in the Marxian sense. In fact, there are good reasons to believe that he did not know Marx, and it has been pointed out that his works do not show any acquaintance even with the Marxist terminology. An attempt has been made to show that in his theoretical views Klyuchevski was not so far removed from the "juridical" school as it might appear.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "Rossija Ključevskago," *Sovremennyya Zapiski*, I (1932)

<sup>8</sup> S. Tkhorzhevsky, "V. O. Ključevski kak sociolog i političeskii myslitel," *Dela i Dni*, II (1921).

To my mind, this does not seem to be of great importance. What was of importance, was the actual shift in the emphasis, and the new orientation of the historian's interest. From his early work on the economic activities of the Solovetski Monastery (1866-1867) to his later study of the role of the economic factor in the rise of serfdom (1885),<sup>9</sup> and throughout all of the *Course*, Klyuchevski devoted a very large part of his attention to economic history, and one might well agree with the writer who has called him the founder of this particular branch of historical science in Russia. It was Klyuchevski the historian of social classes and economic relations who exercised the greatest influence upon the subsequent course of Russian historiography. Directly out of his school came the works of Milyukov on the national economy of Russia in Peter's time, of Bogoslovski on the peasant communes of North Russia, of Kizevetter on the urban classes of the eighteenth century. Indirectly, one might suspect Klyuchevski's general influence in Platonov's analysis of the class struggle during the Times of Trouble. And perhaps it is significant that the two chief exponents of Marxist historiography in Russia, Pokrovski and Rozhkov, both had been Klyuchevski's students.

Klyuchevski's "populism" was just as important as his "realism." In fact, it might be considered as merely another aspect of the same historiographical tendency. Professor S. N. Harper has suggested that the Russian term "narodnichestvo" can be best rendered in English as "peasantism" rather than "populism." In the case of Klyuchevski, at any rate, the substitution would be peculiarly appropriate. One might say that the peasant is the hero of Klyuchevski's history, just as the landed nobility is its villain. I do not want to be misunderstood. I fully realize that Klyuchevski, with his essentially sober and perhaps even sceptical mind, was not guilty of sharing any of the Slavophil-populist illusions as to the innate virtues of the Russian peasantry. Neither do I mean to say that the great historian was a political pamphleteer. But I am convinced that one cannot understand Klyuchevski's approach to Russian history unless one keeps in mind that he was a contemporary of the Emancipation, and that his formative years were those of the "going to the people" movement. And I am equally convinced that with all his historical objectivity, there was in this son of a village priest, this typical plebeian, a definite bias against the nobility, which grew stronger as he advanced in his studies from the Moscow period when, in his conception, the gentry still performed a useful national function, to the

<sup>9</sup> Klyuchevski's minor historical monographs have been collected in his *Opyty i izsledovaniya* (1915).

eighteenth century when to him it began to appear as a parasitic class.<sup>10</sup>

It seems to me, although I realize that here I am entering a highly debatable ground, that I can see some affinity between Klyuchevski and the contemporary "populists" in the historian's relative indifference to foreign policy (I think in this connection of Chernyshevski, who saw in diplomatic history nothing but a device to detract people's attention from problems of domestic reform), and perhaps even more so in what I should dare to call Klyuchevski's general anti-*étatiste* attitude. Of course, I know that I can be easily refuted by quotations from the theoretical introduction to the *Course*, in which the author speaks of the importance of the state in the formation of a nation. But here again I am not inclined to attach much importance to these formal theoretical statements. What impresses me much more is the distribution of emphasis, and the actual treatment of the historical material. I cannot help feeling that, in striking contrast with so many of the German historians, or even with the historians of the Russian "juridical" school, not to speak of Karamzin, Klyuchevski has a tendency to treat the state power as something external, superimposed upon the people and, in the later periods, even hostile to it. The famous epigram: "the state was swelling while the people was withering," is for Klyuchevski something like an epitome of modern Russian history.

It is hardly necessary for the purposes of this article to offer a full-dress catalogue of Klyuchevski's historiographical achievements. With these every student of Russian history is sufficiently familiar. They form an integral part of our professional education, and we all are fully aware of our indebtedness to the great historian. I am not so sure that we are equally aware of the extent to which Russian historiography has departed from Klyuchevski during the generation which separates us from the publication of his *Course*. Some of these new trends have offered mere additions to the Klyuchevski scheme, while others have tended to modify it in some important particulars or even to deviate from it in a more radical fashion. Some originated in Klyuchevski's lifetime; others did not develop until after his death.<sup>11</sup>

Let me begin with one of the most obvious developments. Since

<sup>10</sup> See, however, his *Istoriya soslovii v Rossii* (1913), for one expression of a somewhat more favorable attitude.

<sup>11</sup> I am omitting from this discussion any consideration of the Marxist historiography in Russia as a subject that requires separate treatment. For Marxist attitude towards Klyuchevski, see M. Nechkina, "V. O. Ključevskij," *Russkaja istoričeskaja literatura v klassovom osvješčenii*, II (1930).

Rostovtzeff's masterly excursion in the field of Russian history,<sup>12</sup> it has become hardly possible to agree with Klyuchevski's statement that this history begins with the formation of a "military alliance" of the East Slavonic tribes on the Carpathian mountains in the sixth century, and their subsequent migration into the East European plain. A series of investigations, in which the historians have collaborated with the archaeologists and the philologists, have extended the chronological scope of Russian history, both in its Slavonic and pre-Slavonic phases, far beyond the initial dates indicated by Klyuchevski.

Simultaneously, the scope of Russian history, as compared with the Klyuchevski scheme, has been largely expanded also in the territorial sense. In line with the preceding historiographical tradition, Klyuchevski embodied in his *Course* the Moscow-centric conception of Russian history, with all its familiar concomitants: the treatment of the Kiev period as a kind of a first draft of the national unity to come; the exaggeration of the break and the contrast between the Russia of Kiev and that of Suzdal; and the virtual neglect of the Southwestern territories until their reunion with Moscow in the seventeenth century. The revolt of Hrushevski<sup>13</sup> against this one-sided "Great Russian" approach led to an impressive development of Ukrainian history, but at the same time it tended to perpetuate and even to aggravate the artificial separation of the two streams of Russian history. What is needed is the integration of "Great Russian" and Ukrainian history, treated in interaction rather than in opposition. The same consideration applies to the history of Lithuania and White Russia, a field in which important work has been done by some of Klyuchevski's own pupils, headed by Lyubavski.

One of the most striking deficiencies in the Klyuchevski scheme is his practically complete neglect of the Asiatic aspects of Russian history. This has been taken care of by the representatives of the "Eurasian" school, and with a vengeance. It is not necessary to subscribe to all the tenets of the Eurasian theory, of which Professor George Vernadsky is one of the chief exponents,<sup>14</sup> to recognize the service which the adherents of the theory have rendered Russian

<sup>12</sup> *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na iuge Rossii* (1910) English version *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922). Cf. his "South Russia in the Prehistoric and Classical Period," *American Historical Review*, xxvi (1921).

<sup>13</sup> "Zvičaina schema russkoj istorii i sprava racionalnogo ukladu istorii schidnogo slavjanstva," *Sbornik statej po Slavjanovedeniju*, 1 (1904) Hrushevski's own "scheme" was expounded in his *Istoriija Ukraïny-Rusi*, 1-ix (1898-1931)

<sup>14</sup> See his *Načertanie russkoj istorii* (1927) and *Opyt istorii Evrazii* (1934) In the English works of the same author "Eurasianism" has been somewhat toned down .

historiography by once more calling attention to the importance of Asia in Russian history, as well as by their challenging revaluation of the significance of the Mongol domination in Russia. As a matter of fact, the latter is barely mentioned in Klyuchevski's *Course*.

Another significant departure from the Klyuchevski scheme may be described as shifting the emphasis rather than extending the scope of historical investigation. We are faced here with an interesting case of a dialectical development which, starting with an opposition to Klyuchevski's emphasis, tends to go back to Solovyov, if not to Karamzin, in stressing again both the political and the legal factors. Let me cite as an example Presniakov's studies of the power and the activities of the Kiev princes, and of the formation of the Great Russian state.<sup>15</sup> A similar development is noticeable in the more recent works on the origins of serfdom in which, unlike Klyuchevski's economic interpretation, the importance of governmental policies is being stressed alongside with that of the growth of the manorial jurisdiction.<sup>16</sup>

Still another avenue of approach to Russian history has been opened, or at any rate broadened, with the use of the comparative historical method, recognized by Klyuchevski in theory,<sup>17</sup> but not applied by him in practice. The use of this method enabled Pavlov-Silvanski to assert that in Russia too there had been feudalism.<sup>18</sup> The fruitful controversy that ensued enriched Russian historiography, and resulted in a fairly wide acceptance of the Pavlov-Silvanski's thesis, usually in a modified form,<sup>19</sup> and more generally, in the recognition of a problem which for Klyuchevski simply did not exist.

So far I have been dealing with those cases of deviation from the Klyuchevski scheme in which criticism has been accompanied by creative attempts to modify it or to add to it. But there are some other deficiencies in the Klyuchevski synthesis which in a large degree have remained without a remedy. We are entering here the at once attractive and forbidding field of the unfulfilled tasks of Russian historiography. Let me start with a bold statement that what is sadly missing in the *Course of Russian History* is the history of the Russian

<sup>15</sup> *Knjažoe pravo v drevnei Rusi* (1909) and *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva* (1918)

<sup>16</sup> A convenient summary of recent investigations of the subject can be found in J. Polosin, "Le servage russe et son origine," *Revue internationale de sociologie*, xxxvi, (1928) or in D. Odinetz, "Les origines du servage en Russie," *Revue historique du droit français étranger*, 4-me série, x (1931).

<sup>17</sup> See the introductory chapter to the *Course*.

<sup>18</sup> *Feodalizm v drevnei Rusi* (1907) and *Feodalizm v udelnoi Rusi* (1910).

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, C. Vernadsky, "Feudalism in Russia," *Speculum*, xiv (1939).

Empire. "Russian history is the history of a country which is in the process of being colonized." So runs one of the most frequently quoted sayings of Klyuchevski. And yet I feel compelled to say that the historian has by no means made a full use of the principle which he himself has established. To be sure, he has based on it his division of Russian history into periods, but as to the actual treatment of the historical material, the only parts of the *Course* in which "colonization" has been given due recognition are those dealing with the early medieval and the appanage periods. For the subsequent periods, the theoretical statement has remained without any practical application, and these are precisely the periods in the course of which the Russian Empire was created. Surprisingly enough, the great expansion of the seventeenth century is entirely absent from Klyuchevski's presentation. The historian does not deal either with the development of the border regions or with the problems of imperial administration as they arose in the course of modern Russian history. And although some good work has been done in the field since his day, Russian historiography is still waiting for its Turners and its Seeleys.

I have spoken already of Klyuchevski's relative indifference to problems of foreign policy. In this respect he is not unique in Russian historical literature. A neglect of diplomatic history is a trait common to the majority of Russian historians. I do not believe that it can be fully explained by the difficulties in getting access to the archives under the pre-revolutionary conditions. I am inclined to think that the situation should be rather viewed as the result of that almost exclusive concentration on problems of internal development which has been so typical of Russian historiography. To it we are indebted for the outstanding achievements of Russian historians in the fields of institutional, social and economic history. But the price we have to pay for these achievements is the virtual absence of an adequate history of Russian foreign policy for any of the major periods of Russian history. In the same way, the predominance among the Russian historians of what might be called the "sociological" approach, the emphasis on the impersonal forces of history, the interest in the masses coupled with an almost complete absence of hero-worship in any form, all very creditable traits in themselves, and all shared by Klyuchevski, have led, because of the one-sided concentration and exaggeration, to a neglect of historical biography. The deficiency of Russian historical literature in this respect is so painfully obvious that there is no need of arguing the point.

Finally we are faced in Klyuchevski's work with that separation of the cultural and intellectual history from the political, the social



and the economic one, which again is characteristic of Russian historiography as a whole. I cannot go into the controversy on the subject of Klyuchevski's attitude towards "ideas" in history. In the introduction to the *Course* he argues the exclusion of "ideas" from his presentation on methodological grounds. Frankly speaking, I do not find his explanation very convincing. The fact remains that while Klyuchevski did not deny the importance of the "spiritual forces" in history, on the whole he did not attempt to bring them into his general scheme of Russia's historical development. In most cases, when he wanted to deal with cultural and intellectual subjects he did it "off the record" as it were, in public lectures and articles written for general magazines.<sup>20</sup> The task of integrating Russia's cultural history with the general history of the country remains an imperative one. In spite of the existence of Milyukov's *Outline of Russian Culture*,<sup>21</sup> here is another field in which much remains to be done.

It appears that the imposing structure of the Klyuchevski synthesis, in which so many of us, perhaps half-consciously, still are seeking refuge, stands in need of a thorough renovation, if not of a total replacement. For most of us who do not share the Marxist philosophy of history — and today even the Marxist historians do not seem to be very sure of themselves or very happy — no such new structure is yet in sight. To some it might be a source of annoyance and uneasiness, but I wonder whether one should feel that way. After all, historical syntheses are not being made to order. In each case they seem to be the result of a "natural growth" rather than of conscious design. They come to sum up a period of intellectual ferment at a moment when there is a possibility of a reasonably wide general agreement on some "philosophy of history." Quite obviously, ours is not such a time. To use the Saint-Simonian terminology, we are living in a "critical," and not in an "organic" epoch. This is no reason, however, for giving up our efforts to solve the various pending problems of Russian historiography, some of which I have tried to indicate in this discussion.

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<sup>20</sup> These have been collected in his *Očerki i reči* (n.d.).

<sup>21</sup> *Očerki po istorii russkoi kultury*, I-III (1896-1903). The last revised edition (1930-1937) as yet has remained incomplete.

## VIRGINIA TOBACCO IN RUSSIA UNDER PETER THE GREAT

By O J FREDERIKSEN

THAT it was Peter the Great who introduced tobacco into Russia on a large scale is well known, but the details of this early commerce in what the Russians called "nicotine" are less familiar — for instance, that the tobacco imported was American, that the initiative in opening the trade came largely from America, and that the fulfillment of the contracts became involved in complications that at times approached the burlesque.

There was of course a considerable amount of tobacco consumed in Russia long before the time of Peter. It is true that the use of the "abomination to God" was forbidden by the Orthodox Church on the Biblical grounds that it is not that which entereth into a man that defileth him, but that which proceedeth from him. However, among the foreigners, especially the Germans and the Dutch, and to some extent even among court officials, tobacco was openly smoked in the early sixteen hundreds to such a degree that under Michael Romanov it became necessary to forbid both Russians and foreigners to possess or to "drink" tobacco, or to buy or sell it under pain of death and confiscation of property, a decree to this effect being issued in 1634. Michael's heir, Alexei, was a staunch conservative who frowned upon foreign ways, repeated Michael's anti-tobacco legislation in his *Ulozhenie* or law code, and even after his quarrel with the Patriarch Nikon continued to uphold the conduct prescribed by the Church.<sup>1</sup> But under Alexei's son Theodore there was a slight weakening of restrictions, and high circles began again to copy manners from abroad. When the Patriarch Joachim made his famous visit to Moscow in 1681 he was alarmed to find the use of tobacco as well as the custom of shaving and the wearing of short jackets widespread there.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, with true Russian inconsistency, the government itself had, from 1646 on, been selling tobacco in Siberia while punishing private dealers.<sup>3</sup>

Under Sophia and her favorite, Basil Golitsyn, who was a great admirer of western ways, tobacco continued to be smoked to some extent, in the ox-horns which were then used as pipes. Peter's *coup d'état*, however, was supported by conservative Church circles, and

<sup>1</sup> M. M. Bogoslovski, *Petr I* (1941), II, 286-287.

<sup>2</sup> W. Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar* (London, 1871-73), VI, 1535.

<sup>3</sup> Bogoslovski, *loc. cit.*, p. 287.

regardless of personal tastes it was not until he felt himself firmly entrenched that he was free to enter upon his program of introducing foreign manners. On February 1, 1697, just before leaving Russia for his famous journey abroad, he issued an order permitting the use and public sale of tobacco "since there are large amounts of it in many homes among all classes of people," and it was "being smuggled in from all directions. His real reason was to make it possible to collect the customs dues which were lost as long as the trade was illegal."<sup>4</sup>

The well-known English contract of 1698 was not the first, for as early as 1695 Peter sold for three thousand rubles the right to a monopoly on tobacco.<sup>5</sup> And in 1697 a foreigner, Thomas von de Bracht, or Fadenbracht as he was known in Russia, received the sole right to sell tobacco at Archangel and in the Foreign Suburb at Moscow. Like dealers elsewhere he was to enjoy freedom from customs dues the first year while preparing "smoking rooms," but was to pay regular dues the second year and to be prepared to bid in the open market the third year for the right to continue.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the first year von de Bracht made an effort to continue his monopoly customs free, and Felix Romodanovski, who was in charge of law enforcement, wrote in some perplexity to Peter, now abroad, for instructions as to whether he should renew the monopoly or should turn it over to someone appointed by the administration. Peter retorted in some heat that he did not want to be bothered with such questions, that the order on the subject was quite clear, that von de Bracht was to trade on the same conditions as a new competitor, Orlenok, and, in short, "I am not a little surprised that your boyars did not report this to you; it looks as if there had been some fixing."<sup>7</sup> This reply was of little help to Romodanovski, who protested that he was still left in uncertainty. "I did not write merely to bother you," he said, "but because the foreigner told me to write you . . . , and it seems to us very surprising that you get all excited but do not give us any definite instructions. We have a written order, but it permits Orlenok and the foreigner each to trade for a year for his own account, the second year to be for the account of the Tsar. Orlenok is now trading for the customs office in his first year, and is collecting the Tsar's dues, but when the year is up we will auction off the right to collect them."<sup>8</sup>

The Orlenok here referred to was a merchant named in the license

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Gordon, *Tagebuch* (Aberdeen, 1859), II, 507, entry for February 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*, 1st Series, III, 1570, quoted in *Pis'ma i bumagi Petra Velikago*, hereafter cited as *Pis'ma* (St. Petersburg, 1883-1912), I, Note to No. 215.

<sup>7</sup> *Pis'ma*, I, No. 215. From Amsterdam, December 31, 1697.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, Note to No. 215. Received by Peter March 7, 1698.

Martin Bogdanov, but known in Peter's correspondence as Orlenok. In April, 1697, he had received a permit to act as a sworn agent in charge of the general sale of tobacco on the same terms as those granted to von de Bracht, and was to collect duties on his sales.<sup>9</sup> It is an indication of the increasing value of the business that Orlenok had to pay fifteen thousand rubles for his privilege.<sup>10</sup> As an aid to his administration detailed regulations regarding local sales and the collection of excises were sent to all provincial and local authorities.<sup>11</sup>

Neither von de Bracht nor Orlenok, however, was destined to enjoy his concession for long. In far-off Virginia the planters and merchants had for some time been casting jealous eyes upon the potentially immense Muscovite market and brewing plans for ousting the Dutch, who were the chief beneficiaries of what little trade existed. As early as 1681 Lord Culpepper, at that time governor of the colony of Virginia, had urged that means be found to open up the importation of tobacco into Russia as one way to "revive our drooping spirits," and, with the news of Peter's interest in progress, redoubled efforts were made. In 1697 a petition was drawn up by a number of Virginia and Maryland merchants and growers asking that the King be urged to use his good offices with the Tsar to have the existing prohibitions on the sale and use of tobacco in Russia done away with. They mentioned the "passionate love of tobacco" on the part of the Tsar's subjects and suggested arguments which the King might advance. In the first place, tobacco was a great boon for soldiers, and a cure for fatigue, especially in cold countries, and in the second, the tobacco trade could, under proper management, bring large sums into the Tsar's treasury, as merchants would willingly pay heavy duties on account of the great demand. This memorandum King William ordered sent to his ambassadors for action, "the matter being of the greatest consequence to the trade in England."<sup>12</sup>

When Peter came to Holland on his famous journey, he was met at Utrecht by King William early in September 1697, and the King, doubtless as a result of the prodding by the Virginia and Maryland merchants, at once entered into discussions regarding the possibility of developing a large-scale tobacco commerce,<sup>13</sup> his envoys at the Hague presenting proposals on October 14 for granting to English

<sup>9</sup> *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*, 1st Series, III, Nos. 1580, 1581, cited in *Pis'ma*, I, Note to No. 215. <sup>10</sup> W. Palmer, *op. cit.*, v, 1007. <sup>11</sup> Bogoslovski, *op. cit.*, II, 288.

<sup>12</sup> *First MSS Comm. Reports, MSS of the Most Hon the Marquess of Bath*, III: *The Prior Papers*, pp. 148-155, in C. M. MacInnes, *The Early English Tobacco Trade* (London, 1926), pp. 171-172.

<sup>13</sup> *Bd. of Trade, Virg.* 6, No. 25. *Petition of Merchants of Virginia and Maryland to the King, 10 Aug. 1697*, in C. M. MacInnes, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

merchants the right to import "nicotine weed" into Russia<sup>14</sup> Peter was more than willing to enter into a contract, not only because the introduction of tobacco was a method of "westernizing" Russia, but because the huge sums being spent in Holland and England for the purchase of military and naval stores and for the hire of officers and technicians were exhausting his treasury and he was in urgent need of additional funds. During the course of the negotiations Peter moved on to London, where he carried them on directly with the English and American merchants Le Fort and the other members of his embassy waited breathlessly in the Netherlands for news of the outcome.

When at last word arrived that the contract had been signed, their joy, like Peter's, knew no bounds. "Yesterday," wrote Le Fort, "my associates were in my rooms. By your order we did not open the letter until we had drunk three goblets, then we read it, and drank three more . . . Really, I believe it is a good stroke of business" "Taking account of so profitable and productive a matter," wrote Voznitsyn, "and thanking God, we rejoiced exceedingly, and salute you, our gracious Lord, for your labors. And of this joy, in recognition of our honest friend Ivashka Khmelnitski [the Russian John Barleycorn] we engaged in a bout with him, the like of which will never be known, with much crying of 'Vivat!'"<sup>15</sup>

Equally pleased with Peter and his friends was Peregrine Marquis of Carmarthen, the genial drinking-companion who had been assigned to look after Peter's needs during the Tsar's stay in England. This talented table-companion and story-teller was, according to reports, rewarded by the Tsar for his "obliging conversation" by being made the formal contractor to be recompensed by the tobacco merchants with a commission of five shillings a hogshead.<sup>16</sup>

As for the Dutch, who had been the chief purveyors in the past, they were considerably less pleased. "They complain loudly," wrote Voznitsyn, "and earnestly desire to expel us on this account, and they greatly fear lest the English drive them entirely out of the Moscow market."<sup>17</sup> From Russia, Vinius informed Peter that Orlenok was being very rude, and his agents even more angry, and Orlenok was demanding to know why he had not been taken care of in the contract.<sup>18</sup> Most disappointed of all was the Russia Company, which

<sup>14</sup> *Pam dipl snošení*, VIII, 1049, in Bogoslovski, *op cit*, II, 289

<sup>15</sup> *Pis'ma*, I, Note to No. 229. Both letters March 11, 1698.

<sup>16</sup> John Perry, *State of Muscovy* (London, 1716), p. 167.

<sup>17</sup> *Pis'ma*, I, Note to No. 229. Voznitsyn to Peter, March 11, 1698.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, I, Note to No. 230. Vinius to Peter, April 16, 1698

had originally opened the negotiations but in the end been left in the lurch, its formal request for the privilege having been deftly turned aside by Peter with the bland statement that the Tsar always referred such questions to his Council in Russia, this less than two months before he signed the contract with Carmarthen's group.<sup>19</sup> The ire of the Russia Company and its efforts at revenge upon its fellow-Englishmen enliven much of the later history of the contract.

The reason for Peter's joy is readily apparent, for the sum advanced to him as prepayment of customs dues, upon signature of the contract, was £12,000, about 28,800 rubles, a marked advance over the petty 3,000 rubles and 15,000 rubles of the earlier contracts. The English were to furnish 3,000 hogsheads — a million and a half pounds — of tobacco the first year, and 5,000 the second. After these first two years the contract could be extended at the option of the contractors for an additional five years at the rate of 5,000 hogsheads a year, with permission to increase the rate of import by 1,000 a year, unless someone else should meanwhile offer to ship in more than 6,000 hogsheads or to pay an advance upon customs of £20,000, in which case the present contractors could, if they wished, accept an obligation for 6,000 without paying any new cash advance.

The customs duties, of which the £12,000 was an advance, were fixed at four kopeks a pound. No unusual or additional customs duties or charges were to be made, and the contractors could sell their tobacco "in the states and lands of His Majesty the Tsar" — clauses which were later to be the basis of serious controversies and many harsh words. All tobacco imports outside of the contract were to be forbidden by the Tsar, as was the raising of tobacco in any of his dominions, with the single exception of "the province of Cherkassy," by which the Ukraine was meant, and there only for domestic use. The English contractors and their clerks were allowed complete freedom of religion and of residence and travel in the Tsar's domains. Imports were to be made through Narva, then a Swedish port, and Archangel. "Nicotine boxes," German pipes, and other appurtenances in limited quantities could be imported by the contractors duty-free. For the Tsar's personal use a thousand pounds of "good nicotine" would be provided annually.

Nearly as valuable as the right to import was a clause providing that funds secured through the sale of tobacco could be used for the purchase and export of any goods whatever — a provision which also contained the germs of discord, and had been omitted from the earlier monopolies.

<sup>19</sup> Bogoslovski, *op. cit.*, II, 338

The contract was signed April 16 in the year 7206 according to the official Russian calendar still in force, or 1698 according to the Julian calendar which Peter was shortly to adopt.<sup>20</sup>

In connection with the contract and other matters of commercial interest to England, a Mr. Goodfellow was given by King William a commission as his minister and consul-general at Moscow, dated October 30, 1699, and renewed by Queen Anne in November, 1702, after William's death.<sup>21</sup>

From the very beginning there were difficulties and misunderstandings in carrying out the contract. The English were slow in making shipments and organizing local agencies, so that it was fifteen months before the first tobacco was placed on sale in Moscow. Then, according to the English, even before the outbreak of the Swedish war in 1700 the Russians began to import from abroad, probably from Holland, considerable quantities through Narva and Kantsi (near the site where St. Petersburg was later to be founded), and were selling these outlaw tobaccos openly in Novgorod and Pskov, while at the same time tobacco raised in the Ukraine, which was, according to the contract, to have been sold only in that region, was also being sold to the troops. As the Baltic provinces began to fall into the hands of Russia, a fresh flood of complaints arose, the English claiming that these areas were now being openly supplied by competitors contrary to the terms of the agreement. Such competition was indeed serious, for the bulk of the Russian troops were for a number of years stationed in the Baltic region, and it was chiefly among the officers that the use of tobacco had become popular.

While much of the tobacco sold in the Baltic provinces and smuggled elsewhere in old Russia was Ukrainian-grown, the special ire of the contractors was aroused by learning that the Russians were buying from a competitive English company, doubtless the Russia Company group, headed by Daniel Carroll and importing Virginia tobacco through Archangel. This was done in the years 1703 and 1704, and the tobacco was sold free of customs to officers in the army.<sup>22</sup> Since the original English contractors were selling their tobacco at 35 or 40 kopeks a pound, while Carroll's retailed at 15, there was plenty of inducement for the army to promote this trade, illicit though it was from the English point of view. To add insult to injury, when the contractors sent three or four thousand thalers' worth of their tobacco

<sup>20</sup> The full contract is given in *Pis'ma*, I, No. 234.

<sup>21</sup> *Sbornik imperatorskago istoričeskago obščestva*, further cited as *Sbornik*, St. Petersburg, 1867-, LXVI, 37-38. Townshend to Ward, March 11, 1729.

<sup>22</sup> *Pis'ma*, III, No. 818. Reply to memo by Whitworth.

to Ingria in 1704, the tobacco was confiscated for the benefit of the Tsar's treasury and the Russian agents of the contractors were thrown into jail<sup>23</sup>

From the Russian point of view, however, the English had no case. In the first place, Ingria and the other Baltic provinces, not having been a part of the Tsar's dominions at the time of the signing of the contract, were in no way reserved for the contractors, and in the second place "the essential reason why other tobacco than the company's was imported and sold was that the company's prices were more than double" those of their competitors. As to the smuggling of Ukrainian tobacco into the old provinces, the Russians claimed that it was strictly forbidden by law and had been punished severely in many cases, by confiscation of property and even exile, but that much of this traffic was due to the carelessness of the English themselves, who, they claimed, charged such excessive prices for their tobacco that their agents were obliged to sell smuggled Ukrainian tobacco in order to do any business at all. There had been especially serious abuses in the province of Kazan on the middle and lower Volga, where, according to the Russians, the English were permitted for two years to auction to several towns the right to sell their tobacco locally, but had failed to supervise the sales, so that the canny merchants merely bought a few hogsheads of imported tobacco to place on display, but regularly sold tobacco smuggled in from the Ukraine. A rascal named Vandort was said to have been particularly noteworthy in this respect.<sup>24</sup>

The sale of tobacco in Siberia was also the source of much squabbling. Under the pre-English monopolies the wealthy Stroganov had already interfered seriously with sales on his vast properties,<sup>25</sup> and the agent Orlenok had been accused of depredations and murder.<sup>26</sup> The English were at first unable to set up local sales offices in Siberia and had given to Vinius, the head of the Siberian chancellery in Peter's government, a three-year concession as distributor; the arrangement, however, worked poorly and sales lagged. Peter himself was finally obliged to intervene. "See to the passage of tobacco into Siberia without any interruption or hindrance," he wrote to Vinius, "because the English have refused to take the responsibility for it; and if that business dries up, all the loss will be charged to you."<sup>27</sup>

Further unforeseen difficulties arose from the clauses in the contract providing for free purchase and export of the goods to be bought in Russia by the contractors from the proceeds of their tobacco sales.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, III, No. 787. A memo by Whitworth, with notes.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, III, No. 818

<sup>25</sup> Bogoslovski, *op. cit.*, II, 288.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 393.

<sup>27</sup> *Pis'ma*, I, No. 369. April 8, 1701.



In the first place, concessions for the export of a number of the most important items, such as potash and pitch, had been given to others as monopolies by the Tsar and were thus not available to the tobacco contractors. Then the customs duties to be charged on sales were not clearly specified in the contract, which merely stated that no greater charges should be made against the tobacco contractors than against others. This the English attempted to interpret as complete freedom from dues, while the Russians claimed the right to collect regular dues for the first two years, and thereafter, when the original contract had been abandoned, whatever they wished.<sup>28</sup> As will be seen later, a lengthy litigation ensued on this point.

Nor was dissension limited to disputes between the contractors and the Tsar. The English contractors also found themselves at odds from the first with their fellow-countrymen. At the time the contract was made, all Russian trade was theoretically in the hands of the so-called Russia Company. Legally, the Russia Company was open to the membership of anyone who wished to share in the Russia trade, but, as a matter of fact, it had become a closely limited group which outsiders found it impossible to join. It is quite possible that this was one reason why so much effort was expended in securing the contract. At any rate, those who had made it were rank outsiders, and, as far as the tobacco trade was concerned, the members of the Russia Company were left out in the cold. In vain they claimed that all shipments to Russia must pass through their hands. The contractors objected to paying extortionary shipping charges and insisted on carrying on the trade independently through Dutch and Swedish shippers, even though they too charged heavy fees.<sup>29</sup> As the Russia Company not merely raised an outcry against the tobacco contractors but actively interfered with the import of tobacco, Peter was driven to ask the English government to abolish the Russia Company's monopoly, in a strangely unmercantilistic appeal "for the better increase in both countries of the trade and satisfaction of the subjects . . . , since in the whole world the multiplying and liberation of trade leads to the best condition of the subjects of both lands."<sup>30</sup>

Amid all this bickering, the tobacco trade itself languished and failed to come up to the expectations of either the English and their American friends, or of the Tsar himself. The first year's import of three thousand hogsheads was disposed of with such difficulty that, with Russian permission, the quota for the second year was reduced

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, No 818.

<sup>29</sup> British Mus pamphlet, "The Case of the Contractors with the C'zar of Muscovy for the sole importation of Tobacco into his Dominions, 1700?" in C. M. MacInnes, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>30</sup> *Pis'ma*, I, No. 267. Peter to William III, April 10, 1699.

from five thousand to twenty-five hundred. At the end of the second year there was so much still unsold that the contractors relinquished their contract, as they were permitted to do by its original terms, with the right to continue sales until all their stocks were disposed of. After the forfeiture of the contract, the tobacco company found itself in hot water because the right to dispose of unsold stocks did not carry with it any obligation on the part of the Russians to prevent foreign or local tobacco from entering the market in competition. And after a four-year period of grace in which to unload, the English were suddenly, on December 28, 1704, deprived of the right to make any sales whatever, on the grounds that they had broken their contract. The legal basis for this charge lay in the fact that the authorization for the reduction of the second year's quota and the approval of the cancellation of contract had been torn out of the Russian chancery books, and as no copies had been provided the English, the Tsar's officials were free to claim that the original contract was still in force but had not been carried out by the contractors. Evidence points to the conclusion that Feodor Golovin, who was at the head of the Foreign Chancery until his untimely death in 1706, had given permission to the English to reduce their contract quota on his own responsibility and without getting the consent of the Tsar, either because he was more inclined to liberality — in Amsterdam, during the negotiations, he had written the Tsar to "deal with them gently for the sake of better trade" — or because he had been bribed. At any rate he warned the English envoy, Whitworth, not to mention the reduction to the Tsar if he wanted to avoid trouble. A special order given by the Tsar exempting the company from customs dues was similarly missing. The real reason for stopping the sales was that Peter had decided to make the processing and sale of tobacco a government monopoly, the bulk to be native grown, with a small amount imported from foreign sources.<sup>31</sup> As will be seen later, he was, in fact, negotiating with the Russia Company competitors of the contractors and thus playing off one side against the other.

To protect their interests, the English contractors had sent over post-haste an official ambassador, Charles Whitworth, who arrived in Moscow February 25, 1705, ostensibly to take up general problems concerning British-Russian relations, but, as Feodor Golovin, who soon became Whitworth's trusted friend, stated, with the real purpose of bringing to bear the weight of the English government in favor of the tobacco contractors.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Sbornik*, xxxix, No. 11. Whitworth to Harley, March 7, 1705.

<sup>32</sup> *Pis'ma*, III, No. 860 Golovin to Matveyev.

One of the most serious quarrels with the Russian government arose in connection with exports by the tobacco contractors. During the first two years they received a special permit to ship out free of customs whatever goods were not tied up in monopolies by other exporters, but in 1703 this order was cancelled and all copies of it conveniently lost, the Russians not only began to forbid further exports free of duty, but undertook to charge regular customs on goods already shipped. Meanwhile the English consul, Goodfellow, had given a note for twenty thousand thalers in return for which he was to receive cash with which to pay for potash bought for export. But, instead of receiving the cash, he was told after some time that the money was being applied to the payment of the disputed customs fees. Moreover he sustained, according to his own reckoning, a loss of forty percent in exchange due to the fact that the contract called for payment in rubles, which were considerably cheaper than thalers. This particular dispute dragged on during four years before it was finally dropped by the English on the advice of their envoy. A similar dispute regarding exports arose in connection with a contract made in 1702, permitting Consul Goodfellow to export flax at a fixed customs rate, which was however suddenly raised within two years by ten percent, applicable not only to future exports but to a portion of those already effected. This quarrel ended more favorably for the contractors, for, when it was called to Peter's attention some time later, he ordered the customs to be charged at the old rate as he happened to be eager to do all in his power to secure English help in increasing Baltic commerce.<sup>33</sup>

One of the reasons for Peter's obduracy in most of these conflicts was the failure of the English to assist him properly in his efforts to promote a regular commerce with the western world. In 1704, in an effort to secure the right to continue the sale of tobacco, an employee of the tobacco company had rashly promised to bring two ships to St. Petersburg under public sailing orders by Her Majesty the Queen, for which purpose the Tsar promised to enlarge the docks of the new port. But in the end, due to fear of the Swedish fleet, only one small ship arrived, empty and unannounced, leaving a number of Russian merchants stranded with flax and other goods brought to St. Petersburg at the Tsar's direction.<sup>34</sup>

At this juncture the tobacco contractors became guilty in English eyes of providing a possible means by which the Russians might learn

<sup>33</sup> Memorandum presented by Whitworth and remarks on it, later than March 12, 1705, in *Pis'ma*, III, No. 787, reply to this memorandum, before May 5, 1705, *ibid*, III, No. 818.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, III, No. 818

the secrets of tobacco curing. The first year's imports had been brought into Russia fully cured, but, as sales had lagged, the reduced quota of 1699 had been brought in raw so that it would not spoil so easily. As the Russians had by this time become accustomed to the cured tobacco, there was no sale for the raw leaves; by 1704 a third of the tobacco was still unsold, and fifty thousand pounds' worth was in danger of spoiling unless it could be treated. The contractors accordingly began to look about for a skilled tobacco worker who could go to Russia to process their stocks there.<sup>35</sup>

Fortunately, an English tobacco-worker was found who had gone surety to the Crown for a friend in debt, but, the debt being unpaid, had been forced to flee from England to escape punishment. He and his wife had gone to Narva, and it was there that they were hired for the work in Moscow. Supplies of tools and curing liquors were shipped from England for their use.

Virginia and Maryland merchants as well as the Russia Company, always at odds with the contractors, now entered the picture. Unitedly they protested to the English Board of Trade against the presence in Moscow of these tobacco-workers, through whom, they charged, the Tsar could teach his own people to process tobacco and in the course of time could not merely undercut one of the chief sources of profit in American-grown tobacco by raising and curing his own, but might eventually even supply all Eastern Europe.

In vain the contractors protested that they had merely sent a single workman and his wife with a few tools and a little curing liquor for working up the remnants of the tobacco already in Russia, and that the work would be done in secret and, if necessary, under the direct eye of the English envoy. Their accusers insisted that the amount of machinery sent, which they listed in detail from a customs house manifest, could not be operated with less than a hundred workers, which obviously meant teaching this number of the Tsar's subjects, and that the intention was not merely to dispose of old English stocks, but to work up "Circassian" (Cherkassy — the English constantly confused Circassia and Cherkassy, which is probably the reason for the statement frequently seen that the Russians used large quantities of Turkish leaf) tobacco in large quantities, and so ruin the English and American market.

<sup>35</sup> The documents for this amusing episode, including minutes of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and of the Privy Council, are given in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, iv, 55-63; *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, Series 2, III, 250-258, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, Colonial Series, II, 1680-1720, pp. 487-489. Whitworth, Hedges, and Harley corresponded at length regarding it, *Sbornik*, xxxix, Nos. 17, 23, 35, 36, 38, 40. The following account is from these sources.

In vain, too, the contractors begged that their agents should at least be permitted to work up their own stocks. But the Board secured from Queen Anne an order to Whitworth to send the tobacco-workers out of Russia forthwith on the grounds that their emigration without permit was contrary to English law, and to destroy the machinery and curing liquors. This the doughty envoy proceeded to do without delay, and with the use of strong-arm methods. Sending for the workman, he threatened him with dire punishment and smuggled him and his wife out through Archangel on a false passport. Then, armed with a sledgehammer and accompanied by his secretary, he betook himself to the warehouse where the machinery lay, smashed it to bits, and poured out the liquors.

At any other time such high-handed procedure would have infuriated the irascible Peter, particularly as it was a blow at his cherished project of making Russia self-sufficient by the introduction of foreign methods of manufacture. But, surprisingly enough, he raised not a single objection. Not only that, but he also listened sympathetically to Whitworth's complaint of difficulties in disposing of the left-over stocks of tobacco and agreed to have his agents take it over at a fair price. To his watchdog of the treasury, Kurbatov, who insisted stubbornly that the English had no right to such generous treatment after their failure to fulfil the original contract, the Tsar finally stormed that the English must be satisfied at all costs.

The reason for Peter's conciliatory attitude was, as Whitworth well knew, his desperate need of English support against Charles XII of Sweden. The Great Northern War had proceeded to a point where Charles was about to leave Saxony for a drive across Poland into Russia, and Peter was making desperate efforts to secure English mediation in his favor. Moreover, he was fearful lest the English shipwrights for whom he was negotiating might also be withheld, a rumor to that effect having been circulated by the tobacco agents, and his relief at being assured that they would not be was so great as to make him pass over the loss of his tobacco-workers.

In 1705 Peter decided to do away with the private distribution of tobacco and to carry it on as a state monopoly through the Moscow "burgomasters" (*Ratusha*).<sup>36</sup> The contract made in pursuance of this aim with a new group of English exporters led to a violent quarrel between the new contractors and the old, and also revived the charge that Peter was attempting to steal from England the secrets of tobacco manufacture. Even the Virginia and Maryland merchants

<sup>36</sup> *Sbornik*, xxxix, No. 11. Whitworth to Harley, March 7, 1705.

became involved. The men who signed the new contract were members of the Russia Company, which had from the first been opposed to the earlier agreement from which they had been excluded. It is not clear to what extent the responsible contractors headed by Joseph Martin were at fault in accepting the terms, for when these became known, they declared that it was their agents at Moscow, one of whom was Martin's son, who had made unauthorized promises in their eagerness to secure the Tsar's consent.

The provision of the contract which aroused the furore was an undertaking to bring from England persons capable of drying, cutting, and spinning tobacco. By their help, of course, the Russians would be enabled to learn the "mystery" of tobacco-processing and thus either to pass off their own Ukrainian product as Virginian, or to use it for adulterating imported tobacco.

Word of the new contract not only reached England, whither it was promptly relayed by the outraged agents of the first contractors, who still had on hand a large quantity of unsold tobacco, but also aroused the fears of the Virginia growers, who foresaw a threat to their trade if the Russians should begin to grow and treat their own. They had two solutions to offer — first, that the Queen should order the new contractors to cancel that portion of the agreement in which they promised to furnish tobacco-workers, and second, to urge the Tsar to cease his policy of importing tobacco through a monopoly and to permit freedom of trade in this commodity. At a meeting of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, held in London on February 25, 1706, Mr. Micajah Perry and other Virginia and Maryland merchants presented a petition that the tobacco trade be thrown open. In reply Nathaniel Gould and others of the first contractors presented a counter-petition on March 5 in which they begged for time to sell their old stocks in Russia before the business was opened to competitors, after which, they said, they would have no objections.<sup>37</sup>

In Russia, meanwhile, Whitworth was in fact making earnest efforts to have the tobacco stocks of the first contractors either released for sale or bought by the Tsar, and in October, 1705, he followed the Russian army to Grodno to take up the matter personally with Peter. He approached the question indirectly, first complaining against the sealing of some of his personal effects in the tobacco warehouse in Moscow at the time it was closed by the Russian authorities. Peter wrote to Kurbatov, who was at the time in charge of all matters having to do with internal trade and customs fees, to investigate, but the latter merely replied that at the time of the sealing of the English

<sup>37</sup> *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, from April, 1704 to February, 1708-1709 (London, 1720), p. 233.

consul's warehouse it was not known that the ambassador's provisions were there. Goodfellow, the consul, had been told that the ambassador's servants should remove any such goods, but this the "good-for-nothings" had never done. Kurbatov also took occasion to remind Peter of Whitworth's treatment of the tobacco-working machinery.<sup>38</sup>

With the increasing danger of an invasion of Russia by the Swedes, Peter had become more conciliatory, and he wrote to Kurbatov to offer to take over from the English a part of their left-over stock.<sup>39</sup> However, a month later, on April 3, 1706, Shafirov, who was in charge of Foreign Chancery affairs in Moscow in the absence of Golovin at the front, promised Whitworth that the Tsar would buy all the English tobacco left in Russia, and on the same day Peter himself wrote to Kurbatov to call in Consul Goodfellow and tell him that the Tsar would buy the entire amount. Representatives of both parties should inspect the tobacco, throw out any that was moldy, as well as any Ukrainian tobacco which might have been added, take samples and seal them, and then arrive at a fair price through joint discussions among Whitworth, Goodfellow, Golovin, and Kurbatov. Payment would be made in installments as fast as money was taken in from sales.<sup>40</sup>

Two weeks later, on April 19, Kurbatov replied that in spite of all efforts to close the deal with the English there was a delay because Whitworth was insisting that the entire payment — nearly two hundred thousand rubles — be made within a year and a half. This, Kurbatov asserted, would be extremely difficult to guarantee, since meanwhile a large supply of Ukrainian tobacco had been prepared for the market. He estimated that it would take at least four years to dispose of the entire English surplus stock. Without waiting for a definite decision, the Russians began to take over the English tobacco, part of which was in Moscow and part in Archangel and Vologda. There was still some haggling over the price, the English demanding six rubles a pood for grain tobacco, and the same prices for rolled black and leaf as those fixed in the new contract with Martin. Whitworth also asked a rebate in full of all customs originally paid on this stock. There was thus due, according to his figures, the following amount (altines omitted):

For 35,756 poods (about 1,290,000 lbs.)	135,591 rubles
Rebate on customs duties	55,609 rubles
Total	191,200 rubles

<sup>38</sup> *Pis'ma*, III, No. 940 and Note Peter to Kurbatov, October 6, 1705; Kurbatov to Peter, October 27, 1705. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, No. 1142. From Minsk, March 7, 1706.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, Nos. 1189 and 1191

An equivalent amount of Ukrainian tobacco, Kurbatov claimed, would cost only 17,378 rubles, so that the English tobacco would represent a loss of over 173,000 rubles. Even admitting the need of a small amount of the rubbed tobacco "which the important people prefer to use, but of that sort there is not a large quantity needed," was conciliation of the English so necessary as to justify taking a loss of this magnitude? As to the English claims that the whole tobacco contract had been unprofitable, he noted that more than 55,000 poods had been sold, and even if a low average price of 6 rubles a pood was estimated, this meant a profit of 130,000 rubles at least, besides an equal profit for the goods exported from Russia by contract free of customs.<sup>41</sup>

Kurbatov now raised the question of the payment of internal customs on the English stocks, which he claimed should at the least be charged against the English contractors, but through Golovin's intercession this matter too was settled in favor of the English. By August, Whitworth was able to write to London that the negotiations were successfully completed, and that Goodfellow had gone with a Russian official to turn over to the burgomasters the remaining stocks of tobacco at Archangel and Vologda. Fortunately Golovin, the most Anglophile member of Peter's circle of advisers, had used his influence to push the matter through before his untimely death.<sup>42</sup>

Possibly the good offices of the king of Poland and of the envoys of Denmark and Prussia had also been of some help, Whitworth having approached them some time before, "since it is so much their interest that the queen should be well with the Tsar in the present conjunctures." In any case they assured Whitworth that they had each spoken personally to Peter in his behalf. The chief stumbling block had been Menshikov, the Tsar's favorite, who for purposes of his own was violently opposed to the English company.<sup>43</sup>

One final and most typical difficulty arose through the stubborn suspicion of Kurbatov, who refused to furnish the English with a copy of the agreement, a refusal which Shafirov was careful to explain as due "rather to his lack of politeness and his unusual meticulousness than to evil intentions." But through the intercession of Shafirov, who spoke to Peter about it in Smolensk, the Tsar gave Kurbatov definite instructions to furnish the English envoy with his copy of the conditions of sale of the company tobacco.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, Note to No. 1189.

<sup>42</sup> *Sbornik*, xxxix, Nos 71, 75. Whitworth to Harley, June 26 (July 7) and 7/18 August, 1706.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxix, No. 46. Whitworth to Harley, 17/28 November, 1705, from Grodno

<sup>44</sup> *Pis'ma*, iv, Note to No. 1468. Whitworth to Harley, November 26 (December 7), 1706

*Ibid.*, iv, 348. Whitworth to Harley, December 24 (January 4), 1706 (1707).



During the next years the export of American tobacco to Russia died out entirely. On account of the War of the Spanish Succession, shipments from the American colonies were badly interrupted, and even after the tobacco reached England the war between Sweden and her Baltic neighbors made shipments to Russia practically impossible. John Linton, a Virginia tobacco manufacturer, who made a report to the Board of Trade in 1706 on the tobacco commerce, declared that the Russian trade was ruined <sup>45</sup>

Some of the trade may have been taken over by the Dutch, whose tobacco production in Holland grew by leaps and bounds at the expense of the embargoed Virginians. How much of the Dutch tobacco actually went to Russia is not known, but of the estimated exports in 1707 of 12,350,000 pounds to Baltic ports alone, it is quite possible that a considerable amount found its way into the Tsar's dominions.<sup>46</sup>

Considerably disturbed by this loss in trade, the Privy Council sent orders early in 1707 to the British envoy in Russia, as well as to those in Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, to take all possible steps for the encouragement of the languishing tobacco trade, but with little result.<sup>47</sup> The disputed contract with Martin was dropped, and no new contract made after the Tsar took over the old English stocks.<sup>48</sup>

As late as 1709 the old tobacco contract of 1698 was still the subject of disputes. The Russians were claiming customs payments for the export of Russian goods bought with the proceeds of tobacco sales, and were holding the twenty thousand thalers which the English had advanced in payment for potash. By this time the political position of the Tsar, who had practically won the war with Sweden, was very strong, and the English ambassador was being affronted at every turn. When representatives of the English tobacco company raised the question of the return of their twenty thousand thalers, Whitworth could only advise them that the case had been definitely decided against them, and console them with the thought that their loss in exchange was not forty percent, as they complained, but about fifteen, and that during the five years of litigation they had enjoyed the use of the money and had thus saved in interest a greater sum than they had lost in exchange. The loss in customs dues was, however, final.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Footnote 28: British Public Record Office, C05-1315, Document 16, Correspondence of the Board of Trade, cited by T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, Princeton, 1922, p. 148. <sup>46</sup> Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>47</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, II, 536.

<sup>48</sup> *Pis'ma*, IV, No. 1189. Peter to Kurbatov, April 3, 1706.

<sup>49</sup> *Sbornik*, I, No. 72. Boyle to Whitworth, June 21, 1709. *Ibid.*, I, No. 94. Whitworth to Boyle, 16/27 September, 1709.

A final reflection of the tobacco business appears in Peter's correspondence of the year 1716. In January of that year the Tsar ordered Osip Solovyov in Amsterdam to send him a tobacco-workman with the necessary tools and syrup for preparing fifty thousand pounds of tobacco. He must be under forty, energetic and sober, and was to come on a three-year contract. The purpose of his coming, Peter confided, was to prepare tobacco grown in the Ukraine. It is noteworthy that the Tsar still found it necessary to add that all arrangements must be made in absolute secrecy.<sup>50</sup> The man and his helper were duly hired and brought into Russia via St. Petersburg. Makarov, who reported to the Senate on the event, stated that the workers would process tobacco raised in the Ukraine; he ended on an optimistic note, expressing the hope "that in future there will be no little state income from this source."<sup>51</sup> Shortly after this the Tsar himself wrote to congratulate Vice-Admiral Cruys, who was in charge of the development, for the progress made to date and for his suggestions for further enlargement.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, 45. Peter to Solovyov, January 16, 1716

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, 325. Note on copy of letter Peter to Senate, July 10, 1716

<sup>52</sup> March 3, 1717, *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*, v, 490, reprinted in *Reformy Petra I*, a collection of documents compiled by V. I. Lebedev (Moscow: Sotsekgiz, 1937), p. 14.

## THE RUSSIAN RADICALS OF THE 1860's AND THE PROBLEM OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT,

By FREDERICK CHARLES BARGHOORN

RUSSIAN scholars have long recognized the interest and importance of the Russian intellectual movement of the 1860's. Several excellent books, and many valuable articles, have been devoted to the subject. The agrarian socialism of Chernyshevski, for example, or the nihilism of Pisarev have been fairly well treated <sup>1</sup>

It is surprising that almost no attention has been paid to the reactions of the Russian radicals of the period of great reforms to the problems incident to the development of factory industry. A study of this question can contribute to our understanding of more than one aspect of Russian social thought. It will help to explain the populist socialism of the 1870's, and it will shed light on the problem of the extraordinary receptivity of Russian intellectuals to the ideas of Karl Marx

An anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois attitude developed very early in Russia, and not only among the radicals. Even before the 1820's, Russian writers expressed sympathy for the landless proletariat of England. Sismondi's criticisms of industrialism were widely disseminated <sup>2</sup> Pushkin, for example, in 1833, compared the plight of the English factory workers to that of the Jews under the lash of the Egyptians.<sup>3</sup> But where conservative Russian thought tended to reject the ideas and institutions of the capitalistic and bourgeois West in favor of what were conceived of as purely Russian institutions, the Russian radicals rejected the existing order of both worlds in favor of the utopias sketched out by western radicals.

The Russian radical intelligentsia derived much of its anti-capitalist outlook from wide reading in the works of the French and British Utopian socialists and reformers of the 1820's, 1830's and 1840's. Thus we find evidence of the influence of Lamennais' Catholic socialist doctrines in the 1830's.<sup>4</sup> In 1833, young Alexander Herzen received the ideas of St. Simon as a revelation, as he tells us in his *Past and Thoughts*.<sup>5</sup> By 1843, we read the works of Proudhon, Cabet, Fourier, Louis Blanc were "in all hands."<sup>6</sup> Full of rage at the serfdom and

<sup>1</sup> There is, however, even in Russian no completely satisfactory study of Pisarev's life and thought

<sup>2</sup> M. Tugan-Baranovski, *Russkaja fabrika*, 7th ed. (Moscow, 1938), pp. 229, 230.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Sakulin, *Russkaja literatura i socializm* (Moscow, 1924), pp. 92-107

<sup>5</sup> A. I. Herzen, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenii i pisem* (22 vols., St. Petersburg, 1919), XII, 151, 1820.

<sup>6</sup> Sakulin, *op. cit.*, p. 120

despotism of their own country, the Russian radicals sympathized with the proletarians of the West. Thus it is not surprising that Belinski felt that Louis Blanc's denunciation of bourgeois exploitation in his *Histoire de Dix Ans* had opened his eyes to a new world, nor that the great critic should see in Eugene Sue's *Secrets of Paris* a significant social document of the people's struggle against exploitation.<sup>7</sup> No detailed account of Belinski's economic views can be given; none would be profitable, for the great critic never arrived at a systematic economic outlook. Suffice it to say that he lent the prestige of his name to the dissemination of those anti-capitalist ideas in which, from the 1840's on, the Russian radicals were steeped. In a letter to his friend Botkin, in 1847, while drawing a distinction between the less obnoxious smaller bourgeoisie and the great capitalists then ruling France, Belinski wrote. "Woe unto a state which is in the hands of the capitalists, those people without patriotism, without any elevation of feeling. For these people war or peace signifies only a rise or fall in the market. Beyond that they don't see."<sup>8</sup>

It is easy to find other evidence indicating that the problem of capital *versus* the proletariat bulked large in the minds of thinking Russians from the 1840's on. The gifted young Professor V. A. Milyutin wrote some articles for the *Annals of the Fatherland* in 1847, on the proletariat and pauperism in England and France.<sup>9</sup> The Petrashevski group, of whom many famous Russians were members (among them Saltykov and Dostoyevski) was saturated in the ideas of Proudhon, St. Simon and Fourier. Despite the liquidation of the Petrashevtsy, there was a direct link between their ideas and those of the men of the 1860's. In 1848, N. G. Chernyshevski, then a student at the University of St. Petersburg, became acquainted with the ideas of Fourier through the agency of one of their members.<sup>10</sup>

The intellectual efflorescence which followed the death of Nicholas I was accompanied by an unprecedented freedom of expression. Leaving out of account the very interesting Russian reactions to the then developing Marxist thought, which we shall discuss in the final section of this article, we find that all intellectual leaders took a keen interest in the problems posed by industrialism. In general, the Russian reaction to what was learned about the new capitalism was one of fear, horror, or contempt. Sympathy for the proletariat, as in the 1840's, was accompanied by the keenest antipathy to the bourgeoisie.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 200-202.

<sup>8</sup> Belinski, *Pisma* (3 vols, St. Petersburg, 1914), III, 328-329.

<sup>9</sup> Sakulin, *op cit.*, p 227

<sup>10</sup> N. G. Chernyshevski, *Izbrannye sochineniya* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), pp 75-76 of V. Nevski's biographical introduction.

One finds many articles in the *Contemporary* and the *Russian Word*, the two leading radical journals.<sup>11</sup>

Shelgunov's two articles on the French and English proletariat are among the most important of their kind. The author begins by vigorously criticizing the bourgeois economists who had tried to gloss over the picture of social misery which Engels, on the other hand, presented honestly. The difference between Engels, to whom Shelgunov refers as one of the "best Germans," and his opponents, lies in the fact that, while Engels calls a spade a spade, the conservatives argue not only that the bad is good, but that things must be as they are.<sup>12</sup>

Then follows an account of the mechanization of industry in Britain, and the social conditions which accompanied it. The workers' conditions are terrible. The division of society into two classes, exploiters and exploited, is the "worst ulcer" of contemporary civilization.<sup>13</sup> The worker is a slave, bought and sold like a commodity.<sup>14</sup> In France, continues Shelgunov, conditions are, if anything, worse, as the political system allows the workers less opportunity to defend themselves.<sup>15</sup> Palliatives introduced by the capitalists, such as model housing projects or inexpensive restaurants, do not get at the roots of the trouble.<sup>16</sup>

Shelgunov sees some cause for hope in the trade union movement. He expresses deep admiration for the calm courage and tenacity of the British workers, qualities which make them more formidable than the more volatile French.<sup>17</sup>

Like so many of the Russian writers of the period, Shelgunov was so repelled by the horrors of capitalism that he expressed thanks that Russia had been spared the miseries of proletarianization. In his article, "The Economic Significance of our Towns" (*Russian Word*, July, 1864) he wrote: "The brilliant success of English trade and industry

<sup>11</sup> The journalist N. V. Sokolov, the economist of the *Russian Word*, wrote over a dozen articles on economics, in many of which he touched on the plight of the proletariat. See the article by E. Efimov, "Publicist 60-ch godov, N. V. Sokolov," *Katorga i Ssylka*, 11-12 (84-85), 1931, pp. 60-104; in the *Contemporary* for August and September, 1861, appeared two articles by N. V. Shelgunov, "Raboči proletariat v Anglii i vo Francii," based in part on Engel's book on the working class in England. They are reprinted in *Sochinenii N. V. Shelgunova*, (3d ed., S. P., n. d.), II, 9-130; see also, for example, the two articles by E. Watson, "Vopros ob ulučenii byta rabočich v Germanii," in the *Contemporary*, nos. VIII and IX, 1863, in which the ideas of Lassalle and Schultze-Delitsch are compared, to the advantage of the former. Numerous other articles could be mentioned, some of which will be referred to in the text.

<sup>12</sup> Shelgunov, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111-116.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

keep us from seeing the conditions of the town and village proletariat." And he went on to say that a country was far happier if the majority of its inhabitants had land to till, so that they need not go off to the cities to become proletarians."<sup>18</sup>

The attitude expressed by Shelgunov was shared generally by the radicals of the 'sixties. This was the period when the radicals adopted the anti-capitalist outlook which was henceforth to be an integral part of their philosophy. Thus N. V. Sokolov wrote that capitalistic labor was "intentional murder" of the worker, while the political economy which defended capitalism he called "a doctrine of poverty, slavery, and death."<sup>19</sup>

Through its study of foreign conditions the Russian intelligentsia was being conditioned to oppose capitalism in its own country. Beginning in the 1860's we find concern expressed as to the effects on Russian life of the introduction of a capitalistic economy. A small school of bourgeois economists did grow up as ideological representatives of the growing capitalist class, but there was also a good deal of apprehension as to the results of industrialization. There was even a Government Commission set up in 1859 to plan factory legislation.<sup>20</sup>

The question of the proletariat became one of the subjects of argument between radicals on the one hand, and liberals and conservatives on the other. The former looked to Louis Blanc, to Lassalle, even to Engels and Marx, for arguments and material, while the latter drew heavily on the writings of J. B. Say, Bastiat, and de Molinari.<sup>21</sup>

Typical of the way in which the Russian radicals reacted to the writings of their Western counterparts was the statement by a writer in the *Contemporary* in May, 1861, that the "whole task of contemporary economic thought consists in the liberation of the workers from the Yoke of Capital."<sup>22</sup>

An important contribution to Russian opinion about the proletariat, and now for the first time, the Russian proletariat was the book by N. Flerovski (Bervi), *Položenie rabočego klassa v Rossii* (The Condition of the Working Class in Russia).<sup>23</sup> Before the appearance of

<sup>18</sup> Efimov, *loc cit*, p. 89

<sup>19</sup> Cited by A. Efimov in *Katorga i Ssylka*, No. 11-12 (84-85), p. 77

<sup>20</sup> On this project, and on the economic thought of the period, see Tugan-Baranovskii, *op cit*, pp. 311-318, 421-439.

<sup>21</sup> Thus we find in the *Contemporary* and the *Russian Word* articles by or about Louis Blanc, Engels, Lassalle, while the *Russian Messenger* replied with attacks on Blanc and the German Socialists, and with a series of articles by de Molinari on the labor question.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted by V. Shulgin, in *Istorik-Marksist*, No. 4 (74), p. 173.

<sup>23</sup> St. Petersburg, 1869.

this book, Russian economic thought of all shades had tended to accept the comforting view that the industrial proletariat was a Western European species, and that extreme poverty did not exist in Russia.<sup>24</sup>

Flerovski's book, which elicited warm praise from Karl Marx and exerted great influence on Russian opinion, administered a rude shock to optimists about the Russian social order.<sup>25</sup>

Many Russians, writes our author, have discussed the bad conditions of the laboring classes in England, France, or Belgium, but the fact is that the wages of a Russian factory hand are lower than those of an eighteenth century French laborer.<sup>26</sup> And Flerovski puts it even more strongly when he declares that the fate of the English pauper is "heavenly" in comparison with that of the Russian worker.<sup>27</sup>

Flerovski declares that the industrial workers are worse off than the peasants, even than the peasants on the large private estates.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, reinforcing his anti-industrialist trend, he finds that big industry creates worse conditions than small-scale industry.<sup>29</sup> Typical is his characterization of the role of industry in Russian social life: "Industry, that source of human welfare and happiness, becomes with us a scourge . . . to which cannot be compared either the plague or cholera."<sup>30</sup> It is not surprising that workers flee the machine, to betake themselves to the empty steppe, where productivity is less, but welfare is greater than in the cities.<sup>31</sup>

It is important to note that Flerovski did not criticize industrialism as such so much as the social institutions in which it was enmeshed. He notes, for example, that in England, the most highly industrialized country, the lot of the masses is much better than in Russia. Though his book is unsystematic in the extreme and chaotic in organization, it does convey the idea that proper organization of society can allow for both efficient production and social welfare. This point must be stressed, for it is clear to one who studies Russian economic thought of the '60's that the radicals were groping toward a synthesis of in-

<sup>24</sup> Despite such evidence to the contrary as the Government Commission of 1859, or the article by V. Bezobrazov in *Annals of the Fatherland*, 1864, vol. CLII, on the strikes among Ivanovo textile workers, which were compared to English or French strikes. Cited by A. Reul, *Kapital Karla Marksa v Rossii 1870 ch godov* (Moscow, 1939), p. 20.

<sup>25</sup> On Marx's opinion, see K. Marks i F. Engels, *Sochinenija*, XXIV (Moscow, 1931), 186. pp. 55-58.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 349-352.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 336-346.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 378-402.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 347, 348.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.

dustrialism and socialism — which, as presented by Marx, was eventually to be more fully accepted in Russia than in any other country.

The economic thought of the 1860's was suffused with hatred and contempt for the bourgeoisie, and for the political and economic liberalism elaborated by its intellectual representatives. No one contributed more to this current of thought than Chernyshevski, whose works are shot through with a radical democratic spirit. It was the bourgeoisie as an exploiting class that Chernyshevski attacked<sup>32</sup>

In his articles on the peasant commune, his notes on Mill, and his "Capital and Labor," Chernyshevski sought to blast the intellectual foundations of capitalist economics. Perhaps nowhere did Chernyshevski express this attitude more clearly than in the opening pages of his "Anthropological Principle in Philosophy," where Jules Simon was subjected to merciless criticism as a hypocritical liberal, while John Stuart Mill was regarded as a talented but unoriginal thinker, whose timidity was conditioned by his social position. One can find in Pisarev, too, a similar attitude toward the economically privileged. Thus the famous nihilist heartily approved of Lassalle's advocacy of corporal punishment for bourgeois economists who dared to call the profits made by capitalists a reward for effort.<sup>33</sup> In his "Heinrich Heine," Pisarev wrote scathingly of the plutocrats who had robbed the masses of the fruits of the July Revolution, and severely criticized his favorite poet for associating himself with the "barons of finance" who had erected a plutocracy on the ruins of feudalism. Indeed, in Pisarev's opinion, Heine's tragedy and a source of weakness in his poetry, lay in the fact that he could not break with the bourgeois world. In contrast to the attitude of Heine, Pisarev praised the single-mindedness in devotion to social ideals of Blanc, Proudhon, Lassalle.<sup>34</sup>

How did the Russian radicals propose to safeguard their own country from capitalist industrialization, with its proletariat and bourgeoisie? Three "ways out" suggested themselves; in each of which the problem of the proletariat played a part. Capitalism could be evaded, or modified, or destroyed. At some risk of oversimplification, one may speak of these three strains of thought as Fourierist, Saint Simonian, and Marxian. Some or all of the writers who dealt with economic problems were highly eclectic in their borrowings from the West; and yet these rubrics serve as convenient labels.

<sup>32</sup> As in his "Borba partii vo Francii pri Ljudovike XVIII i Karle X."

<sup>33</sup> *Sočinenija D. I. Pisareva*, Second ed. (6 volumes in 2, St. Petersburg, 1897), v, 150

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 280-310; Lassalle enjoyed great popularity in Russia in the 1860's. Zaitsev, a collaborator of Pisarev on the *Russian Word*, translated some of his works in 1865.



The hope of escaping the evils of capitalism by the setting up of ideal communities was of course not a new thread in Russian social thought. M. V. Butashevich-Petrashovski, for example, had experimented along this line with his own serfs — who had burned the model dwellings in which he had hoped they would live. In the 1860's N. G. Chernyshevski hoped to solve the industrial problem by a combination of suggestions culled from Fourier and Louis Blanc. Despite his realistic spirit in pointing out the evils of capitalism Chernyshevski did not get further than this on the positive side. In his article, "Capital and Labor," he suggested that cooperative production would be far more conducive to social welfare than production under private property. He elaborated a scheme for the creation of associations of from 1,500 to 2,000 members, who should be subsidized by Government, and should carry on both industry and agriculture. The plan would succeed because incentives would be greater than under the existing system. Moreover, it was more just than the system under wage-labor, in which the hired worker was an economic slave. In regard to the last point, it is interesting to note that Chernyshevski arrived at a position rather similar to Marx's "surplus value" doctrine.<sup>35</sup>

Chernyshevski devoted much attention to the question in his famous and enormously influential novel, *What is to be Done*, written in prison in 1863 and published in the *Contemporary*. Vera Pavlovna, the heroine, opens a cooperative sewing shop where working girls can earn their living and at the same time escape capitalistic exploitation. Soon the venture is so prosperous that she can withdraw her own services. The girls set up a network of enterprises, which they operate successfully — there are, of course, a communal dining hall, and other features of mutual aid. In Vera Pavlovna's "dreams," of which there are four, Chernyshevski expounded his ideals of social reorganizations. Most interesting is the last, in which the deserts of Central Asia have blossomed as a paradise of modern technological civilization, based on glass, aluminum, and electricity.

Chernyshevski devoted some attention to the industrial problems in his notes on Mill. Here, as elsewhere, he declared for the principle of association. Under the capitalist system work was unpleasant. This would be so until wage labor was abolished. But Chernyshevski did not here reject large scale production. The instruments of production must become the property of collectives. Economic evolution leads to the principle of association.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii N. G. Chernyshevskogo* (12 volumes in 6, St. Petersburg, 1905-1906); VI, 46-50.

<sup>36</sup> Chernyshevski, *op. cit.*, VII, 70-76; 180-190, 322, 361-362, 539.

Agriculture, rather than industry, occupied the foreground of Chernyshevski's economic thought. While we cannot deal here with his propaganda in favor of communal as against individual peasant property, it will not be out of place to point out that the arguments which he employed against agricultural capitalism were relevant to the industrial sphere also. In his "Critique of the Philosophical Prejudices Against Communal Possession of the Land," Chernyshevski sought to refute the argument of economists that as private property had replaced Communal possession in Western Europe, so it must in Russia. Russia could skip capitalism, and proceed to socialism, Chernyshevski argued, by way of the Mir.<sup>37</sup>

Salvation, then, according to Chernyshevski, might be found in the principle of association. The prescription offered by Flerovski was somewhat similar. The economic order under which the products of a factory belonged to the capitalists, was, he declared, harmful in the extreme. Flerovski, like Chernyshevski, advocated worker control of production, but under conditions more favorable to the capitalists than Chernyshevski would have allowed.

The workers were to receive all the profits of industry, but the capitalists were to be guaranteed 15 per cent on their investment. The reward of the workers was to be considered a return for their predominant role in production; that of the capitalists was merely a sort of insurance premium for keeping an enterprise going. In case of the failure of an enterprise, the capitalist was to be held responsible. An interesting point is the argument that the hardest and most unpleasant work, which under the existing system was most poorly paid, should receive the highest rewards. There was no danger that this scheme would drive capital out of the country. Capital can always be had if there exist resources and knowledge. He referred in this connection to the Puritans who created prosperity by dint of energy and knowledge, though not equipped at the start with capital.<sup>38</sup>

Flerovski's book exerted great influence. Together with Lavrov's "Historical Letters," it sounded a call to the intelligentsia to help the unfortunate masses.<sup>39</sup> Unlike Chernyshevski, Flerovski had high hopes of persuading the upper classes to take the lead in alleviating the miseries of the workers and peasants. He spoke thus as a typical representative of the intelligentsia, realizing that the welfare of the whole country depended on the conditions of the masses. As he stated

<sup>37</sup> Chernyshevski, *op. cit.*, iv, 304-333

<sup>38</sup> Flerovski, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-295.

<sup>39</sup> "The youth was moved to the depth of its soul" O. V. Aptekman in *N. V. Bervi-Flerovski*, quoted in *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, No. 2 (1932), p. 55.

in his preface, a vigorous demand for professional men, such as economists or agronomists, could only develop when the capitalists ceased to depend on low wages to maintain their power.

Pisarev may be selected as a representative of the Saint Simonian trend in Russian thought on the problems of the proletariat. In his economic views Pisarev oscillated between a vaguely conceived socialism and a much more concrete enlightened capitalism, the latter was dominant. Pisarev's most ambitious economic work was his "Origins of Culture."<sup>40</sup> Here his principal source was the American economist Henry Charles Carey — as can be seen from a comparison of Pisarev's work with Carey's *Miscellaneous Works*.<sup>41</sup> Both authors advocate a "harmony" of industry and agriculture. Both are severely critical of commercial and financial, but not of industrial, capitalism. The two great curses of humanity are war and trade, which so often leads to war. There is a vigorous attack on industrial and commercial concentration, which is typified by Great Britain holding the agricultural countries of the world in economic subjection. It is necessary to create a society in which local industries, in many small centers, will work up the products of local agriculture

In his most famous series of articles, "The Realists" (1864) Pisarev again places economic problems in the foreground by stating that Russia's chief problems are two — poverty and ignorance. Borrowing an expression from Fourier, he declares that society is in a vicious circle in which poverty causes ignorance, which in turn creates poverty.<sup>42</sup> The only way out lay in an "economy of intellectual forces," a concentration of all possible effort on increasing the intellectual capital of the country. For in Pisarev's scheme of things the chief aids to human betterment were science and technology. These were to be applied by enlightened industrialists. Science and technology were to replace art and philosophy as the major concerns of intellectual life, and the bases of education.

The dominance of the capitalist in the economic process was historically rooted, and inevitable. "But this dominance can be harmful or useful to the people. Give him (the capitalist) a full, well grounded humane education, and this same capitalist will become, not a benevolent philanthropist, but an intelligent . . . director of the people's labor, i.e., such a man as is a hundred times more useful than a philanthropist."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> "Zaroždenie kul'tury," originally published in the *Russian Word*, in 1863 as "očerki po istorii truda." See *Sočinenija Pisareva*, vol. II, pp. 503-608.

<sup>41</sup> Philadelphia, 1872.

<sup>42</sup> *Sočinenija*, IV, pp. 3-5.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, IV, p. 132

It must be stressed that Pisarev opposed exploitation as bitterly as any of the writers of the period. He drew a sharp distinction between productive and unproductive activity. Only a productive, entrepreneurial type of capitalism met with his approval. The possession of capital imposed an obligation to serve society: "A worker, possessing capital, may allow himself a luxury unattainable by the pure capitalist; he may risk his capital out of love for his ideal; for example, he may spend it on scientific experiments or on learned expeditions, or on the application to life of his humanitarian theories."<sup>44</sup>

In "Motives of Russian Drama," Pisarev envisages a future when "the young agriculturalist will establish his economy on a European footing; then the young capitalist will introduce those factories which we need, and will establish them in a manner which the interests of master and worker demand."<sup>45</sup>

Pisarev was typical of the Russian intellectuals of his day in his extraordinary receptivity to radical influences emanating from Western Europe. It is not surprising to find in his economic thought a socialist variant on the dominant industrialist strain. We have mentioned his respectful references to Blanc and Lassalle in his article on Heine. His works contain numerous references to the radical movement of the Western proletariat. Thus in one article ("School and Life") he refers to the labor problem as the question upon the solution to which rests the future of Europe, and predicts that Russia, which has been spared the problem so far, cannot forever evade it. Russia must begin to study the question, so as to find ways of avoiding the fate of the West.<sup>46</sup>

In the same passage, Pisarev wrote: If [the labor question] will be settled not by any philanthropists or guardians, but only by the workers themselves, when to their . . . practical sense and industry is joined a clear understanding of human relationships and the ability to raise themselves above the level of personal observations to general conclusions and broad reasoning."

Perhaps even more interesting than the utopianism of Chernyshevski or the reformism of Pisarev was the incipient Marxism of Pisarev's colleague on the *Russian Word*, P. N. Tkachev. Tkachev, who in December, 1865, in a bibliographical article in the *Russian Word*, declared himself an adherent of Marx, went further than any other writer of his day toward at least two basic Marxian positions — not only did he expound the doctrine of economic determinism, but he,

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, p. 237.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 305.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 578-579.

more than any of his predecessors, made the idea of class struggle a pivotal feature of his economic philosophy.<sup>47</sup>

In 1869, Tkachev translated a work by the German economist Ernst Becker on the labor question. The book, it is interesting to note, contained as supplements a Proudhonian project for a people's bank and the Constitution of the International Working Men's Association. In his preface to Becker's book, Tkachev set forth his own theories of social science as applied to the question of the proletariat.

Both the dogmatic conservative school, which simply reported facts and accepted them as ordained, and the idealistic oppositionists, who criticized the existing order in the name of abstract justice, Tkachev dismissed as outmoded. A critical school had arisen, which asked why what should be, was not, in the sphere of social organization.<sup>48</sup> In the struggle between the upholders of the *status quo*, and its critics, conditions favored the latter, for the irrationality of existing social principles was patent.

Tkachev then proceeded to explain that a new principle furnished a foundation to both the positive and negative arguments of the opponents of the established order. According to this theory, the forms of social life depended upon the basic pattern of economic life — economics determine the social, political, even the moral order. All of these relations were in the last analysis dependent upon the relations of labor to production.<sup>49</sup>

It is interesting to note that the conception of ideology as dependent upon economic factors, at which Tkachev arrives here, and elsewhere — as in his unpublished "Sketches of the History of Rationalism" (for which see *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, No 7-8 (1933) — was rather similar to the one expressed by Chernyshevski in his important article, "The Anthropological Principle in Philosophy." Chernyshevski writes: "Political theories and philosophic doctrines in general have always been elaborated under the powerful influence of the social situations to which they relate, and every philosopher has been the representative of the political party . . . to which he belonged."<sup>50</sup> But Chernyshevski remained an "idealist" to a much larger extent than Tkachev, for in the article mentioned, he expressed confidence that once the common people became acquainted with the doctrines of

<sup>47</sup> For Tkachev's works see: P. N. Tkachev, *Isbrannye sochinenija*, ed B. P. Kozmin, vol 1 (1865-1869), Moscow, etc., 1932, with a long critical introduction by Kozmin. We do not seek to enroll Tkachev in a "society of ancient Marxists," of course. As Kozmin shows in his introduction, and in his *P. N. Tkachev* (Moscow, 1922), Tkachev's ideas differed in many ways from those of Marx.

<sup>48</sup> *Isbrannye sochinenija*, I, pp 403-404.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>50</sup> Chernyshevski, *op cit.*, VI, p. 182.

modern science, new principles would triumph in the social life of Western Europe.<sup>51</sup>

In the preface to Becker's book, Tkachev set forth his view on solutions to the problem of the proletariat. Like his predecessors, he declares for the principle of association, but he makes it perfectly clear that he understands this principle very differently from other Russian writers of the time. Under the existing system, labor is enslaved to capital, and the elements which do the least work in society are the most privileged. A solution to this question is possible only when the person of the worker coincides with that of the entrepreneur — in a word, when the workers become the owners of industry.<sup>52</sup>

But how is this new situation to be realized? In answering this question, Tkachev goes well beyond his predecessors. He ridicules Becker's suggestion that producers' associations of the workers can be set up with state aid. Before the state can begin reforms in the interest of labor, the workers must get control of the state. The capitalists must be eliminated from all spheres, as an utterly useless and harmful class.

Thus Tkachev here carried to its logical conclusion a trend of thought which was becoming constantly stronger in the 1860's. The question of the proletariat could be solved only when the workers themselves should control industry. For it is important to note that Tkachev was not an isolated figure. While his predecessors did not arrive at a synthesis of industrialism and socialism, their writings often emphasized the growing strength of the Western proletariat, and tended to create the feeling that here was a class which might soon be expected to play a great historical role. Keen interest was taken in the Western European labor movement. Thus Shelgunov in 1861 described the great South Wales Miners' strike of 1844 in detail, and expressed hope that in the future the workers would know how to defend their interests. The proletariat had become a powerful force, conscious of its strength. Moreover, a theoretical solution to its problems had been worked out, and justice was on its side in its struggle with capital. The workers, hinted Shelgunov, would bring about a complete change in economic life, despite the fact that governments would side with the capitalists in opposition to them.<sup>53</sup>

E. Watson, in his articles on the German proletariat in the *Contemporary*, took a similar position. He expounded the views of Lassalle, and showed how superior was the program of the socialist to

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>52</sup> *Izbrannye sochinenija*, I, pp. 405, 406

<sup>53</sup> Shelgunov, *op cit.*, pp. 116, 117, 125-128

that of the reformer Schultze-Delitsch. The program of Schultze-Delitsch could help only the independent craftsman, but Lassalle's was designed for the evergrowing factory proletariat.<sup>54</sup>

Pisarev, after 1864, partially altered his St. Simonian orientation. As we have noted he came around (in 1865), to the position that the labor question would have to be solved by the workers themselves. Like many other Russian radicals, Pisarev was following events in the West, which indicated that the workers as a class were beginning to play an active role. For example, in his "Historical Ideas of Auguste Comte," Pisarev unfavorably contrasted the rights of labor in France, where the Paris cabmen's strike of 1865 was hampered by the law against public meetings, with the situation in England under greater freedom.<sup>55</sup>

It has even been asserted that Pisarev read Marx's *Capital*, and desired to popularize it.<sup>56</sup>

It is clear that even in the 1860's Russians were working out a radical solution to the question of proletariat *versus* bourgeoisie. It is not surprising in view of all this, that after the failure of the agrarian socialist movement of the 1870's, an important section of the intelligentsia was to see in the Russian proletariat just then arriving on the social scene, the principal agent of revolution.

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<sup>54</sup> See *Contemporary*, No. ix (1863), pp. 282-291.

<sup>55</sup> *Sočinenija Pisareva*, v, p. 440.

<sup>56</sup> See T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia* (2 vols., London, 1919), II, 64. No convincing evidence supports this assertion, but it is interesting that Pisarev describes the effects of the great explorations of the sixteenth century, and of the Copernican Revolution, in language almost identical with that of Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*. See *Sočinenija Pisareva*, v, p. 470.

## SIBERIAN NATIVE PEOPLES AFTER THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

By ELENA VARNECK

THE official count of all non-Russian natives of Siberia stood in 1911 at 2,212,100. They ranged all the way from roaming, hunting and fishing tribes having no written language and numbering less than a thousand individuals to the numerous Kirghiz, Yakuts, and Buriats who were ramified into sub-tribes, and possessed tribal self-government and codes of law even under the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

The intentions of the Provisional Government with regard to all non-Russians in the country were, of course, thoroughly democratic and equalitarian. Beyond such intentions, however, the Provisional Government, harassed with life-and-death problems as it was, left the initiative and the work to others. The active championship of the non-Russian nationalities' new rights was taken up by themselves, by Russian political parties and, in Siberia, largely by the Siberian autonomists — or, to use the Russian term, regionalists.

The inception of these regionalists goes back to a small circle, *Nezavisimost Sibiri* (Siberia's Independence) in 1865. It included such future great figures of Siberia's science and humanitarianism as Potanin, Yadrintsev and Shashkov. The circle was suppressed for alleged "separatism," but the ideas lived on, and after February, 1917, were revived as projects for an autonomous Siberia in a Russian federation. Furthermore, the revolution, through a series of causes, brought the regionalists into close political partnership with the several trends of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party. This party, emphasizing as it did the rights and needs of the rural populations, became the natural champion of the native tribes and drew much of its following in the civil war from among them. In the case of the Yakuts, for instance, it is even difficult, with the few available sources, to judge as to the degree in which Russian "S.R.'s" or native Yakuts were active promoters of the Yakut national progressive movement.

One grievance in particular bound the natives and the regionalists together: both claimed, apparently with good grounds, that all the Russian governments — Imperial, Provisional, and Soviet — regarded Siberia only as a colony to be exploited by "the center." Education all realized to be the foremost, crying need, and the regionalists, preparing to be Siberia's government, faced with cheerful readiness the colossal task of working out alphabets and manuals for the many diverse nationalities who never possessed any. In the first

<sup>1</sup> I. I. Serebrennikov, *Sibirevedenie* (Harbin 1920), pp 52-66



year, since revolutionary conditions made it extremely difficult to print and to procure supplies, the schooling of natives was to go on in Russian, but in a liberal spirit favoring native cultures.<sup>2</sup>

Difficulties arose at once. Economic inequalities within tribes afforded Bolsheviks the chance of driving cleaving wedges between the "classes" thus hampering if not preventing united national movements.

It must be stated that Socialist-Revolutionists as well as the Bolsheviks were well aware of the existence in certain tribes of exploitation of native masses by their own "rich men," and of the fact that the latter were determined to shape post-revolutionary developments in their favor if they possibly could.<sup>3</sup> The most tremendous obstacle, however, was the strife between native and Russian settlers. Since most of the latter were peasant farmers, it was out of the question for the regionalists and the "S.R.'s" to settle such disputes by simple land seizures as had been done with the estates of noble or merchant landlords in European Russia. Crown lands in Siberia were seized by both the natives and the Russians, but this often gave rise to new disagreements.

On the whole, however, the building of a new life by native nationalities progressed throughout the short period between the fall of the monarchy and the time when civil war in Siberia reached the stage where all constructive activities ceased. Regionalists, "S.R.'s," and natives agreed in most cases to make the future All-Russian Constituent Assembly the ultimate judge of disputes. In the meantime, the regionalists prepared to convoke a Congress of Siberian nationalities and already organized a "Council of Nationalities" of native representatives. The Siberian Regional Duma, like the Constituent Assembly in Petrograd, was dispersed by the Bolsheviks before it could begin practical work, because it was predominantly Socialist-Revolutionist in membership. This Regional Duma planned to create a separate Ministry of Native People's Affairs. In this, each tribe numbering thirty thousand or more, was to have one representative; smaller but kindred tribes were to form elective units of not less than thirty thousand and elect one representative jointly. Representatives were to serve in staggered five-year terms and might be recalled at any time by their constituents.

Economic and social conditions, political aspirations and cultural

<sup>2</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, weekly organ of Siberian regionalists in Petrograd. The above questions and all issues regarding Siberian native tribes are reported and discussed in every issue through January-April, 1918, after which the newspaper was suppressed.

<sup>3</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, April 7, 1918, article on *Yakutia*.

levels differed greatly among these many peoples toward whom the regionalists took this generally benevolent attitude. It will be convenient to discuss these peoples separately, after a glance at the situation of some of the smaller tribes

Little primitive and thoroughly intimidated nationalities suffered much hardship with the coming of the revolution, through the scarcity of supplies due to disorganized distribution, raids of bandits who called themselves government agents, and the like. The Karagasy, a tribe of a few hundred roaming hunters in the Saian mountains forest which had been until the revolution a government preserve, were in November, 1917, set upon by an armed band who rounded them up and carried off all of the furs the Karagasy had accumulated in that autumn season. The robbers called themselves government agents but omitted to tell the Karagasy—gentle, frightened people who understood no Russian and had nothing but those furs to barter for their provisions and their hunting supplies—what they were to do without them through the unmerciful Siberian winter in the taiga forest. Some sort of protection and relief was all that these natives aspired for, by way of their “self-determination”<sup>4</sup>

On June 17, 1917, the Provisional Government granted to Siberia the zemstvo institutions which had done so well in European Russia but had been denied to many of the outlying provinces. In some parts of Siberia, among others the Narym region, it was proposed that Russians and non-Russian natives should participate in the same zemstvo units. At a congress of Russian and native delegates some of the most urgent measures were discussed, such as medical help to the native Ostyaks and Samoyeds, the regulating of the burdensome postal team driving duty, and others. But the elected delegates of the natives were diffident: these novel institutions, the zemstvos, might take new advantage of the natives, the delegates feared, they might claim more of their hunting and grazing lands; they might want to change their age-old ways of life; they might make the Ostyaks and Samoyed pay new taxes. In short, the natives wanted first of all a firm guaranty of the few privileges left in their possession before they embarked on new ventures. With much patient arguing, some of these fears were overcome and some useful work started—until civil war interrupted it.<sup>5</sup>

In remote Kamchatka, where schools and some other improvements had first been given the natives in 1909, “these first sprouts of culture had to suffice a long time after” the revolution. The February—

<sup>4</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, March 27, 1918.

<sup>5</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, March 10, March 30, 1918.

March revolution brought attempts and beginnings at local self-government by small districts. There was considerable anti-Russian agitation among the native tribes, and some pro-Japanese moves. Those who favored American orientation, in this region where the natives sometimes learned English from American traders before they learned any Russian, spread rumors that Kamchatka was already ceded to the United States of America. At one time the forcible or voluntary withdrawal of all Russian officials from the extreme northeast reached a point where exactly one teacher and one medical assistant remained on the whole Chukotka peninsula, by way of Russian administration. The native tribes of Kamchatka and adjacent continental regions saw very much misery before the political turmoil subsided in 1923, and the gradual sovietization of those regions was an extremely interesting process, rather different from what happened in less remote parts.<sup>6</sup>

With regard to the many small and defenseless tribes like those mentioned above, the Siberian regionalists favored a project of creating preserves somewhat along the lines of American-Indian reservations and of the Danish administration of Greenland where natives are protected against alcohol, infectious diseases and commercial exploitation. The same project provided a slightly varied form of protection for other tribes, also weak and backward but more numerous and showing a lesser tendency to dying out, as for instance the Tungus, Chukchi, Goldy, Shliak, Koriak and others. In the territories assigned to their exclusive use, measures were to be taken as promptly as possible for replenishing the stocks of wild life and fish by which these peoples lived and which they did not decimate nearly as rapidly as did the outside hunters and fishers with their modern methods.<sup>7</sup>

BURIATS. Matters stood very different with those Asiatic peoples whose numbers, national cohesion and culture made it possible for them to have their own, more or less educated and persistent spokesmen and for their masses to feel confident of their rights.

The Buriats — a nationality very closely akin to the Mongols in race, language and religion, began with varying fortune to claim their rights in religious and self-government matters, long before the revolution.

When the February–March revolution came in 1917, the Buriats attached no exaggerated importance to the Provisional Government's

<sup>6</sup> I. I. Gapanovich, *Rossija v severo-vostočnoj Azii*, part 1, 37 ff, 149 ff; Purin, A. A. "V dni revoljucii v Ochotsko-Kamčatskom i Čukotsko-Anadyrskom krae," in *Volnaja Sibir* (Prague, 1927), no. 2 and 1928, no. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Volnaja Sibir* (Petrograd 1918), April 3 and 7.

good intentions, but modestly and practically went for such things as could be achieved immediately. Thus in some districts where previous laws had forced the semi-nomadic Buriat cattle-breeders to live as members of Russian peasant communities, they now hastily picked up their belongings and went to join the unmixed Buriat communities, sometimes long distances away. So great was their haste that in some places they refused to wait long enough to receive their share from the liquidation of certain government and communal property, leaving it all to the Russians. A "National Buriat Duma" or assembly, was soon organized. It was entrusted with all of the Buriat educational work and with the entire judiciary for the Buriats save a few exceptions. Altogether, the Buriats seemed to have expected their Duma to be not merely a legislative but to a large extent an administrative body as well.<sup>8</sup>

As in all other non-Russian provinces, the Buriat territories faced harassing problems of land division between Russians and non-Russians. Passions ran high. In some places, Russian peasants violently seized Buriat grazing and arable lands, killed a number of resisters, plundered and burned a Lamait monastery. The Buriats patiently wrote a complaint to Chita. And, to the authorities' questions, the Russian peasants replied:

We won't recognize this land as a non-Russian, it's the people's. People must own it, not Buriats.<sup>9</sup>

YAKUTS. A Turkic people, who displaced the native Tungus, Lamut, Yukagir and others from their present north-Siberian territory of about 1,457,070 square miles in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Yakuts now number about 300,000. Their country has scarcely any roads besides its numerous waterways, and they are cattle breeders or primitive soil tillers. But records tend to show that the Yakuts are the most wide-awake and enterprising nationality of Siberia. As long as thirty years before the revolution, ambitious Yakut youths began coming to universities in European Russia, although their nation paid a hard price for their education. Even the most prosperous among them, by Yakut standards, could have but little money to keep them in a capital city; and poverty allied with unfamiliar climate decimated them to such an extent that death and education became closely connected in the minds of the Yakut folk at home.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Volnaja Sibir* (Petrograd), March 23, 1918.

<sup>9</sup> I. I. Serebrennikov, *Moi Vospominaniia* (Tientsin, 1937), I, 250-251.

<sup>10</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, 1918, April 7; I. I. Serebrennikov, *Sibirevedenie* (Harbin, 1920), pp. 23, 59, *Boišaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija*, LXV, 499.

When revolution came, the Yakuts had, comparatively speaking, an imposing number of their own intellectuals and leaders. Among the Russian political exiles in Yakutsk, the capital, there were very few Social-Democrats, and those soon left, so that early revolutionary organization proceeded in close cooperation with Socialist-Revolutionists. For this and other reasons, sovietization of Yakutia was achieved later than that of other parts of Siberia, and after considerable reverses.

As elsewhere, upon receipt of the first news of the February-March revolution, local government officials were replaced by a spontaneously formed Public Safety Committee. But unlike other such committees, the one at Yakutsk was largely of native Yakut composition.

Largely attended meetings were held, resolutions were passed in the Yakut language, and on March 25 a regional congress convened to consider the following main points of a Yakut national program:

1. Preparations for the election of Yakut delegates to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly
2. Statutes and estimates for a Yakut zemstvo self-government.
3. Determining the population's duties and rights with respect to the clergy, police and some other institutions previously existing in the land.
4. Changes in the laws formerly applying to "non-Russian populations of the Empire."
5. Judiciary reform.
6. Measures for coping with the provisioning crisis which did not spare even such remote lands as Yakutia.
7. Popular education.
8. Equalization of land holding.
9. Developing better solidarity among the Yakut people.
10. Road building.
11. Medical service.
12. Agricultural expert assistance to the population.
13. Combating the homebrew, gambling and other social evils.<sup>11</sup>

It is easy to see why the congress, although it was in session from March 26 to April 16, 1917, failed to give due attention to every point. As an outgrowth of the congress, however, there emerged the progressive league, "Freedom," which continued the work, strongly favoring native Yakuts for public posts, in preference to Russians.

The league favored a federation of autonomous units for Siberia, within an all-Russian federated state, all on a strictly democratic basis. Broad development of cooperatives, both producers' and consumers', was also envisioned, to counteract and ultimately eradicate the great economic inequality among Yakuts.

In the schools, Yakut was to be the language of instruction as soon as suitable textbooks and equipment were available. A native alphabet — adapted from Latin and Cyrillic characters — and a first reader, had been worked out before by the linguist V. M. Ionov, who

<sup>11</sup> *Volnaya Sibir*, 1918, April 7.

presently relinquished his rights to this work to make it public property.<sup>12</sup> Adult education, as well as "measures to protect memorials of antiquity and natural beauty" were not forgotten.

Indeed, so preoccupied was the first Yakut congress with educational matters that practically its whole attention was given to them until the usual spring disruption of frozen waterways threatened to cut the delegates off from their homes, and they dispersed hastily before any projects were worked out in the domain of labor relations, use of land and so forth.

In the summer of 1917 a "Yakut labor-federalist league" evolved, and replaced the "Freedom" league. Its program was modeled on that of the Russian *Trudoviki*, the moderate Socialist labor party of pre-October Russia.

While this work went on in Yakutsk, young intellectuals made the rounds of the countryside, telling the population of the whole country about the reforms and projects, dispelling false rumors, struggling against the efforts of the *toyons*, or rich men, to preserve the old economic order. The claim of the *toyons* was that, being themselves Yakuts, they had an equal right in organizing the new life of their country.

At the next national Yakut congress, in September, 1917, Yakuts and Russian Socialist-Revolutionists agreed on a combined electoral ticket for the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. The following editorial by a native Yakut writer appeared in the *Yakutsky Golos*.<sup>13</sup>

It is our duty to justify the confidence which revolutionary Russia placed in us, in our development of extensive public work and self-help . . . The Yakut masses, deprived of enlightenment, are inert and devoted to the customs and teaching of their forefathers, made sacred through the hoary legends handed down from father to son. . . . We see absolute necessity of obtaining help from and cooperating with the best among our Russian population. We see the salvation of our people not in narrow national segregation but in a cultural reunion with the great, brotherly Russian people which, by the mighty force of its thought, propels us on the path of the ultimate ideals of humanity. . . . Nor can we pass in silence over the stern sentence passed on us by historical science, that we shall inevitably die out. We do not believe this, we cannot and must not believe it . . . Possibly, twenty years ago the words of the great Yadrintsev were correct, that the spirits of Siberia's non-Russian natives remain depressed; that deep melancholy pervades them and they lack confidence in the present or hope in the future. But today, when in our native land, the great democratic Russia, a call has sounded for new

<sup>12</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, loc. cit.; *Bolšaja Sovetskaja Enciklopediĭa*, XLV, 507, XXIX, 107.

<sup>13</sup> Date not given. Quoted in *Volnaja Sibir*, 1918, April 10

life, we too have conceived an ardent faith in our present and hope for a bright future. And so, let us go to work and ahead!

Yakut delegates to the Siberian Regionalist Congress at Tomsk in December 1917 supported the Regionalist program of an autonomous Siberia within a Russian federation. But political clouds were heavy over the nascent All-Russian Constituent Assembly, and, together with the Regionalists, the Yakuts also voted that in case the Constituent Assembly failed to function, a special organ should be created, attached to the Siberian Provisional Government created by the Regionalists: it was to be a joint council of fairly apportioned representatives of the different native peoples of Siberia, a Siberian Constituent Assembly was to be convoked, and the regional commissars sent by the Provisional government should be withdrawn.

The Bolsheviks, gaining control of the Yakut country in early 1918, overthrew these projects; and while the Regionalists temporarily regained their sway during the subsequent White victories in Siberia, the native nationalities' plans had to remain in eclipse for the duration of the civil war.

ALTAIANS. With respect to the non-Russian natives of the Altai Mountains and valleys of southern Siberia it is much more true than it is with respect to other Siberian nationalities that definition of racial, linguistic, and religious groups composing that population must necessarily be somewhat artificial and inexact, as there had been much transmigration of Turkic and Mongoloid tribes in that part of the world, with consequent intermarriage and borrowing of languages. For the purposes of this account it might be most interesting to select the thirty-odd thousand of the so-called White Kalmyks and the Telengit tribe, an Ural-Altaic ethnic group, formerly entirely nomadic cattle breeders in the process of gradually adopting agriculture as an auxiliary means of existence, under the pressure of Russian colonization which deprived them of their lands.<sup>14</sup>

The literature on these Altaians tends to give the impression of a people poetic, unpractical and unwarlike. Until the beginning of this century, they were polytheistic and under the sway of greedy shamans. But in 1900 some unusual phenomena in the snow-capped summits dominating their country were taken as omens of the return of the legendary Khan Oirot, who for centuries had remained in hiding and was now once again to make all his peoples, all the *Altai-kizhi*, great and free from foreign domination. An intense, though peaceful revival swept the Altai land, was harshly suppressed by the

<sup>14</sup> D. Klemenz, "Naselenie Sibiri," in *Sibir, ee sovremennoe sostojanie i ee nuždy* (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 58-60.

Imperial administration, but left its seeds to germinate, in the form of a new religion. This was in part worship of the Oirot Khan, in part teachings brought in by migrant Mongol lamas who seemingly tried to capitalize on the Altai disturbances for the benefit of Mongolian influence.

The Altaians had a tender, real love for their Oirot Khan, and he dominated their dreams and their simple songs. He was to protect them from Russian authorities, from rapacious traders, uncomprehending missionaries, usurping peasant settlers. He was all benevolence, wisdom and splendor. And the Altaians themselves were an extremely poor tribe, with a few locally "rich" men, a few scarcely educated priests, teachers and artists among them, and no alphabet of their own.

When the revolutionary movement of 1905 further awakened the component peoples of the Empire, the Altaians wanted a representative of their own to go to the new State Duma. But as none of their chosen men could speak Russian none could go. The following resolution was then passed by a local congress at Yabagan, on January 20, 1906: "At the present time all tribes in our fatherland strive greatly for enlightenment, so as to live more easily and comfortably. We native nomads, understand our extreme backwardness in schooling among the other peoples of Russia; and in this we see the main hindrance to our betterment, so greatly needed, in legal and economic matters."<sup>15</sup>

The ensuing reactionary period deadened all hopes again. But as soon as the first reports heralded the fall of the autocracy in February–March, 1917, a call for organization and union went out from the leaders to every distant clan settlement in the Altai. Again the movement was not without connection with Mongolia whose lamas sent in letters proclaiming the coming to the Altai country of eminent leaders from Mongolia. But the lamas failed to gain predominant influence.

In March and July, 1917, great native congresses were held, working in harmony with the "People's Assembly" held in Tomsk in May. This was a spontaneous assembly of local Russian and non-Russian delegates from the four million population of Tomsk gubernia, under the leading influence of Siberian Regionalists and members of the Socialist-Revolutionist party. It may be remarked in this place that Communist writers, in emphasizing the "S.R.'s" efforts to promote

<sup>15</sup> L. P. Mamet, *Ovrotija* (Moscow, 1930), p. 43. Those data concerning the Altaians, not specifically referred to other sources, are taken from this writer, apparently a native Altaian.



their Party among the Siberians, often omit the mention of one very tangible factor in this situation. Namely, since Siberia's intellectual stratum consisted mainly of political exiles, and since on the other hand the peasant cooperative associations needed intellectuals to help organize and manage them; and since Social-Democrat exiles, Bolshevik and others, preferred to apply their efforts among the industrial rather than the rural populations, Socialist-Revolutionists could be found in key positions in many of the producers' and consumers' cooperatives which before the war came to be a very potent economic factor in Siberia. Such "cooperators" as they were called in Siberia, naturally acquired a leading voice in many matters, whether or not they were, in addition, members of any political party.

The Tomsk Assembly passed the following resolution, among many others: "The Altai natives, on account of their separate culture, customs and ways of life, and on account of the peculiar geographical, ethnic and soil conditions of their territory, must be granted full opportunity for self-determination and of creating their self-government."

The Altaians soon thereafter formed their own supreme administrative organ, the Altai Mountain Duma. One of its first acts was to collect among the Altaian natives a fund of 136,000 rubles for the immediate purchase of prime necessities and organizing of outside sales of local produce, to give relief to natives already threatened by famine through the prevailing crisis.<sup>16</sup> The work of the Duma for the future of the Altaian people was planned along the following chief aims:

1. A free, republican administration, abolishing restrictions against the movement of Altaian cattle breeders from place to place as their yearly needs require.

2. Free use to Altaians of the fruits, animal and underground wealth of the former crown lands in their territory.

3. Development of schools.

4. Russian settlers to remain on the lands apportioned to them originally, without extending their holdings. In case of such settlers' leaving the Altai territory, their holdings to revert to Altai natives.

5. All land leases to be annulled. All land to be used on a communal basis. No underground wealth to be mined without the consent of the Mountain Duma.

6. When local zemstvos are formed, Russian settlers may, if they so desire, stay within Altai native communities as their members. But no new Russian settlers should come to the territory at least until the opening of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

<sup>16</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, 1918, January 14.

Requisite funds for the maintenance of the Altaian Mountain Duma were expected to be obtained from the following sources: The Altaian zemstvos were to be granted all the moneys from the tolls formerly collected by the crown for the through driving of cattle on the Chuisky highway that connects Altai with Mongolian territory; and the Duma should also receive fifty per cent of all the money that the crown had collected from leases paid by Altaians on lands which, from immemorial ages, had been their own. Money from this latter source was particularly intended for educational work.

From its very first steps, however, the Altaian Mountain Duma was hampered by the same animosity and counter-claims between Altai natives and Russian settlers which embittered relations in other parts of Siberia. Russian settlers in the Altai were among the oldest. They had all the conviction of second and third generation settlers so far as their right to their land was concerned that pioneers' descendants have in all countries.

Owing in part to this great difficulty of dividing land between Altaians and Russians, and partly for reasons of sentiment and of personal ambitions, a strong tendency for secession existed among the members of the Altai Mountain Duma. It must be remembered in this connection that there were secessionists even among the Russian Siberian regionalists — increasingly so since Bolshevism continued to assert its sway. Leading Altaians thought of themselves as heads of a future independent Altai, or Oirot state to use the ancient name, to be formed jointly with part of the Minusinsk district populated by the same ethnic stock and with Uriankhai, the land of the Mongoloid Soyots who later, under the Soviets, became the Tannu-Tuva Republic. To the rank and file of Altaians, this secession plan answered their fond dreams of renaissance under the great Oirot Khan. This plan, however, received support only from its promoters in the Altai Mountain Duma, and thus never became a tangible project.

The Altai Mountain Duma sent a delegation to the Barnaul Land Committee — one of the Land Committees established by the Provisional government throughout Russia to help adjust agrarian disputes. The delegation, headed by Gurkin, the native Altaian painter and patriot, went to Biisk with full confidence. Wasn't their Altai — the whole territory to which they laid claim and which had been their fatherland since times immemorial — only a small scrap of land in the immense map of Russia?

But they left Barnaul disillusioned and offended: the Land Committee, while approving heartily all of the Altaians' initiative in cultural, educational matters and self-government projects, absolutely

refused to consider their separation from Russia. They must content themselves with regional and local self-government along the lines of zemstvos in the rest of the country.

Unfortunately, this was not the limit of the reverses suffered by Altaian patriots. In the zemstvo boards, they had to face, not the enlightened, progressive Siberian Regionalists, but the rank and file of Siberian Russian pioneers — dour, grasping and conservative merchants and farmers.<sup>17</sup> They met the Altaians with suspicion even with respect to curtailed autonomy schemes, not to speak of secession. And the Altaian leaders in January, 1918, resigned their mandates and lodged the following protest with the Biisk zemstvo.

Your inclination has been to prevent any sort of separate arrangements by non-Russians. But fortunately you have not the slightest right to do so. So long as you have declared yourselves to be free citizens of a free country and claim all kinds of social and democratic privileges, what right have you to hinder the self-determination of a population of seventy-five thousand? Your desires are clear: you want, as a dominant nation, again to enslave a small people and dictate your conditions. You have no such right in a free country. We have done all we possibly could to work harmoniously with you for progress and civilization, but you did not accept our effort. We do not wish to wait through new postponements and procrastinations, and we shall introduce our autonomous new region as an accomplished fact.

The Altai leaders thereupon called a local Altai constituent congress and appealed to the smaller district (volost) zemstvos, referring to the Biisk gubernia zemstvo in these words: "They forgot, in pursuit of narrowly selfish aims, that in a free country there exists a free slogan, 'self-determination.' They endeavor to return to the ways of Stolypin and Plehve."

This assertion of independence solved nothing in practice. The Altaian-Russian strife continued throughout the civil war and after, and was a factor in the changing war luck between Reds and Whites.

But to come back to early 1918. Two months after the dispersal by the Bolsheviks of the all-Russian Constituent Assembly and a month after a similar dispersal of the Siberian Regional Duma at Tomsk, the Altai Mountain Congress was declared open by the artist Gurkin as president of the Altai Mountain Duma. He used the following

<sup>17</sup> These traits, along with other characteristics of the Siberian settlers, are described in many works on Siberia. Cf. D. Klemenč, *op. cit.*, p. 53; N. M. Yadrntsev, *Sibir kak kolonija* (St. Petersburg, 1882), second edition entitled *Sibir v geografičeskom, etnografičeskom i istoričeskom otnošenijach* — a fundamental work by Siberia's outstanding scholar. P. Golovachev, *Sibir. Priroda, ljudi, žizn* (Moscow, 1902).

words: "With God's blessing, and the blessing of our sky-blue Altai, I declare the Constituent Assembly of Mountain Altai open."

The congress took place in the village Ulala — now the capital of Autonomous Oiroitia — after an impressive popular manifestation in the street. Altai and Russian peasant delegates were included in the assembly. Many Russian organizations and non-Russian tribal and national formations, from all ends of Siberia sent greetings to the "Altai-kizhi."

At its final session on March 12, 1918, the Congress adopted an "Instruction for the commission on the affairs of the Oirot Republic." The commission was to prepare for the opening of a "Constituent *Kurultai* of peoples who had been in olden times parts of the Oirot State." The exact boundaries in the north and west of the Oirot Republic, adjacent to Russian Siberia, were to be defined through a plebiscite in the frontier villages. The administration was to consist of a regional council formed through a congress of democratically elected deputies, one from each thousand voters. A "national guard" also was to be organized. A very detailed instruction was worked out and adopted to regulate the use of land and forests, individual, co-operative and communal units of land holding, schools and religious organizations — a very liberal program which contained, in a faint outline, even possibilities of a compromise between the rival claims of Altaians and Russians.

But already the Bolsheviks held sway in Siberia as in Russia, the Whites and the agents of foreign intervention were working secretly to undermine the Bolsheviks, and no room remained for constructive work. Western and southwestern Siberia became one of the most active and turbulent regions in the conflict.

THE KIRGHIZ. Only a minority of the total Kirghiz population, about 1,225,000 live in southern Siberia,<sup>18</sup> the rest dwelling or moving from pasture to pasture in Turkestan, western China, Afghanistan and northern India.

With respect to the Kirghiz, the difficulty of describing self-determination attempts in 1917 is even greater than in the case of other peoples. Literature on the subject is abundant for the pre-revolutionary period as well as for the years following establishment of Soviet rule. On the period between the February-March and the October revolutions, on the other hand, it is scarce and rather narrow, being written mostly from the Siberian Regionalist or from the Socialist-Revolutionist standpoint. By Soviet writers, it is usually glossed over

<sup>18</sup> I. I. Serebrennikov, *Sibirevedenie*, p. 57

in a line or two, or enlarged upon to show the utter futility and incorrect class basis of the 1917 self-determination movements.<sup>19</sup>

In the case of the Kirghiz, it is difficult for Russian writers of any camp to claim sympathies. The Kirghiz are one of the most freedom-loving and indomitable nationalities in Asia. To make only one brief reference to history between the beginning of this century and the Revolution, it is enough to read the story of the Kirghiz revolt of 1916 against the Imperial government — one of the most desperate, stubborn and bloody revolts of minorities in that period. The outside world, being busy with a World War at the time, heard little about it. But the Kirghiz population, as a result of it, diminished by almost one-third through violent deaths, starvation and flight into Chinese Turkestan.<sup>20</sup>

One feels justified in assuming that, interpretations to the contrary notwithstanding, none of the several Kirghiz independence groups in 1917 had any sympathy for any of the Russian parties. As one Regionalist writer frankly states. "The emergence of the new National Party of the Kirghiz, the 'Alash-Orda,' is due to the fact that no program of any existing Russian Party contains answers to the specific Kirghiz problems."<sup>21</sup> Russian parties, nevertheless, took under their wings those of the Kirghiz groups which seemed closest to them. The Alash-Orda was befriended by the Regionalists, Socialist-Revolutionists, and subsequently by the Whites, but gave satisfaction to none when the civil war developed. During its early existence in 1917, its program was thus outlined in the Regionalist organ:

So far as Russia's political structure is concerned, the Alash advocates a federated democratic republic including territorial and national autonomy for the Kirghiz. The Alash completely rejects individual ownership of the soil and believes that land within the Kirghiz autonomous territory should be managed by clan communities on a general basis of equalitarian use by clan members. Pastures should be free to all Kirghiz.

<sup>19</sup> Several studies of great interest have been published by Joseph Castagné: *Le Turkestan depuis la révolution russe (1917-1921)*, Paris, 1922; *Les basmatchis* (Paris, 1925), "Le bolchevisme et l'Islam," *Revue du monde musulman* (Paris, 1922); LI VII-XVII and 1-254, *Les Musulmans et la politique des Soviets en Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1925). They do not cover Siberia, and they speak of the destinies of the Kirghiz people mainly as part of the history of Turkestan and Central Asia and of the history of Moslem reactions to the advent of Communism as a world force. In this vast field Castagné's contribution is indispensable.

<sup>20</sup> "Vostanie 1916 goda v srednei Azii," *Krasny Archiv* (1929), XXIV, 39-94. This contains excerpts from the diary of General Kuropatkin, who was sent to the revolted territory to take charge and gave a good account of the revolt and its implications, "Iz istorii borby za osvoboždenie Vostoka," by T. Ryskulov, a Soviet writer of Kirghiz origin, in *Novy Vostok*, 1924, no. 6; "K istorii vosstaniia Kirghiz v 1916 g.," *Krasny Archiv* (1926), XVI, 53-75.

<sup>21</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, 1918, January 14.

Until the Kirghiz themselves have completed their new plan of land management, further colonization of their territories by non-Kirghiz settlers should be discontinued. In the judiciary domain, the Alash resolved that existing Russian laws were not acceptable to the Kirghiz, and required complete judiciary autonomy for them.<sup>22</sup>

The Alash Orda<sup>23</sup> held congresses, organized a militia force and published a newspaper, *Ish Kuz*, or "Kirghiz Life." It set up a Provisional Governing Committee of twenty-five members including fifteen from the Kasak-Kirghiz and ten from other nationalities inhabiting Kirghiz territories. The Committee was presided over by an energetic leader, Bukeikhanov, and had its seat at Semipalatinsk. It must have asserted the rights of the Kirghiz much more forcefully and successfully than did other national formations in Siberia, for instead of the Kirghiz being on the defensive, three hundred thousand Russian peasant farmers in the Kirghiz country addressed a complaint to the Siberian Regional Duma, asking for protection of their rights against the Kirghiz.<sup>23</sup>

The chronicler who supplied information about the all-Kirghiz congress held at Orenburg on August 3-8, 1917, does not mention whether it was convoked by some one Kirghiz party or was an all-national affair. It included representatives from Kirghiz inhabiting the former Imperial provinces of Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai (southern and western Siberia), the Ural Cossack region (directly north of the Caspian Sea), Semireche, Syr-Daria, Ferghana (Turkistan) and Bukei Orda, that is, Kirghiz-populated territories which, under the later Soviet administration, went partly to the Kirghiz and Tadzhik and partly to the Kasak Autonomous Soviet Republics. The congress "advocated territorial-national autonomy of the Kirghiz country, nationalization of the schools, emancipation of the women."<sup>24</sup> The congress also intended to "unite all those favoring national regeneration into a Kirghiz political Party." It is possible to presume, however, that this was the beginning of the Alash-Orda.

Under the date of March 7, 1918, the same chronicler<sup>25</sup> recorded the "Establishment of the Kirghiz Party *Ush-Djur*, of Soviet orientation," without further details.

Whatever the true causes, the fact is that the Alash-Orda, despite its socialistic plank refuting private ownership of land and its advocacy of a federation of autonomous units in place of the Russian

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>23</sup> *Volnaja Sibir*, 1918, March 20

<sup>24</sup> Maksakov i Turunov, Ed., *Chronika grazhdanskoi voyny v Sibiri*, p. 40

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*

Empire, categorically opposed Bolshevism. There is hardly any reason to doubt that the Alash, like many other minority organizations, confidently hoped for the success of the democratic and socialistic opposition to the Whites, as a means of achieving also the national aspirations of the Kirghiz, to which Bolshevism did not appear favorable. Bukeikhanov and the Alash-Orda joined the Socialist-Revolutionist camp at a time when the chances of this camp's gaining a victory over the Bolsheviks and counter-revolutionary Whites looked very promising.<sup>26</sup> But, like many other groups, the Alash thereby also joined the foreign interventionists in Siberia. Certainly, those Kirghiz interests which made it impossible to accept any Russian political party platform, also made a Kirghiz-White alliance unsatisfactory. "Defeat of Kolchak and Dutov and the advance of the Red army" forced the Alash-Orda "to change fronts."<sup>27</sup>

But peace between the Kirghiz and the Soviet government was still some years in the future. The Kirghiz, or Kasakh, people presented perhaps the hardest of the problems in the formation of the Soviet Union, so far as organization of its component states was concerned. As late as 1932 matters were not yet settled.<sup>28</sup>

**BASHKIRS.** Although geographically speaking the Bashkirs are not Siberians, as they dwell just west of Siberia's boundary, their revolutionary history has been closely connected with Siberian developments in 1917 and later. The Bashkirs, a sister-nationality of the European Hungarians, inhabit the Ural mountain and steppe region east of the Volga and Kama rivers. Originally Shamanic polytheists, the Bashkirs were turned into Mohammedanism by the Tatars of the Golden Horde in the fourteenth century. But they did not fuse with their conquerors. The Tatars remained to a great extent the privileged class in the Bashkir land, for in addition to their aggressive religion, the Tatars are more commercially-minded and more enterprising than the gentle Bashkir cattle raisers and soil tillers.

Among Russia's subject nationalities, the Tatars of Crimea, Caucasus and the Volga, were not much given to liberation movements and thus were always a welcome element in the army, in which they often reached officer ranks, even the highest. When the February-March revolution came and the Bashkirs, like most other minorities, experienced a great popular surge toward settling the agrarian and national wrongs of the past, they faced, right in their midst, the Tatar element which had no use for separate Bashkir self-determina-

<sup>26</sup> G. K. Guins, *Sibir sojuzniki i Kolčak*, 1, 209.

<sup>27</sup> *Bol'saja sovet'skaja enciklopedija*, xxx, 595-597.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 598.

tion, favored rather an all-Russian league of Mohammedan peoples. remained under the sway of the mullahs and later sided often with the Whites.

Among the Bashkir themselves, there was not much differentiation of social and economic classes, and it was not difficult therefore for all Bashkirs to line up behind their few intellectuals who qualified as leaders. Soviet writers describe these leaders as petty-bourgeois and working intellectuals

The agrarian program which Bashkir delegates presented to the Ufa Gubernia Peasant Congress in the spring of 1917 stated <sup>29</sup> "We Bashkirs do not agree with socialization of the land as resolved upon by this Congress, nor with nationalization as advocated by democrats. Not only must we keep our soil, but all the land, forest and waters that had been seized from us through deceit or violence in former times must also be returned to us."

But no decisions more exact than the above were passed at the time.

On May 10, 1917, an All-Russian Moslem Congress opened in Moscow. It was rather a radical departure for a congress which included so many conservative and clerical Moslems, to have adopted an agrarian resolution calling for all government, crown, monastery and private estates to "go over into the hands of the people; laws allowing private ownership of land, its sale and purchase, to be annulled." But the Moslem leaders' ideas on national self-determination of the component Moslem peoples differed among themselves. Most of them favored a cultural-national autonomy for all Moslems in Russia — a rather vague desideratum, considering the great differences of race, language, geography and customs between the Moslem peoples. But even with this vague platform, the fifty Bashkir delegates disagreed. So far as Bashkiria's two million people were concerned, they declared, the agrarian question must remain open until the Bashkir Congress scheduled for July 1, 1917.

This Congress met at Ufa. It considered, among other things, administrative methods for an autonomous Bashkiria, organization of an armed force, the stand to take toward war with Germany, problems regarding women. National autonomy for Bashkiria was declared to be a prerequisite to the solution of all these problems. District self-governments like the Russian zemstvos were favored. With regard to the war, the "no annexations, no indemnities" formula was

<sup>29</sup> M. L. Murtazin, *Baškiriya i baškirskie voiska v graždanskiju voynu*, p. 52. All of the material in this account of the Bashkir movement unless otherwise indicated, is taken from this account by a Soviet writer of Bashkir nationality.



favored. Women in autonomous Bashkiria were to be given equal rights with men, including voting and electoral privileges, and cultural and educational work among women was to be given especial attention. A national Bashkir treasury would be founded from sums belonging to individual Bashkirs but deposited previously in various non-Bashkir establishments. A Central Bashkir Council (*Shuro*) of thirteen members was organized, to carry on the work along the lines of these decisions, after the closing of the Congress.

This Council accounted for its work to the second Bashkir Congress on August 25 at Ufa. This Congress resolved to prepare for elections of Bashkir delegates to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly on a separate Bashkir ticket and for a formal declaration of Bashkir autonomy *before* the All-Russian Constituent Assembly convened. This somewhat simple artifice was supposed to remedy the involuntary neglect by the Provisional government of questions concerning Bashkir autonomy and to forestall the possible negative stand toward it of the Constituent Assembly.

The Bashkir nationalists saw themselves obliged, however, to resort to this formal declaration as soon as the Bolshevik revolution of October–November came, in order to take advantage of the Soviet government's declaration of the right of all nationalities for self-determination.

An all-Bashkir Kurultai, or constituent assembly, opened at Orenburg on December 8, 1917. It lacked unity. A nationalist group, including Bashkirs from different strata of the population, emphasized territorial independence and return to the Bashkirs of their ancestral lands, giving little attention to political questions concerning the whole of the Russian Republic. A second group, consisting mainly of soldiers returned from the war fronts and of some working intellectuals, favored a Bolshevik orientation. The third group represented the interests and views of the Tatar commercial class, city intelligentsia, the mullahs and the Tatar officers in the Russian army. It favored no Bashkir claims distinct from those of all other Moslems. The glamorous ideals of Pan-Turanianism and Pan-Islamism were to them far more important. The maximum concession they would allow the Bashkirs was the formation of the *Idel-Ural* or Volga-Ural State comprising all lands peopled by Bashkirs, Volga and Sibir Tatars, Meshcheriaks and northern Kirghiz. Although a number of Bashkirs were won over to the *Idel-Ural* idea, it never progressed far.

On the land question, the Kurultai seemed to have been willing to compromise, as one of its resolutions said: "All those dwelling on the territory of the Bashkir Republic, without distinction of religion or

nationality, may use land, forest and waters equally with the Bashkirs.

The executive organ which was to continue the work of the Kurultai, called the *Kise-Kurultai*, issued a declaration that Bashkirs must and will remain aloof from the Red-White struggle which was spreading with every day, and from the "ridiculous" contentions of all the Russian political parties, and remain only Bashkirs.

The Bashkirs were not the only ones to make such a declaration at the beginning of the Russian civil war, and, like the others, they found out that this was impossible to realize. A period of confusion and splitting followed, during which a majority fraction of Bashkir leaders, together with a talented military leader, Zaki Validov, at the head of the Bashkir armed force, took the side of the Socialist-Revolutionist anti-Bolshevik government which formed at Samara (the "Komuch" so-called). But the Komuch existed only on the strength of Czechoslovak bayonets, and when the Czechoslovaks went on eastward to continue the conquest of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the Komuch dissolved the same day, and all who sided with it had the choice of joining either the Omsk government or the Bolsheviks. For about two months an intermediate Socialistic government, the Ufa Directorate, still existed, without much chances of survival. But when Kolchak came to power, the Bashkir force of Zaki Validov joined the Kolchak army, — only to become disappointed shortly afterwards and join the Reds. Zaki Validov ultimately fled abroad, being unable to stand either White or Red dictatorship. As for the other Bashkirs, only a small number remained with the White army through all its vicissitudes and then emigrated abroad; the majority were left to wait for such autonomy as the Soviet Union was later willing to give them.

During the famine of 1921 the Bashkirs were decimated worse than any other population in Russia. The population of the Autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic in 1926 was still at a considerably lower figure than in 1913.

The plans and destinies of the Siberian minorities thus show, despite their individual differences, certain lines which all of them, whether willingly or not, followed after March 1917. An interpretation of the meaning of these general lines, besides being a matter of individual judgment, would undoubtedly require a thorough comparison of those early plans and the actual state of affairs in the respective autonomous soviet republics of today.

## SOVIET PUBLIC FINANCES ON THE EVE OF THE WAR

By A. J. GRAJDANZEV

INFORMATION on Soviet public finances after the start of the war is scant. However, the Union budget approved by the Supreme Soviet in its session of February 26–March 1, 1941, gives us a clue as to how the financing of the present war would be met. As it will be seen later on, the budget approved in that session is actually a war-time budget.

First of all, one is impressed with the rapid growth of Soviet revenues and expenditures. In the table that follows figures quoted are those of the realized budgets except for 1941 which represent estimates.

### THE GROWTH OF THE SOVIET BUDGET

Unit—one billion rubles

	Revenue	Expenditures
1933	44.2	39.9
1934	55.0	52.5
1935	71.7	70.6
1936	88.5	86.7
1937	104.1	103.1
1938	127.4	124.0
1939*	156.0	155.4
1940*	178.1	173.2
1941	216.8	215.3

\* Preliminary results

As this table shows, revenues and expenditures have increased five times over in eight years (assuming that the estimates for 1941 have been realized). This rapid growth cannot be ascribed to the rise of prices (see the discussion of prices below), though a certain rise of prices during the period under consideration undoubtedly has taken place.

The division of the expenditures of the Soviet Union among the most important groups in the last two years can be seen from the following table.

## EXPENDITURES OF THE SOVIET UNION

	1940 realized	1941 estimates	1941 percentages
	billion rubles		
National Economy	57.1	72.9	33.8
Social Services			
(Education, Health, etc)	41.7	47.8	22.2
Defense	56.1	70.7	32.9
Apparatus of the government, incl courts, etc	6.8	7.1	3.3
Loan service	2.8	3.4	1.6
Others	8.8	13.5	6.2
Total	173.3	215.4	100.0

This table suggests that, in spite of the rapid growth of defense expenditures (see below), the first place has been occupied by expenditures for the national economy, i.e., chiefly for investments in new construction and subsidies to enterprises working at a loss. This is quite natural for a country where economic activity is directed by the state and where a rapid construction of new enterprises has been taking place.

However, a certain shift in the character of expenditures has taken place, so that expenditures on the national economy occupy now a smaller part of the total than before, as may be seen from the following table:

CHANGES OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EXPENDITURES  
OF THE SOVIET BUDGET

In billion rubles

	Defense	National Economy	Social Services (Education, Health, etc)
1933	2.4	23.9	5.8
1934	5.0	33.4	8.1
1935	8.2	35.3	13.1
1936	14.8	42.0	20.4
1937	17.5	43.0	26.6
1938	27.0	51.8	35.3
1939	40.8	59.1	38.6
1940	57.0	57.1	42.9
1941	70.8	72.9	47.8

The same as percentages of the total:

	Defense	National Economy	Social Services (Education, Health, etc)
1933	6.0	59.9	14.5
1934	9.5	63.6	15.4
1935	11.6	49.9	18.6
1936	17.1	48.7	23.5
1937	17.0	41.7	25.8
1938	20.6	39.5	26.7
1939	26.2	38.0	24.8
1940	32.9	33.0	24.8
1941	32.9	33.8	22.2

According to this table, the defense expenditures grew from 2.4 billion rubles in 1933 to 70.8 billion rubles in 1941 — a growth of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  times in eight years. It should be emphasized that the actual growth was less striking (1) because of the rise of prices and (2) because prior to 1936 many services to the Army were charged less than full price or even no price at all, so that figures before 1935 and after 1935 are not strictly comparable. However, the rise of prices is not so important for this case as some persons would believe. It is true that retail prices in the Soviet Union before the war were rather high if one compares them with the American prices, using the official rate of exchange. Butter, for example, cost 40 cents a pound in New York, while in Moscow it cost about 25 rubles per pound or about 5 American dollars — twelve times as much as in the United States.<sup>1</sup> According to this reasoning the 70.8 billion rubles to be spent on defense in 1941 represent no more than 1,180 million American dollars — quite a modest sum in our era of astronomical figures.

However, one should not use retail prices in this case, because the Soviet Army and Navy do not buy at retail prices: the prices which are charged the Army and Navy are quite different from retail prices and are very near to the American prices if we use the official rate of exchange. In so far as we have only casual data on such prices, we may approach the problem from quite a different angle.

The average annual wages in the Soviet Union in 1941 were expected to be about 4,000 rubles, so that 70.8 billion rubles on the defense budget represents annual wages of about 18 million workers. The average wages in the Soviet Union include the salaries of the administrative personnel, as well as the salaries of the directors of the enterprises. In the United States the corresponding sum required would be probably about 26 billion dollars. However, two qualifying circumstances should be taken into consideration. First, the productivity of American workers is on the average almost twice that of the productivity of Soviet workers. Of course, it is easy to find examples where the per capita production in the United States is three times or maybe even five times more — such examples may be found in the Soviet economic literature in sufficient numbers. But it is also possible to find many professions and occupations where the productivity of the Russians is as high as that of the Americans. On the other hand, the personnel of the Army and Navy of the United States draws relatively high pay as compared with not only

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: as a matter of fact, the official exchange rate of 5 rubles to the dollar is totally misleading as to the ruble's current purchasing power which, in terms of comparable merchandise, amounted in 1937 to some 7 American cents, and has decreased since.

the rank and file of the Soviet Army, but also with the Soviet officers of corresponding ranks. All this brings us to the conclusions that the Soviet 70.8 billion dollars correspond in American conditions to 13–15 billion dollars, probably nearer to 15 billion dollars. Thus we come to the conclusion that in our case the official rate of exchange (5 rubles per American dollar) corresponds more closely to the actual state of affairs.

If this is true, it is clear then that the expenditures of the Soviet Union for defense purposes on the eve of the war with Germany have been as heavy as the expenditures of those countries which took active part in the war.

It should be mentioned also that expenditures for defense are included under many other headings of state expenditures (military industry, some kinds of education, etc.) and under expenditures of organizations which have their own budgets (collective farm defense centres, some expenditures of the trade unions, etc.), but we shall not attempt to trace them here.

From the table given above it is also clear that the expenditures on the national economy grew from 23.9 billion rubles in 1933 to 72.9 billions — an increase of more than 300 per cent; but *relatively* their importance has been falling since 1934 — from 63.6 per cent of the total in 1934 to 33.8 per cent in 1941. This relative decline was due to the rapid growth of defense expenditures and to the growth of expenditures on social services, though the growth of the latter in the last two years was less rapid than that of the expenditures for defense. However, the rise of expenditures for the national economy from 57.1 billion rubles in 1940 to 72.9 billion rubles in 1941 is striking: it represents an increase of almost 28 per cent in one year. There are three reasons for this rapid growth. (1) the budget of 1941 included all new territories of the Soviet Union — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Poland, Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia and Western Karalia. (2) In 1940 and 1941 Germany by force of arms acquired control of most of Western Europe and in this way considerably increased her economic power. In 1937–1938 the Soviet Union was approaching Germany in production of some essential products and had passed her in production of many others. In 1940 the situation changed to the advantage of Germany, and though the production in the territories occupied by Germany is now well below the pre-war level, yet in its total it is quite impressive. The Soviet Union began for the second time its race with Germany for the first place in Europe. The advantage of the Soviet Union, in 1941 as compared with the 1929–1933 period, was that in this construction and recon-

struction the Union was not so dependent upon foreign machines and specialists as it was in 1929–1933 (this does not mean, of course, that the Soviet Union was not in need of machines from other countries: such imports would accelerate the realization of the program) Furthermore, its countryside did not represent in the spring of 1941 such a danger as it did in that turbulent period of collectivization, while the capital available for investment was larger than it was in 1929–1933 (3) There was a conscious effort made to move to the east as many armament works as possible or to build new ones there — outside of the bombing range of the German aviation.

The German rulers knew, of course, about this new effort of the people of the Soviet Union. They decided to strike before it will be too late, i.e., before the economic and military potential of the Soviet Union will again surpass that of Germany of 1941 with her newly won territories from Bordeaux to the North Cape and from (French) Brest to the mouth of the Danube

The expenditures on the national economy were distributed in the following way.

EXPENDITURES ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE  
SOVIET UNION

	1940		1941	
	billion r	percent	billion r	percent
Industry	27 8	48 7	39 2	53.8
Agriculture	12 2	21 4	13 5	18 5
Transport and Communications	4 7	8 2	6 6	9.1
Others	12 4	21 7	13 6	18 6
Total	57 1	100 0	72 9	100 0

Industry and transport were to increase their annual investments in 1941 (as compared with 1940) by 41 percent, while agriculture — by 11 percent. However, it should be pointed out that in none of these groups do these investments represent the total of investments, though they cover the bulk of them, especially in transport. Local industries — in charge of local authorities — make their own investments which do not enter the Union budget. In transport a considerable program of road-building has been developed by the collective farms. In agriculture the same farms invested their own compulsory savings in cattle, seeds, buildings and so on.

In the group of “others” a considerable part has been occupied by the building of large reserves of raw materials, machines, locomotives, etc. — the specialists of the Soviet Union understood that this war to a considerable extent depends upon the reserves built in the time of peace.

The third important group of Society expenditures represents expenditures on social services, such as education, health service, social security service, physical culture, grants to mothers with many children and so on.

These expenditures grew from 5.8 billion rubles in 1933 to 47.8 in 1941 (estimates). Their share in the total has increased from 14.5 percent in 1933 to as much as 26.7 percent in 1938, but then a decline set in, and in 1941 they were expected to make up only 22.2 percent. In 1938 these expenditures were larger than expenditures on defense, but in 1941 they were expected to form only 67 percent of defense appropriations. The cause of this lag has been not only the pressing need of armaments, but also the fact that the educational and health services have been built up anew in the years 1929–1940. Now compulsory primary education facilities are completed, and the secondary schools embrace most of the youth. In 1941–1942 the army of pupils in primary and secondary schools was expected to be 36.2 millions, an increase of only 3.4 percent as compared with 1940–1941. The number of the students in the universities was expected to be 657,000, an increase of 13 percent as compared with 1940–1941. These figures show that the concern expressed in certain quarters lest the introduction of the tuition fees in the Soviet Universities might decrease the number of students was not well founded. The number of students in the universities and colleges in 1941–1942 was to be almost ten times as large as that in Germany in 1938–1939.

Turning now to the revenue side of the budget, we see the following changes in 1941 as compared with 1940:

THE REVENUE OF THE SOVIET UNION			
	1940, preliminary results	1941, budget estimates	Increase percent
	billion rubles		
Turnover tax	105.8	124.5	17.6
Other taxes	9.4	12.5	31.9
Part of profits of state enterprises	21.3	31.3	46.4
Income of machine-tractor stations	2.0	2.6	29.7
Social insurance taxes and grants	9.2	10.0	9.2
State loans	11.4	13.2	16.1
Other revenue	19.0	22.1	16.3
Total revenue	178.1	216.2	21.4

The economic plan for 1941 foresaw a rise in the gross value of production of 17–18 percent as compared with 1940, at prices *lower* than in 1940, while, as may be seen from the table given above, the state revenue was expected to rise by 21.4 percent. The fact that the territory of the Soviet Union covered by the budget in 1941 was larger than that in 1940 makes it difficult to say whether a larger



part of the national income was to be taken by the state in 1941 than in 1940. In so far as the population of the new territories amounted to 14–15 percent of the population within the frontiers of 1938, one may be inclined to think that the per capita burden in 1941 was to be somewhat larger than in 1940. But in the absence of detailed figures this is only a guess.

The population of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, was probably slightly above 200 million. Let us suppose that each gainfully employed person (or, better for the Soviet conditions, "economically active person") has on the average two and a half dependents (a hypothesis quite realistic for the Soviet Union). Under this assumption the number of economically active persons should be about 60 million. Thus the state revenue (per capita of economically active persons) is about 3,600 rubles a year, while the average wage (including salaries) is expected to be about 4,000 rubles in 1941. If one takes into consideration the fact that the income of the farmers is on the average below that of the workers, one comes to the conclusion, that the state per capita revenue was equal to the annual per capita wage of the population. This should be understood in the sense that the state takes its part first and what remains is nominally almost equal to what has been taken away by the state. Quite probably the remaining part is considerably less than what has been taken away because of the differences in the purchasing power of the ruble in the national economy and in the retail market, as was mentioned above.

According to the official rate of exchange the average monthly wages of the Soviet worker are equal to 60 American dollars. If one takes into consideration the level of the Soviet retail prices before the war, it seems probable, that the average monthly wage is *not more* than 30 American dollars, and may be considerably less. In other words, the new construction, the growing needs of defense and of social services represents a tremendous burden on the population. However, the highly taxed citizen of the Soviet Union could find a consolation in the facts that (1) the situation in the enemy countries was in no way better in this respect and (2) the revenue collected was prudently used to increase the productive powers of the country and to bolster up its defenses. The leaders of the country clearly foresaw the inevitable clash and they were preparing the country for it patiently, systematically, stubbornly, preparing the country for the struggle for the very existence of the Union as a free independent nation.

## THE UTOPIANISM OF STEFAN ŻEROMSKI

By EDMUND I. ZAWACKI

DESPITE THE political and economic insignificance of Poland in the international arena during the century and more of her political eclipse, a spiritual struggle went on within the Polish nation which was all the more intense for lack of practical and material avenues of expression. In the sharp focal point of Stefan Żeromski's novels, short-stories, and sociological pamphlets there is concentrated the pain, the despair, the sacrifice, and the triumphant exultation of the whole period during which Poland struggled up out of bondage into a "brave new world" of freedom.

From the point of view of content, therefore, Stefan Żeromski is without question one of the most interesting and important Polish writers of the last fifty years. His works identify themselves so closely with the struggle of Poland for freedom and for social justice within that freedom that they are a veritable mirror of the historical events, the ideological currents, and the intellectual and emotional attitudes swaying the whole generation of Poles who lived to see their disembodied nation take on the flesh of statehood.

In *The Soldier-Vagabond* (1898), *Ashes* (1904), and *Sułkowski* (1910), we have the holocaust that was Poland's lot in the Napoleonic epic. In the fragmentary *Everything and Nothing* (1919) the November, 1830, insurrection begins to stir. *The Skin of the Beast* (*Turoń*, 1923) in dramatic form continues this cycle through the bloody peasant massacre of the Galician gentry in 1846. In the three stories treating the January insurrection of 1863, i.e., *Ravens and Crows Will Rend Us* (1896), *Faithful River* (1912), and *Forest Echoes* (1905), the political romanticism behind the insurrections of the gentry reaches its morally heroic but politically sterile conclusion.

The deep moral forces of the insurrectionary tradition (the latter began to fade in the positivistic reaction after the disaster of 1863) fuse with the new materialistic positivist movement in the remaining short stories of *Ravens and Crows* . . . and in *Tales* (1895), and gain momentum in novels like *Labors of Sisyphus* (1898), *The Beam* (1896), *Beauty of Life* (1912), and *Homeless People* (1899). In the richly stylized *Aryman Takes Vengeance* (1901), *The Story of the Valiant Waltherius* (1906), and *The Meditation on a Hetman* (1908), Żeromski plunged into philosophical and historiosophical speculation on the universal human weaknesses that dragged heavily on the efforts of his heroes to lift Polish society into a noble moral plane.

The rise of Polish socialism and the transient renaissance of revolt which accompanied the troublous period of 1905–1906 are recorded in the short stories collected in *The Dream of the Sword and a Dream of Bread* (1916), *The Word on the Migrant Laborer* (1908), and *The Rose* (1909). Upon the collapse of this revival, the decay and the moral heedlessness of Polish society, already castigated in the works just mentioned, are exposed in *The History of a Sin* (1908). The confused years preceding the Great War are traced in the uneven trilogy *The Struggle with Satan* (1913–1918), while the war itself and the ideological turmoil it occasioned in Poland fill most of the last volume, *Charitas*.

Upon the resurrection of a free Poland the exultation of Żeromski knew no bounds. His emotional transport poured itself out in *Vistula* (1918), *Isthmus* (1923), and in the lyric essays of *Inter Arma* (1920), such as "France" and "Sambor and Mestwin." Subsequently, in a burst of journalism, he urged Polish society to accept his syndicalistic visions of an ideal national civilization in *Beginning of the World of Labor* (1918), *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia* (1919), and other shorter essays collected in *Whips of Sand* (1925). The tendency toward the development of regional culture, already strong in *The Beam*, *Homeless People*, and other novels, now reached full force in *Project of a Polish Academy of Literature* (1918), *Snobbery and Progress* (1923), *Wind from the Sea* (1922), and in the play *The Quail Escaped Me* . . . (1924).

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia, the Polish-Bolshevik war, and the impact of both on Polish life, quite weakly shown in the plays *Whiter than the Snow* (1920) and *The White Glove* (1921), rise to a tremendous crescendo in Żeromski's last novel, *Can Spring Be Far Behind* (1925). In the posthumous *Balsam Wilderness* (1926) we have the fond backward look of the dying Żeromski on the corner of Poland he loved best. The elegy on his son, *Of Adam Żeromski, a Reminiscence* (1919), and the three stories collected under *Errors* (1923) are reminiscences, too — a rueful survey of unfulfilled dreams.

It would be a mistake and an injustice to regard Żeromski only as a mirror of his period. He was also the conscience and the lyric bard of his generation. His message, indeed, was addressed only to his countrymen, for his aim from the beginning of his career as a writer was "to rip open the wounds of Poland lest they heal over with scabs of baseness"<sup>1</sup> But the sombre moral beauty of such a harsh purpose

<sup>1</sup> *Suikowski*, p. 136. In this study all citations from Żeromski's works are taken, unless otherwise mentioned, from the memorial edition in 32 volumes of his collected works (Warsaw: J. Morkowicz, 1927).

transcends nationalistic problems. It hurls the author and his heroes into a struggle of the individual against society and at the same time into a universal spiritual struggle within that individual against human frailty. Such a purpose alternately lifts the author to exalted summits of idealism and spiritual triumph, and plunges him into despair and impotence. It carries Żeromski's message beyond the confines of Poland

From a purely literary point of view, and without minimizing Stefan Żeromski's weaknesses as a writer or exaggerating his virtues, one who has read him must objectively acknowledge the tremendous force and scope of his lyricism, the immense scale of expression in his language, and the psychological depth and truth of his characters. In conjunction with his lofty moral stature, these qualities should place him on an eminence in world literature lower perhaps than Tolstoi's or Dostoyevski's, but certainly in the same category, for his contribution to the literary treasure not only of Poland but of all mankind is indigenously Polish, universally human, and powerfully original.

Stefan Żeromski's sociological theorizing derived not from a scientific approach to social problems but from an emotional revulsion against political and social wrong. His transformation from a lyrical socio-patriotic novelist into a sociological theorist is only an incidental aspect of his literary career and has little or no effect upon his position in world literature, but it is an extremely interesting corollary to it. A study of a short story like "Twilight" (*Tales*), of a novel like *Homeless People*, and of a drama like *The Rose*, would show Żeromski's themes passing from pessimistic but sociologically static portraits of Polish social and economic conditions in the 'eighties, through sociologically dynamic struggles of noble, self-sacrificing reformers, to extremely foreshortened — indeed, miraculous — social and political triumphs. From this point, an oblique leap to the platform of a utopian theorist is not hard to make. A glimpse of Żeromski's ideological development as a Polish patriot and socially-conscious citizen will show why.

Born just as the Polish insurrection of 1863 was expiring, Żeromski became, as it were, the spiritual heir of the social and political romanticism which had instigated this last desperate revolt of the Polish gentry. The social and historiosophic tenets of the Great Emigration<sup>2</sup> and of Poland's prophetic bards — especially Mickiewicz —

<sup>2</sup> Polish emigrés in France after the insurrection of 1830. The most important groups were organized by 1832 in the Democratic Society (*Towarzystwo Demokratyczne*). The social and political tenets of this organization were compactly expressed in its famous manifesto of December, 1836 (of which more will be said in later pages of this study). For a summary

were more congenial to Żeromski's temperament than were the positivistic doctrines of scientific husbandry, industrialization, capitalistic enterprise, and (extremely distasteful to Żeromski) political minimalism which prevailed in Poland during the author's formative years. Indeed, the basic inspiration of Żeromski's ardent socio-patriotic crusading was the high moral elevation of the tenets proclaimed by the Great Emigration and immortalized by Mickiewicz in his *Books of Polish Pilgrimage*.

The reasons for the appeal of these tenets to Żeromski must be sought in his home milieu and in his family traditions. These environmental factors, in addition to his always intense yearning for solid philosophical anchorage, made Żeromski especially receptive to the "sacred words of the Eupatrids," as he called the pronouncements of the Great Emigration.<sup>3</sup> The author was born on November 1, 1864, in the manor-house at Strawczyn among the Holy Cross Hills, not far from Kielce. His playgrounds as a boy were the meadows wetted with Kościuszko's blood,<sup>4</sup> the meeting places of Sciegienny's conspiring peasants,<sup>5</sup> and the battlefields of 1863.<sup>6</sup>

Of parental influences, the cheerless but exalted patriotism and the philanthropic self-sacrifice of his consumptive mother far outweighed the light-hearted *joie de vivre* of his gentleman father. Mme Żeromski monopolized the young Stefan with all the fierce strength of attachment that a slowly dying woman unconsciously has for an only son. She was the teacher, as Żeromski's biographer Stanisław Piołun-Noyszewski relates, who "implanted in him the fundamental moral principles of life, taught him to read, and together with the art of reading filled his mind with the history of Poland's oppression."<sup>7</sup> If we add that Żeromski is reported to have been able to recite passages from Mickiewicz and Słowacki by heart even before he could read

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and discussion of this document, see B. Lumanowski, *Historia demokracji polskiej* (Warszawa: 1922) II, pp. 100 ff. One section of the Democratic Society, i.e., the Gromada Grudziąż led by Stanisław Worcell, swung strongly toward agrarian communism. During his stay in France from 1909 to 1913 Żeromski carefully studied the career and writings of Worcell.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Snobbery and Progress, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. The conclusion of Żeromski's short story "The Tomb" (*Tales*,) (1895)

<sup>5</sup> Father Piotr Sciegienny was arrested and hanged in 1844 for having organized a peasant insurrectionary conspiracy in the Holy Cross region. Even on the gallows he scorned the commutation of his sentence to exile in Siberia and demanded to be hanged. See Żeromski's tribute to him in *Puszcza Jodłowa* (1926), p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Wierna Rzeka* (1912) published on the 50th anniversary of the insurrection is based on events which actually occurred at the home of Żeromski's aunt during the insurrection. Cf. Stanisław Piołun-Noyszewski, *Stefan Żeromski, Dom, Dzieciństwo i Młodość* (Warsawa: 1928), Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> Stanisław Piołun-Noyszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

them, his later passionate fondness for the great Polish bards not only as poets but above all as philosophers would seem to be a direct continuation of his earliest education under the guidance of his sad but patriotically exalted mother.

What intellectual baggage Żeromski collected in his ten years (1877-1887) at the gymnasium at Kielce (he never attended a university), and to what extent it affected and developed his social consciousness, is not hard to determine. He was proof against any deflation of his exalted Polish patriotism, but like any youth with a keen mind and sensitive emotions, he found great intellectual stimulation in discovering new truths and new ideological mentors in the books he devoured.

We know from Żeromski's editorial comments in *Labors of Sisyphus* (p. 288 ff.) that he had read Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* while he was still in the gymnasium, and that the book had inspired him with tremendous faith in the social and political efficacy of enlightenment. Primitive, raw, and indefinite as Żeromski's social ideals may have been at this time, they were ardently embraced, and the elements of enlightenment and social progress were indissolubly bound with his innate patriotism and revolt against the political oppression of his country.

In Warsaw, whither Żeromski went in 1887, he quickly became enthusiastic over the populist ideology of the new progressive weekly *The Voice* (*Głos*). Founded in 1886 as an organ of liberal thought in Poland, *The Voice* attacked the pusillanimous conservatism of the middle-class positivists and sounded the alarm for a more adequate attention to the peasant problem. In fact, it may be said that the ideology of *The Voice* merely coincided with and supplemented Żeromski's own which had been built up on his enthusiasm for Mickiewicz and the writers of the Great Emigration. What *The Voice* proclaimed was in essence but an eclectic combination of positivism and socialism around a core of exalted nationalism. Its profession of complete faith and hope in the populace — apart from its doctrinaire elevation of the peasantry to a dominating role in Polish cultural life, — gained its appeal to the new generation (and to Żeromski) from its revival of the old Mickiewiczian romantic tradition of before 1863 and 1848, and from its implication of the "continuity of the insurrection."

Żeromski's sympathies went out to any and every socio-political faction which strove toward Polish independence whether he agreed with the rest of their program or not. Herein lies the explanation of the apparent shifts in Żeromski's party loyalties. He was simply non-

partisan and incompressible into any one ideology. When the populists emerged from the stormy years of 1905–1906 as the Catholic conservative National Democratic Party headed by Roman Dmowski (Żeromski's roommate in Warsaw in 1887), Żeromski transferred his sympathies quite naturally to the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) headed by Józef Piłsudski simply because the latter faction was dedicated to the independence of Poland. Whatever were Żeromski's formal relations with the P.P.S., it is safe to assume that ideologically his views coincided as fully with those of the socialists from 1895 to 1908 as they did from 1889 to 1898 with the tenets of the populists.

In 1908, when Żeromski found himself in Zakopane (the "summer capital" of revolutionary Poland) as an exile from the Russian partition,<sup>8</sup> the activities of the P.P.S. had assumed a somewhat different character. Factional struggles within the party had weakened it. Except among the members of Piłsudski's Revolutionary Fraction which continued terroristic attacks on mail and pay-roll trains (e.g., Bez-dany, 1908), the question of Polish independence was either subordinate or did not exist at all. Ideological attacks upon Żeromski's works by party publicists like Michał Sokolnicki<sup>9</sup> further disgusted him with "leaders-by-the-nose of the Polish populace"<sup>10</sup> and "stinking stables"<sup>11</sup> (as he graphically characterized partisan political mobs).

The obviously small esteem in which Żeromski held party leaders as such helps to explain the ready sympathy that he felt for the anti-parliamentarian syndicalism of Georges Sorel, whom he studied assiduously in France between 1909 and 1913 along with practically the entire output of syndicalistic literature. Żeromski's passage from socialism to syndicalism was natural and easy. Sorel's emphasis that the labor syndicate be the germ of a new morality, a new culture, and a new social system rising out of a cult of labor, coincided almost completely, as has been very clearly pointed out by Jan Hulewicz,<sup>12</sup> with the ideology of the Great Emigration. We know that this latter was not only familiar but sentimentally sacred to Żeromski.

In 1913, therefore, we find Żeromski — already a celebrated author in Poland — embracing an ideology which eclectically combined

<sup>8</sup> Cf. M. Biernacki, *Stefan Żeromski i jego Ideologia* (Lublin, 1926). This pamphlet contains a reprint of the official Russian file concerning Żeromski.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Żeromski's letter to Sokolnicki in M. Sokolnicki, *Czternaście Lat* (Warsaw, 1936), p. 370.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. Mortkowicz, "Zielony Kajet Jaśniacha," *Wiadomości Literackie*, x (1933, Nr. 10). This is an unpublished notebook of Żeromski's described with copious excerpts by Mle Mortkowicz.

<sup>12</sup> Jan Hulewicz, "Źródła Ideologii Społeczno-Politycznej Stefana Żeromskiego," *Pamiętnik Literacki*, xxvii (1930), pp. 451–472.

Sorel's *Reflexions sur la Violence*, Mickiewicz's *Books of Polish Pilgrimage*, and the December, 1836, manifesto of the Great Emigration. These three social, moral, and political constituents of Żeromski's ideology are much more deeply ingrained in Żeromski's creative habits as an artist than it would appear on the surface. In fact, it would not be far from the truth to say that all Żeromski's works — short stories, novels, dramas, and sociological pamphlets — grew up around a blazing center of intense emotion. This emotion was all the more ardent and violent in that it was continually under the pressure of his nationalistic revolt against the intolerable political servitude of his country, of his moral indignation at the injustice of the social system which held the vast majority of Poles in semi-serfdom, and of his philosophical irreconciliation with the impotence of man to overcome his baser egoistic self and free his nobler altruistic spirit for practical action in daily life.

These are really three aspects of Żeromski's creative temperament. They are not three separate and well defined spheres of inspiration, but rather three faces of one and the same internal torment out of which the artist blindly flung his works. Being closely interrelated, their simultaneous presence in practically any single longer work of Żeromski can always be demonstrated. For example, in *The Rose* the success of the armed effort toward political freedom is dependent in Żeromski's mind on the awakening of a Polish civic consciousness in the economically and socially down-trodden populace; this awakening is contingent on the establishment of a just social and economic order; the establishment of a just order requires a victory of altruism over selfishness in Polish society and in the individuals comprising it. This last problem, we see, which lies at the very bottom of what on the surface appears to be a specifically Polish insurrection, is a universal human aspiration familiar to the readers of any national literature under the sun. Żeromski's pyramid of logic here is perfectly sound, just as it is perfectly sound in Ryszard Nienaski's out-burst in *The Conversion of Judas*.

If I wish to have the world as I want it to be, I must make it so. It is a lie to say it is impossible. . . .

If the world is so set up that in it a millionaire is protected by law as he crushes the necks of a million beggars, why should I not take advantage of this beastly situation? Why should not I become a billionaire and fling my money into the purchase of land in Poznań or of coal-bearing lands in the Kraków basin in order to give them back forever to those to whom they rightfully belong. I should hold tens of thousands of schools in the hollow of my hand, and should hear the Polish songs of hundreds



of thousands of my nation in Silesia alone. There remain the deeds of Chrobry<sup>13</sup> waiting to be done, and of Kazimierz the king,<sup>14</sup> and of Stefan the leader.<sup>15</sup> There is foul disgrace to wash away and the boundaries of Poland to be extended as far as her spirit reaches!<sup>16</sup>

In the last two sentences of this passage we have all three aspects of Żeromski's internal torment. They easily arrange themselves into a pyramid of logic: the independence of Poland (the deeds of Chrobry) will crown the victory of the forces of good in society (the deeds of Kazimierz) over those of evil; this great moral and social triumph, however, can be secured only after society has conquered itself (the deeds of Batory).

What is noteworthy here is that Polish political freedom stands at the top of the pyramid, i.e., that political freedom is the goal which is to be won through social justice and moral perfection. Indeed, Żeromski in enslaved Poland spoke truly through the mouth of his hero, Sułkowski, "Every minute of my life I fight for and re-create my fatherland. And I always feel as if within me the whole Polish nation were wrestling with its very self."<sup>17</sup> But when the miracle of Polish independence became fact in 1918, Żeromski looked out over the ruins of three empires upon a re-united and politically free Poland. The reward which was inevitably to have crowned the victory of good over evil in the individual Pole and in Polish society had come out of a general European cataclysm. The new situation did not give Żeromski a fresh reservoir of inspiration and material; it merely diversified his treatment of previous themes into more sharply defined genres, and deflected his spiritual yearnings toward a different ultimate goal.

Instead of anticipating a free and independent Poland as the reward of moral stamina in the individual Pole and of justice and progress in the organization of Polish society (as had been his practice before 1918), he now joyfully greeted and accepted the new political freedom. Within that freedom progress toward social justice advanced from its previous status of an insurrectionary implement into the character of a goal. Political independence, on the other hand, passed by the sheer fact of its attainment from the status of a goal into that of a political victory which had at last been won after a century and a half of effort. "It turns out now that the policy of craft

<sup>13</sup> Bolesław Chrobry (992–1025) extended his sway over all Polish lands and established Poland as a military power.

<sup>14</sup> Kazimierz Wielki (1333–1370) codified the laws of Poland and founded the University of Kraków, i.e., established a Polish cultural tradition.

<sup>15</sup> Stefan Batory (1576–1586) by his execution of the rebellious magnate Samuel Zborowski in 1584 was well on his way to break the anarchical habits of the Polish nobility.

<sup>16</sup> *The Conversion of Judas*, p. 308.

<sup>17</sup> *Sułkowski*, p. 176

trying to outwit the foe was a false course, while that of hopeless struggle was perfect," wrote Żeromski in a preface in 1923.<sup>18</sup> From this triumphant base Poland could embark on new and still harder campaigns.

Poland must work out and will work out a higher and more perfect ideal of social life than communist Russia, and must create a higher material civilization than efficient Germany, for only in that way can it ensure its tribal independence for ages. All we who in the days of our enslaved youth bent down without hesitation to the feet of laboring and suffering man, to the workman oppressed by tyranny, — are we to drop our hands idly now that the fate has put into them the great fortune of freedom? Have our hearts grown cold? Have our eyes now gone blind? Has power screened from us the misery of our fellows and brothers? Has the glory of our state benumbed us to the sight of injustice, and has the clang of re-won fame deafened us to the groans of toil-ridden wretchedness?<sup>19</sup>

Żeromski's spiritual restlessness and intense emotional pain at "the groans of toil-ridden wretchedness" had been the psychic matrix of his earliest creative works. The horror of life as depicted in socially static tales like *Twilight* and *The Power to Forget* had been a springboard for leaps into the doctrinaire social concepts of *Dr. Piotr* and *The Word on the Migrant Laborer*, or into the heroic idealism of reformers like Bozowska (*The Stronger Sex*), Judym (*Homeless People*), and Nienaski (*The Struggle with Satan*).

Żeromski's own revulsion at social and economic injustice and his overpowering pity for suffering humanity had not completely blinded him, however, to the difficulties of implementing his heroes' amorphous social systems. Bodzanta's transient utopia in *The History of a Sin* foundered and disappeared without a trace before the novel ended, and Nienaski's triumph in *The Struggle with Satan* consisted not in organizing his mines and factories into a syndicalistic paradise (he died before he could do that), but in reclaiming Granowski from the maw of Satan. The Promethean fire of these social visions, i.e., their inspiring effect upon the Polish intelligentsia, burst not from the convincing power of their logic but from the emotional magic of their lyricism. It is not always clear whether Żeromski was fully aware of this fact. The actual processes by which his heroes strove to implement their ideal social systems were much foreshortened, but after all, a novelist has the right to telescope these processes if he so

<sup>18</sup> "Preface to 'Nullo and his Companions'" by K. Firlej-Bieleńska, 1923, *Elegie*, p. 318. *Elegie* is the collection of Żeromski's scattered works (Warszawa: 1928) edited by W. Borowy.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.

pleases. Under such circumstances, however, the distinction between sociological fiction and ideological program should not be lost. It is just on this point that, in lyric novels like Żeromski's, lyricism and ubiquitous editorialism tend to elude exact definition and classification as one or the other.

In 1918, Żeromski abruptly stepped out of his novels and assumed the burdens of a professed social reformer and propagandist. The hour appeared to be at hand for the establishment of an advanced social system in Poland which should provide bold solutions for the social and economic problems entrenched by the long century of political servitude and concomitant impotence. The transition from lyric novelist to logically consecutive, far-sighted, and practical social theorist was not completely successful. Żeromski became a theorist without ceasing to be a lyric dreamer. The final result was that "the ideological extract of my life's writings," as he called *Beginning of the World of Labor* (1918), makes the impression, together with *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia* (1918), of a patchy syndicalistic treatise of which the weakest seams are strengthened only by the lyric fervor of the presentation. In genre, both are frankly propagandistic expositions.

As has already been said, Żeromski's whole pre-occupation with socio-political theories had arisen, not out of a scientifically sociological attitude, but out of his humanitarianism, his sympathy for the proletariat (the "człowiek cierpiący"), and his strong reforming tendency. Indeed, the entire positive sociological structure of *Beginning of the World of Labor* and *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia* is based on the emotional premise that the proletariat is "the pure, innocent, and honest race of workers who feed, clothe, and equip the world."<sup>20</sup> In anticipation of objections to such a dogma, Żeromski argues with emotion, not with facts:

If against this project objections be raised that the nature of our "peasant" is unsuited to such an economic system, that his nature craves complete control in his own backyard, on his patch of ground, and in his own stable, indeed, one may answer in advance with a thousand denials.<sup>21</sup>

It is worth noting that in *The Rose* and in *The Struggle with Satan* Żeromski cherished no such illusions about the proletariat. In the novelist, pessimism clipped the wings of wishful utopianism, for Żeromski attacked rather than built society in his stories. The juxtapositions of noble idealism and crass selfishness which we find in the novels are violent contrasts excited by Żeromski's pity for the victims

<sup>20</sup> *Beginning of the World of Labor*, p. 15

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of social injustice. These contrasts are intended to cause pain, and the suffering which is thus induced in the reader is expected to be socially creative. The whole appeal is to the emotions, and since Żeromski's lyricism overpowers and imposes on the reader the illusion of reality, the effect on him is one of tremendous emotional shock and yearning. In no novel, however, did Żeromski satisfy that yearning. It was not his purpose to satisfy it. He strove only to awake it.

But the moment Żeromski stepped out of his artistic milieu and assumed the burden of a social theorist and propagandist, he could no longer attack, he had to build. Intellectual criticism, not emotional protest, was required. Żeromski had not enough of the former to protect him from falling into doctrinaire utopianism even in his premise. It is quite characteristic that, in *Beginning of the World of Labor* and *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia*, the strongest passages are those which look backward, not forward. Exactly the same was true of the ideological discussions in Żeromski's novels.

If we define a utopia as a perfect society in which a maximum of individual and collective liberty, comfort, security, and justice is assured to all, then utopianism is a belief in the possibility on earth of this happy existence. It is an anomaly traceable to Żeromski's passionate extremism that he, one of the gloomiest pessimists in Polish literature, should be at the same time one of its most fervid utopians. The fact that Żeromski concentrated his socio-political ideology into these two essays indicates his insistence that the idealistic yearning inspired by his novels should be implemented practically in free Poland. If we accept Żeromski's own yearning for social justice and social progress as the motivation for his descent from Parnassus into journalistic propaganda, and take cognizance of his fear lest the desolation, poverty, and party factionalism plaguing reborn Poland should either drive it into Bolshevism or otherwise waste the splendid opportunity to work out a "more perfect ideal of social life than communist Russia and a higher material civilization than efficient Germany," then all of Żeromski's sociological pamphlets — *Beginning of the World of Labor* (1918), *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia* (1919), *Project of an Academy of Literature* (1918), *Snobbery and Progress* (1923) are laborious attempts to translate his yearning into concrete projects. His novels and short stories had lyrically shaped the contours of the new system; his pamphlets were to provide the actual blueprints.

*Snobbery and Progress*, a long, extremely interesting essay, defines both snobbery and progress and attempts (sometimes quite pedantically) to show their manifestations and worth in all activities of

cultural life, — literature, politics, education, art, the theatre, language, etc. The breadth of Żeromski's civic and cultural interests and the depth of his knowledge on a great variety of subjects stand revealed in the pages of this little book. The pamphlet closes with a noble paean to progress.

Blessed is progress, ceaseless, undaunted, exact, thoroughly conscious of its development and course, progress which began in Poland the moment she was liberated from foreign oppression . . . Progress has the property of light eternally speeding onward and it has the nature of a straight line which in its unrestrained forward projection has no end. The stages of its course are: communal labor in the brightness of day, uplift of everything toward goodness, consecration of all to the welfare of fellow-men, sacrifice of self, and heroism, heroism splendid, great, and noble like that of Hetman Żółkiewski, and silent, humble, and unknown — the *nobilitas* of the highest order, — that of Włodzimierz Konieczny<sup>22</sup>

The machinery for the practical implementation of this elevated ideal of progress in Polish national life had already been outlined in 1918 and 1919 in Żeromski's two main sociological pamphlets. An examination of this machinery from the outside discloses that the very titles, *Beginning of the World of Labor*, and *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia*, divide Polish society of 1919 into two groups of workers. These are: 1, the physical workers, i.e., the urban and rural proletariat, and 2, the intellectual workers, i.e., the professional intelligentsia. Further, we see that Żeromski himself realized that his plans for the new system were sketchy and subject to alterations in many particulars.

It could not be the purpose of the writer of these remarks to outline the exact program and the methods of organization for the various professions and sections of the Polish intelligentsia. . . . Life itself will find its forms; my purpose is only to make us conscious of the necessity for creating these forms.<sup>23</sup>

Żeromski's confidence, however, in the essential practicability of his system despite the gaps in his exposition of it, is obvious in the concluding paragraph of *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia*: "These two complementary forces [proletariat and intel-

<sup>22</sup> *Snobbery and Progress*, p. 191. Włodzimierz Konieczny, a young sculptor, was a friend of Żeromski's. He lost his life fighting with the Polish legions in Volhynia. Cf. *Snobbery and Progress*, pp. 92-94, also *Of Adam Żeromski, a Reminiscence*, p. 43.

<sup>23</sup> *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia*, p. 89. For convenience, references to *Beginning of the World of Labor* and *Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia* will be abbreviated to *BWL* and *OPI*. The pagination is that of the volume *Whips of Sand* in which *BWL* and *OPI* are included.

ligentsia] can create in Poland an absolutely dominant social factor which will steadily follow the paths of eternal progress" (*OPI*, p. 89)

As we plunge into the mechanism of his proposed forms for the new system, we encounter a sweeping radicalism so bold and uncompromising that we at once suspect Żeromski of overlooking a great number of fundamental human habits.

The argument, however, begins strongly. Żeromski, despite certain shadows of intellectual hesitation, describes the fall of the Austrian, German, and Russian Empires as an act of God, and in stately Biblical language reminiscent of Mickiewicz's *Books of Polish Pilgrimage* proclaims the death of monarchical governments "As if at the sound of the archangel's trumpet, the walls of tyranny have crumbled, walls which since the ages and, it seemed, for all ages were to block the paths of freedom on earth" (*BWL*, p. 7). Here Żeromski leans heavily on Mickiewicz both in style and in spirit, and lays the moral foundation for what he anticipates will be a bloodless revolution.

Reflections on the oppressions suffered by Poland during the partitions pose a philosophic problem — "whether the principle of any authority of man over man is not itself rascality and a fraud. Who will guarantee to a clear mind unencumbered with superstitions, syllogisms, or doctrines that governments dictatorial, republican, bourgeois, peasant, socialistic, coalitional, or simply party governments pushing their way to the forefront of society ahead of their weaker sisters and rivals, do not contain the same principles of rascality and fraud?" (*BWL*, p. 8).

The question is merely a rhetorical one. After describing a great number of corrupt practices in parliamentary government, Żeromski concludes that such governments no less than monarchies are tremendous frauds. Only genius, he argues, learning, specialized talents in medicine, construction, and in all the practical activities of man give real authority. The authority of parliaments controlled by politicians is false.

Thus far Żeromski's argument consists of attack, and although it is strong, it is not impeccable. His constructive project, an organized system of labor syndicates, follows as the solution to corruption in politics, "for it is the most modern, most extreme, and most simple method of organizing public life" (*BWL*, p. 13.). It is bound to usher in a new era of public morality for "young boys entering into adult life, the clean, innocent, honest race of workers who feed, clothe, and equip the world, — blood of the blood and bone of the bone of workers, — full of innate nobility, pure of heart and ideals like every new generation of youth, these are entering the stores, workshops,

factories, industrial plants, and are seeking bread and wages for themselves and their families" (*BWL*, p. 15).

Żeromski argues earnestly that this human material can be organized into labor syndicates led by the most able inventors, experts, specialists, and geniuses whose interests in turn will be identical with those of the workers. The profit system whereby owners, directors, and managers amass great fortunes will no longer exist. The profits will be apportioned according to reasonable needs and will be sufficient to give incentive to originality and energy, but all the rest will flow back to the worker in wages. In this way "the proletariat, disciplined in its trade unions, organized, united, and after it has absorbed into itself the vast power of genius and of true aristocracy<sup>24</sup> which is inaccessible to personal ambitions and is more powerful than all the power of emperors, will assume upon itself the role of the great promoter, the great leader and creator of history" (*BWL*, p. 20). Fearing perhaps that the sweeping radicalism of his syndicalistic program might excite strong opposition in the Catholic Church, Żeromski hastens to quote Saint Thomas Aquinas in order to prove that his plan of bloodless revolution does not run counter to Catholic doctrines (*BWL*, p. 20).

The crucial point in this whole system, as we see, is Żeromski's ready but quite doctrinaire faith in the moral nobility of the proletariat. His passion runs so high on this score that he virtually insults all his ideological opponents: "The morality stemming out of work and developing within the limits of work, will be the antithesis of that which prevails to-day, and it is beyond the comprehension of people of the old order" (*BWL*, p. 20).

The rest of *Beginning of the World of Labor* is a specific plan of government action by which the peasant problem in Poland should be solved. To Żeromski, a thorough all-out solution was the only one which could prevent an eventual bloody social revolution.<sup>25</sup> If we call to mind the meager results in actual performance of the Land Reform Program subsequently undertaken in free Poland, Żeromski's plan at least has the solid virtue of being conceived on a grand scale proportionate to the magnitude of the problem itself. Confiscation of great latifundia, limitation of private land estates to not more than

<sup>24</sup> In *OPI*, p. 56, Żeromski quotes Benedetto Croce on this human instinct. "È vano combattere l'ideale aristocratico, perchè l'aristocrazia è la fiamma che tend all'alto, e questa fiamma è l'anima stessa dell'uomo." The corresponding passage in Croce is *Cultura e vita morale Intermezzi polemici*, (Bari, 1914), p. 196.

<sup>25</sup> The spectre of promiscuous bloodshed in a social revolution tormented Żeromski from 1919 to his death in 1925. His last book *Can Spring Be Far Behind* (*Przedwiośnie*, 1925) was his cry of warning to his countrymen.

500 morgs, creation of a vast system of elementary, secondary, and trade schools for universal free education, establishment of a great program of public works for the landless and unemployed, the pegging of wage standards at the level of earnings on state operated farms — these were some of the measures which Żeromski unhesitatingly advocated.\*

Viewed in the perspective of government action in various countries during the depression after 1929, the agencies suggested by Żeromski are not at all visionary. His assumption, however, that the government would gradually recede into the background after it had served its purpose of developing the syndicates of rural workers and that it would eventually disappear from the scene altogether, is a confidence hard to inspire in minds not converted to syndicalism. In his statement of purpose Żeromski seems to have taken care of even this potential snag in his system: "Life itself will find its forms; my purpose is only to make us conscious of the necessity for creating these forms."

*Organization of the Professional Intelligentsia*, like its companion piece, *Beginning of the World of Labor*, is masterly in its description of the Polish intelligentsia in 1919. With certain mental reservations on the love of the intelligentsia for the peasantry and the urban proletariat (*OPI*, p. 55), we may accept Żeromski's summary picture of it.

As a collective group the intelligentsia is still the rather pitiful governess, a person intelligent and nothing more, an expert in logarithms and poetry, but stumbling along helplessly between the manor and the cottage, between the masters and the help (*OPI*, p. 68).

Żeromski argues not without right that the one cure for this chronic state of indigence and helplessness is organization in syndicates. The intelligentsia must "wejść w lud i stać się ludem" (enter the folk and become the folk, *OPI*, p. 68) according to the slogan of the Great Emigration. Only in this way can the intelligentsia improve its own material welfare and perform its proper function in Polish society as the sister of physical labor, her teacher and enlightener (*OPI*, p. 87), and at the same time "be the most powerful motor of progress and tribunal of public morality in resurrected Poland" (*OPI*, p. 69).

These two divisions of Polish society working hand in hand under a syndicalistic organization, concludes Żeromski, would be in a position to drive out of Polish life not only cold, want, and hunger, but



also corruption, fraud, nepotism, and all the vices to which previous systems of government had been heir.

If we analyze Żeromski's system, we see that at the bottom of his ideology lay the tenets<sup>26</sup> of the Great Emigration stated in the manifesto of December, 1836:

- 1 The prime importance of the rural problem in Poland (*BWL*, pp 22-42);
2. work as the foundation of social rights (*BWL*, p 13, 19, *OPI*, p 78),
- 3 universal education (*OPI*, p. 73, 82),
4. leveling of class distinctions by fusion into the "common people" (*lud*) (*OPI*, p. 69);
5. supremacy of the "lud" (*BWL*, pp 9-11).

These principles had been developed further by theorists of the Great Emigration, like Henryk Kamieński<sup>27</sup> and Stanisław Worcell, into a specific utopian socialism. Kamieński emphasized the Polish nationalistic factor and the principle that progress is the guiding star of humanity, while Worcell went far toward agrarian communism. Over all these sociological principles shone the high moral elevation of Polish romantic poetry. Indeed, it was from Mickiewicz that Żeromski took his quite unsociological definition of the populace, — "the common people are they who suffer, they who yearn, they who in their spirit are free" (cf. *BWL*, p. 36; *OPI*, p 79). It is interesting that he left out Mickiewicz's fourth clause: "they who do not come with a sheaf of ready-made systems."<sup>28</sup>

This core of sociological and moral tenets ardently embraced by Żeromski made him receptive to certain other ideologies often sharply opposed to each other. In Switzerland (1892-1896) Żeromski, through his researches on the Great Emigration, reconciled his extreme social radicalism with an equally powerful nationalism (ideology of *The Voice*), and in France after 1909 he accepted, as has been pointed out, many of Georges Sorel's syndicalistic tenets as his own. The result was an eclectic and imperfectly integrated ideology embracing two main currents: the nationalistic radicalism of the Great Emigration and a modified syndicalism. The contradictions with

<sup>26</sup> Cf the careful and compact analysis by Jan Hulewicz "Źródła Ideologii Społeczno-politycznej Stefana Żeromskiego," *Pamiętnik Literacki*. 1930, pp 451-472

<sup>27</sup> Henryk Kamieński (pseud. "Filaret Prawdowski"). *Katechizm demokratyczny czyli opowiadanie słowa ludowego*, (Paris: 1845) Cf J Hulewicz, *loc cit*, p 452

<sup>28</sup> A Mickiewicz, *Dzieła* (Warszawa, Biblioteka Arcydział Literatury, 1929), xvii/xviii, p 291. The passage is from Mickiewicz's lectures on Slavonic literature, fourth year, lecture 3, Jan. 9, 1844.

which Żeromski's socio-political complexion was consequently spotted appear most clearly in the ideological portrait by Hulewicz:

A supporter of anti-parliamentarian syndicalism but declaring himself for parliamentary democracy, — close to socialism through his emotional attitude toward the proletariat and his federalistic tendencies, but far from it due to his exclusively class character, — an enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of bolshevism but at the same time acknowledging the syndicalist proletariat as the moving force of history, — an enemy of clericalism but recognizing the positive national role of Catholicism in Poland, — contemning gushing overzealous populism but himself tormented continually by concern for the landless peasant, — the enemy of classes which build on tradition, the aristocracy and the gentry, but himself continually returning with delight to that tradition, — an enthusiastic admirer of the Socinians<sup>29</sup> and of the Democratic Society, — such are the ideological features of Żeromski<sup>30</sup>

It becomes clear from this sketchy outline of Żeromski's socio-political ideology why he was incapable of aligning himself with the adherents of any one doctrine. He abhorred blind subservience to any "party line." He had to create a system of his own in order to include the many self-contradictory sociological tenets and attitudes which he professed. The contradictions, however, were not so violent as to readily expose the utopianism of his ideology until he had actually formulated it and submitted it to the fire of philosophical criticism.

When it is submitted to such fire, it is readily seen that with Polish independence already won in 1918 by the aid of a *vis major*, Żeromski, due to his obsession with syndicalism in a Poland already politically free, found himself earnestly trying to accomplish the spiritual regeneration of man through the stratagem of an allegedly rational social system. In other words, he had become so entangled in his marginal doctrinairism that he unwittingly inverted his whole philosophically sound moral-social-political pyramid, and earnestly tried to believe it could stand on its point.

What had happened was that Żeromski's electrifying novels had marked him in the dark days of Poland's enslavement with an adulatory label, "the spiritual leader of a generation."<sup>31</sup> Indeed, he deserved it for his steadfast devotion to the cause of Polish freedom; he was a man of tremendous moral stature. But after the resurrection of Poland the label wrought its havoc upon him, for he was unable to

<sup>29</sup> In Poland from the sixteenth century. Cf. *Conversion of Judas*, pp. 150-153.

<sup>30</sup> J. Hulewicz, *loc. cit.*, p. 471.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Włodzimierz Jampolski, *Stefan Żeromski, Duchowy Wódz Pokolenia* (Kraków 1930).

climb down from the height of moral prestige upon which his lyricism had placed his social theorizing. Nor did he even realize that as a social propagandist he was on a pedestal. He stepped forward boldly and began to tread emotionally pure but sociologically thin air.

Like all social propagandists before him, he soon found that the sensibility to suffering and oppression which had led him unerringly as an artist to rip the "scabs of baseness" from the body of a system that was, betrayed him when as a theorist he had to devise the system that should be. Having seldom troubled to draw a clear line between his artistic creation and his social theorizing, he was intellectually uncritical as a constructive theorist. He fell back upon doctrinairism.

When he took up his utopia again in his last novel *Can Spring Be Far Behind* (1925), he spoke only in symbols, and of a distant future. His utopian faith in the social and moral efficacy of labor syndicates and technical progress had passed from violent oscillation between the horror of life and idealistic doctrinairism into a beautiful poetico-technological symbolism (the glass houses). Perhaps in Żeromski's initial exultation at Poland's newly won political freedom in 1918, his utopia had looked to him like the tree of life itself, but it was after all only a flower of emotion in a doctrinaire pot. The best commentary on it was given by the author himself in his rueful confession toward the end of his life.

My understanding was always in error. Every deed, every act of my heart — missed its aim. Everything always turned out at variance with what I had planned, foreseen, calculated. Everything turned out different from what I had dreamed it. In spite of the conclusions of my logic, everything passed alongside, following its own course. Out of the darkness storms fell upon my fields. Out of the darkness death stalked my path. Sometimes, far, far in the distance the line of my reckoning and plan met with the line of another reckoning not mine — but so far away, so infinitely far away that I could perceive it only in an illusion.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Errors* (1923), p. 17.

## BOHEMIA IN EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE

By RENÉ WELLEK

### I THE MIDDLE AGES

BOHEMIA and English literature? Everybody who sees this title will instantly think of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* and the sea-coast of Bohemia there. But has Bohemia been a topic in English literature outside this one instance which is almost tragicomic? For what could be further from the reality of Bohemia than Antigonus' question to the mariner:

Thou art perfect, then our ship hath touch'd upon  
The deserts of Bohemia?<sup>1</sup>

However, Bohemian subject-matter, references and associations are quite numerous in English literature. A collection should throw light on the relations of the two countries on the conceptions which Englishmen had of a fairly remote, land-locked country, the bits of information they picked up of its geography, history and people, the observations and impressions of English travellers, and the attitude of English writers to the Czech reformation, on their use of Czech names and legends. It will be best to begin with the dawn of history and bring the story down to the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) which submerged the Czech nation in the polyglot Empire of the Habsburgs for almost three hundred years

Our story could begin with King Alfred the Great, who in his Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius gives a sketch of the geography of Europe which includes also "Beme" and "Maroaroland"<sup>2</sup> The medieval English chronicles will also yield occasional references to Bohemia and some of the main events of its history. Thus the chronicle of Matthew of Paris records the Tartar invasions of the thirteenth century and William Rishanger's chronicle contains a brief account of the battle of Kressenbrunn (1260).<sup>3</sup> But more interesting than such meagre entries are small geographical descriptions of Bohemia in the chronicles, in William of Malmesbury, in Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon* and its English version by John of Trevisa.<sup>4</sup> As these descriptions

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, III, iii, 1-2

<sup>2</sup> King Alfred, *A Description of Europe*, ed. J. Bosworth (London, 1855), v. 2

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Luard, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora* (London, 1874), vi, 79, 81, etc.; also iv, 109, 273. H. T. Riley, ed., *Wilhelm Rishanger quondam monachi S. Albani . . . Chronica et Annales* (London, 1874), p. 5

<sup>4</sup> F. S. Haydon, ed., *Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis Chronicon . . . Ab Monacho quondam Malmesburiensi exaratum* (London, 1858), vii, 71-72. C. Babington, ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis* (London, 1865), i, 256-259. There also the translation by Trevisa, quoted in text

are almost identical, we can quote John of Trevisa in his Middle English.

Boemya is i-closed almost all aboute wip hilles and wodes, and þaþ grete plente of lese (leas, pastures), and of gras þat smelleþ ful swete, and of dyverse wylde bestes, among þe whiche is a beste, and hatte (is called) boz in þe langage of Boemia, but he deffendeþ nouȝt hymself with his hornes, but he haþ a large ryvel (fold), as it were a bagge, under þe chynne, þeryn he gaþereth water and heteth it in his rennyng skalding hoot, and þroweth it uppon hunters and houndes þat purseweþ hym, and scaldeþ of þe haere of hem and breeneþ hem ful sore.<sup>5</sup>

This animal, right out of a medieval bestiary, occurs in practically all descriptions of Bohemia to come, even as late as in such sober compilations as Peter Heyleyn's *Mikrokosmos* (1625) or John Speed's *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (1631).<sup>6</sup> The name of that curious animal is most variously spelled as *leoz*, *Loz*, *Boez*, *Leor*, *Lomi* and *Lomis*, and its amazing persistence is not only an example of credulity, but also proof how remote and unreal Bohemia was to the geographers in England.

But Bohemia was soon taken out of the realm of fabulous geography and vague rumors of distant wars. A king of Bohemia, John of Luxemburg, was killed while fighting against the English armies under the Black Prince in the battle of Crécy (1346). Laurence Minot, in his almost contemporary poem on the battle, refers to the "King of Beme" "cant (brisk) and kene" and a Latin poem by an English hand of the time praises the king as "vir super, illustris rex Boemiae generosus."<sup>7</sup> But this first unhappy contact was soon overshadowed by a happier event. Richard II married Anne of Bohemia, daughter of Charles IV and sister of King Wenceslaus IV, in 1381. Though Queen Anne died young, she has left some traces in English literature and was also indirectly important as the newly established contacts between Bohemia and England led to the Czech interest in Wiclif and thus eventually to Hus and the Hussite revolution. Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowles* is usually interpreted as an allegory of Richard's suit for the hand of Anne. But this interpretation has been challenged recently as well as the association of the *House of Fame* with the wedding.<sup>8</sup> There is no occasion here to enter into this complex contro-

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258-259

<sup>6</sup> Peter Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos* (Oxford, 1625), pp. 295 ff. John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1631), pp. 17 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Laurence Minot, *Poems*, ed. Joseph Hall (Oxford, 1914), p. 24, *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Thomas Wright (1859), I, 36, cf. p. 456.

<sup>8</sup> The huge literature on Chaucer can be found listed in Wells's *Manual*, in E. P. Hammond's *Chaucer a Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908) and recently in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1941), I, 224, 226.

versy, especially as Chaucer's association with the new English Queen after her marriage is beyond doubt. In the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, the Queen of Love directs that the poem be given to the "Queen at Eltham or at Shene."<sup>9</sup> We know that these were her two favorite palaces, and that she died at Shene in 1394, aged only 28. John Lydgate, Chaucer's follower, is thus probably right when he tells us that Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* was written at the special request of the Queen.<sup>10</sup> Also Gower's *Confessio Amantis* refers to one effect of her stay in England: in describing a company of lovers he speaks of the "newe guise of Beawme there with sondri thinges wel devised I sih, whereof thei ben queintised (adorned)."<sup>11</sup> Anne's short reign apparently greatly stimulated the worship of St. Anne in England, and thus the Middle English stanzaic *Lives of Saint Anne* may also be linked with her presence on the English throne.<sup>12</sup> The chronicles, of course, are full of descriptions of her arrival in England, the wedding, accounts of her goodness and education and, alas, of the greed of her followers and the scandalous marriage of Robert de Vere, ninth Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland, to one of her ladies whom the chronicle calls "Lancecrona" and abuses as "fília ignobilis prorsus atque foeda."<sup>13</sup>

The intensified contacts between Bohemia and England during the Hussite wars belong to religious history and have been frequently investigated.<sup>14</sup> They worked obviously the other way: Wiclif and the Lollards affected Bohemia; Czech students came to England to collect Wiclif's tracts, and an English exile, Peter Payne, even reached a high position in the Hussite diplomacy. English Lollards like Wyche and Lord Cobham had some contacts, also by letter, with King Wenceslaus, with Hus, and a Czech Hussite nobleman.<sup>15</sup> But literary

<sup>9</sup> *The Legend of Good Women*, Prologue, B 497

<sup>10</sup> Prologue to *The Falls of Princes*, I, 330 ff. on H. Bergen's ed. (Washington, 1923; I, 10)

<sup>11</sup> Gower, "Confessio Amantis," *Works*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, III, 453, II 2470 ff.

<sup>12</sup> R. E. Parker, ed., *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne* (EETS, London, 1928) See introduction

<sup>13</sup> A list of the actual annuities received by the followers of Queen Anne is in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II*, II (London, 1897), p. 4. H. T. Riley, ed., Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglica*, (London, 1864), II, 160. On Lancecrona, cf. A. Höfler, *Anna von Luxemburg* (Vienna, 1871), p. 189.

<sup>14</sup> See especially O. Odložilík, "Wycliffe's Influence upon Central and Eastern Europe," *Slavonic Review*, VII (1928-29), 634 ff.; K. L. Poole, "On the Intercourse between English and Bohemian Wycliffites in the Early Years of the Fifteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, VII (1892), 306. Further discussion of the question of Wycliff and Hus in H. Loserth, V. Novotný, F. M. Bartoš etc.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Wyche's letter to Hus in Höfler's *Geschichtsschreiber der hussitischen Bewegung* (Vienna, 1856-66), II, 210. John Oldcastle's letters to Zdislav of Zvířetice and to King Wenceslaus IV in H. Loserth's *Mittheilungen d. Inst. f. osterr. Geschichtsforschung*, XII (1891), 266, 268.

echoes of the Hussite movement were slow in coming, in spite of the fact that Englishmen took an important part in one of the unsuccessful crusades against Bohemia. Some of the theological literature directed against Wiclif and the Lollards contains hostile references to the Bohemian heretics and a huge collection of tracts, called quaintly *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (Bundles of Tares) supposedly made by Thomas Netter of Walden, contains the acts of the Council of Constance with the verdict on Hus, the accusation against Jerome of Prague and the like.<sup>16</sup> After the wars, reflections on their causes occur in English fifteenth century literature. Reginald Pecock, in the *Repressor of Over Much Blaming the Clergy* (1449), speaks of the evils of the private interpretation of Scripture. It led to "the rewful and wepeable destruccioun of the worthi citee and universite of Prage, and of the hool rewme of Beeme, as y have had thereof enformacioun ynouȝ. And how, aftir the destruccioun of the rewme, the peple ben glad for to resorte and turne aȝen into the catholick and general faith and loore of the chircke, and in her poverte bildith up aȝen what was brent and throwun down, and noon of her holdings can thrive. But for that Crist in his propheciyng must needis be trewe, that ech kingdom devidid in hemsilf schal be destroyed, therefore to hem bifille the now seid wrecchid myschaunce. God for his merci and pitee kepe Ynglond, that he come not into lijk daunce."<sup>17</sup> While Pecock used Bohemia as warning against private judgment of Scripture and internal dissension, Sir John Fortescue, in his *Governance of England* (1471-76) saw Bohemia's fate as a warning against the consequences of poverty among the common people. "Trewly," he says, "it is lyke that this lande then shulde be like unto þe reaume off Boeme, wher the commons ffor poverte rose apon the nobles, and made all thair godis to be comune. Item, hit is the Kyngis honour, and also office, to make his reaume riche."<sup>18</sup> Vague hostile memories of the Hussites linger also in poets before the Reformation. Thus, in Alexander Barclay's *Ship of Fools* (1509), "they of Boeme" are linked with the Scythians and the Sarmatians as led by "fraudulent fiends." "despising the laws of god omnipotent." The heretics are described as having learned "wylfully to forsake god theyr creatour" in the "develysshe scoles of

<sup>16</sup> W. W. Shirley, ed., Thomas Netter de Walden, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (London, 1858) Cf. also his *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae*, ed. Bonaventura Bianciotti (Venice, 1757), I, 355; II, 124, 256; III, 111 etc. Also J. E. Thorold Rogers, ed., Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum* (Oxford, 1881), p. 2, 5, 9, 20, 115, etc.

<sup>17</sup> C. Babington, ed., Reginald Pecock, *Repressor of Over Much Blaming the Clergy* (London, 1860), I, 85-87.

<sup>18</sup> Ch. Plummer, ed., Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England* (Oxford, 1885), p. 139.

Prage and Tolet" (still obviously thought of as Moorish).<sup>19</sup> John Skelton, in *Colin Clout* (1522), couples the "Hussians" with Arians, Pelagians and with "Wicliffista, the devilish dogmatista."<sup>20</sup>

More pleasant is the memory of the Christianizer of Bohemia who suddenly appears in the two books of the fifteenth-century chronicler John Capgrave (died 1464). Twice, in Latin in the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* and in English in his *Chronicle*, Capgrave tells us the story of St. Wenceslaus. Some of the legends he tells of Wenceslaus are echoes of the legend known as *Oriente iam Sole*: "how Wenceslaus used to arise secretly at night and go, with only one slave attending him, to his forest, and bearing wood thence on his shoulder, he used to lay it secretly at the doors of widows and poor people. He used also to collect corn in his field, and secretly tearing off the stalks and making wafers with his own hand, he distributed them among the Churches." In the earlier book on the Henries the story is told in connection with Henry, King of the Danes (actually Eric VI, 1241–50), to whom St. Wenceslaus appeared in a dream predicting to him that he would die in the manner that Wenceslaus himself had died. "Praying him," continues the later version in the *Chronicle*, "that in the honoure of Nyenclaus, he schuld make a monasteri. The King when he was awakid, called his servauntis, and inquired what this Nyenclaus was. They answered him — a prince of the lond of Bem, wrongfully slayn be his brothir."<sup>21</sup> Erik founded the monastery and died by the hands of his brother.

## II. THE REFORMATION

With the Reformation in England, Hussitism became again a burning question for Englishmen. At first, the German Reformation appeared to Englishmen only as a recrudescence of the Hussite heresy, and thus Hussitism came in for denunciation together with Lutheranism from the defenders of the old faith. When Lutheranism had become victorious on the Continent, interest in Hussitism declined, also with the adherents of Protestantism, as Hus appeared now merely as one of the precursors of Luther, who overshadowed him in effect and influence. Thus we can explain why we find many strongly anti-Hussite pronouncements early in the Reformation controversy, while Hus plays only a minor role in the later Protestant apologetics. The attack against Lutheranism was, ironically enough,

<sup>19</sup> T. H. Jamieson, ed., Alexander Barclay, *The Ship of Fools* (Edinburgh, 1874), II, 190.

<sup>20</sup> P. Henderson, ed., John Skelton, *Complete Poems* (London, 1931), p. 299.

<sup>21</sup> F. Ch. Hingeston, ed., John Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* (London, 1858), p. 143; English translation, *ibid.* pp. 167–170; *The Chronicle of England*, ed. F. C. Hingeston (London, 1858), p. 115.



begun by King Henry VIII himself who earned, somewhat prematurely, the title of "Defender of the Faith" with his little pamphlet *Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum* (1521). There he attacks Luther because he wants to "flatter the Bohemians whose perfidiousness he before detested." The King suspects Luther of wanting to secure a refuge in Bohemia in case of failure "He makes himself friends of the Mammon of Iniquity that when he is banished his own country, he may pass into that of those into whose errors he has already entered." In order to please the Bohemians, Luther "endeavors to extinguish all the force and authority of ecclesiastical customs." Luther is even worse than the Bohemians, who wanted wine for the people, but never actually denied the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament.<sup>22</sup> Henry VIII ascribed such importance to his pamphlet that he sent a special mission to Rome to present it to Pope Leo X. Henry's orator, the Dean of Windsor, John Clark, presented the book before the Consistory to the Pope on October 21, 1521 and made a solemn address which again stresses the continuity between Luther and Hussitism. "Most Holy Father," he began, "what great troubles have been stirred up, by the pernicious opinions of Martin Luther, which of late years first sprung out of the lurking holes of the Hussitarian heresy." The orator now asserts that Luther has already fled into "his perpetual lurking holes of Bohemia, the Mother and Nurse of his heresies." The Hussitarian heresy is an awful warning what might come out of Luther. "It, though contented at first with small beginnings, yet, through the neglect of superiors, increased to such a height, that at last it turned not only cities and people, but also the most populous kingdom of Bohemia, from the Christian faith reducing it to that misery under which it now languishes."<sup>23</sup> Luther answered Henry VIII in a pamphlet which, appropriately, was dedicated to a Bohemian nobleman, Count Sebastian Schlick.<sup>24</sup>

Henry VIII struck the key-note and the other defenders of the old faith follow him closely. Sir Thomas More in a book *The Dialogue concerning Tyndale* (1528) attacks Wiclif for having taught Hus, while Hus became "the occasion of the utter subversion of the whole realm of Bohemia, both in faith and good living, with the loss of many a thousand lives." More taunts the Protestants for not having a country to show where their church is in existence. If they should point to Bohemia they would only get "out of the frying pan into the

<sup>22</sup> King Henry VIII, *Assertio*, English translation in *Miscellaneous Writings of Henry the Eighth* (London, 1924), p. 55, 61, etc.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26. The translation is by Thomas Webster, originally published London, 1687.

<sup>24</sup> Luther's answer, *Contra Henricum VIII Angliae Regem*, dated July 15, 1522.

fire." "One faith in the towne, another in the fiede. One in Prage, another in the next towne. And yet in Prage itself one faith in one streete, another in the next. So that if ye assigne in Boheme, ye must tell in what towne. And if ye name a towne, yet muste ye tell in what strete. And yet al thei knowledge (acknowledge) that thei cannot have the sacramentes ministred, but by such priestes as be made by authoritie derived and conceived from the Pope."<sup>25</sup> More thus knows of the diversity of sects in Bohemia and knows that the Utraquists still coveted the ordaining of their priests by a Catholic bishop as they wanted to preserve the Apostolic succession. More also argues that no sect can be the true church as the church was before them all and thus that no sect in Bohemia can be the true church. Tyndal of course answered More's book and refuted at least one argument. The Bohemians were not guilty of the subversion of their kingdom. "The rule of their faith are Christ's promises and the rule of their living God's law." "And as for the loss of lives, it is truth that the Pope slew, I think, an hundred thousand of them, because of their faith, and that they would no longer serve him."<sup>26</sup> But so much the worse for the Pope. Polemics in Reformation times had no end. More made a most thorough reply (*The Confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, 1532) which returns to the Hussites several times, stressing the social disorders which follow from heresy and arguing from the common view of the ages that Hus is one of the very few persons who ever denied that the Holy Ghost is active in the Church.<sup>27</sup> More is a defender of the old faith also for social reasons: heresy and hence Hussitism are subversive movements and the religious tolerance, as practised in Bohemia, appears to him a blow against the universality of the Christian faith.

More's main arguments were repeated over and over again in the polemical literature of the time. John Fisher, who died a martyr's death only a few months before More, also appealed to the warning example of Bohemia, when, in a speech before the House of Lords, he protested against encroachments of the powers of the Church in 1529. "Remember with yourselves," he pleads, "what these sects and divisions have wrought amonge the Bohemians and Germans, who, besides an innumerable number of mischeefes fallen amonge them, have almost lost their auncient and catholyke faith. And what by the snares of John Huss, and after him Martin Luther, they have almost

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from *Works*, ed. Campbell, Chambers, Reed (London, 1927), p. 233, 262, 179 181, 254.

<sup>26</sup> Parker Society, ed. H. Walter (1850), p. 165-166.

<sup>27</sup> From Preface and the Answer to Tyndal's Preface Quoted from 1532 ed.

excluded themselves from the Unitie of Christes Holy Church.''<sup>28</sup> In a special piece Fisher attacked Luther's *Babylonian Captivity*, arguing, like More, that the Bohemians are better than Luther as they do not deny the real presence and besides, the Bohemians have no authority for Englishmen. There are other polemical writings of Fisher which vary and repeat the arguments proposed by More and King Henry.<sup>29</sup>

But possibly even more interesting than these polemics against the Hussites is the solemn warning which Cardinal Wolsey pronounced on his deathbed (1530). George Cavendish, Wolsey's biographer, tells us that the dying Wolsey sent a message to Henry through one master Kingston. It is worth quoting at length:

I require his Grace, in God's name, to depress this new pernicious sect of Lutherans, that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence . . . as that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them; as the King of Bohemia did, who had good game to see his rude commons, then infected with Wicliffe's heresies, to spoil and murder the spiritual men and religious persons of his realm: the which fled to the king and his nobles for succour against their frantic rage; of whom they could get no help of defence or refuge, but laughed them to scorn, having good game at their spoil and consumption, not regarding their duties nor their own defence. And when these erroneous heretics had subdued all the clergy and spiritual persons, taking the spoil of their riches, both of churches, monasteries, and all other spiritual things, having no more to spoil, they caught such a courage of their former liberty that then they disdained their prince and sovereign lord with all other noble personages, and the head governors of the country, and began to fall in hand with the temporal lords to slay and spoil them, without pity or mercy, most cruelly. Insomuch that the King and other his nobles were constrained to put harness upon their backs, to resist the ungodly powers of those traitorous heretics, and so defend their lives and liberties, who pitched a field royal against them; in which field these traitors so stoutly encountered, that the part of them were so cruel and vehement, that in fine they were victors, and slew the king, the lords, and all the gentlemen of the realm, leaving not one person that bore the name or port of a gentleman alive, or any person that had any rule or authority in the commonweal. By means of which slaughter they have lived ever since in great misery and poverty, without a head or governor, but lived all in common like wild beasts, abhorred of all Christian

<sup>28</sup> From *The Life of Fisher*, transcribed from Ms. Harleian 6382. EETS, Extra Series, xxvii (1921), p. 69. A similar summary of the speech in Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, p. 766.

<sup>29</sup> "Assertio Regis Angliae de Fide Catholica adversus Lutheri Babylonicam Captivitatem Defensio," in John Fisher, *Opera* (Wurzburg, 1547), p. 113, 169. Other passages referring to Hus p. 113, 544, 477.

nations. Good Master Kingston, there is no trust in routs, or unlawful assemblies of the common people . . ."

Not only the emphasis and vigor of the anti-Hussite expressions are remarkable, but also the knowledge or lack of knowledge it betrays. If the speech has been reproduced correctly (and there is some corroboration in a MS. life of Fisher<sup>31</sup>) it must be considered an amazing document of the impression the Hussite wars made in England. Wolsey, Cardinal and Lord Chancellor of England, thinks—several years after the ascension of Ferdinand I to the throne of Bohemia in 1526—that there is still no proper government in Bohemia and that people live there as communists, a vague memory of the Adamites and their teachings. Wolsey thought not only that the crusades miscarried but that the king (Sigmund?) himself was slain and that even all priests and noblemen were murdered in Bohemia. The Hussite revolution appears here as the supreme example of anarchy and mob-rule.

In Wolsey's violent attack there is, however, no trace of religious fervor. We find it only much later among the Catholics, in Edmund Campion, the Jesuit writer who was executed at Tyburn in 1581. Campion entered the Society of Jesus in Rome in 1573, whence he was sent to Bohemia. After a short stay in Prague, he worked at a hospital in Brno, taught children, converted peasants, and begged for his order at doors. In 1574 he was transferred to Prague, where he became Professor of Rhetoric at the newly established Jesuit college. He founded a "Brotherhood of the Immaculate Conception." In 1576 he was moved to the Convictor's college, and there, at the beginning of the scholastic year, pronounced a fervent Latin eulogy on St. Wenceslaus.<sup>32</sup> The oration in Ciceronian style praises St. Wenceslaus as a greater hero than any general or conqueror, pagan poet or philosopher. His example is to Campion the surest guarantee that Bohemia, split up into many erring sects, will eventually return to the one Catholic Church.<sup>33</sup> The letters of Campion show that privately he was less optimistic. He describes Bohemia as "a mixen and hotch-pot of all heresies." He comforts himself with the thought that he ought to labor in Bohemia with even greater zeal "since an Englishman, Wicliffe, infected the people."<sup>34</sup> In 1578, when Campion had

<sup>30</sup> F. S. Ellis, ed., G. Cavendish, *Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* (London, 1899), p. 243; for original text, cf. id., Kelmescott Press, 1893, pp. 273-274.

<sup>31</sup> *The Life of Fisher*, loc. cit. in n. 28, p. 48.

<sup>32</sup> Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion*, London, 1867, esp. pp. 73 ff. and p. 80.

<sup>33</sup> The speech in Robert Turner . . . *orationum Volumen Secundum . . . Acceserunt Edmundi Campioni . . . Orationes, Epistolae etc.* (Cologne, 1625), p. 177.

<sup>34</sup> Letter to John Bavand, quoted in Simpson, loc. cit. p. 86-87.

returned again to the Jesuit College, he was ordained deacon and priest by the Archbishop of Prague who expressed the hope that "as from one Englishman, Wicliffe, all the evils of Bohemia had sprung, so God had provided another Englishman to heal those wounds."<sup>35</sup> But a year later Campion was called to Rome and sent on a perilous mission to England, where he found a martyr's death. His main polemical work *Decem Rationes* (1581) does not forget the Bohemian question. There he attacks Hus in most violent terms as a "pestilent liar who was captured in the act of running away" and thus nullified his safe-conduct. "He was commanded to present himself at Constance to answer for the barbarous tragedies he had enacted in his own land of Bohemia: he despised the prerogative of the council, he sought security from Caesar, Caesar signed the agreement, the Christian world, greater than Caesar, rescinded it; the heresiarch would not repent: he perished."<sup>36</sup> The Ciceronian eloquence of this passage only thinly hides the inconsistency of Campion's arguments and the vagueness of his knowledge. At first he refers to a supposed attempt of Hus to flee from Constance which thus nullified the Emperor's safe-conduct. A little later he appeals to the higher authority of the Church which can break even an Emperor's word. Hus, besides, is blamed apparently for the "barbarous tragedies" of the Hussite wars which broke out only after his death. Thus Campion speaks with the voice of the Counter-reformation, of the Jesuits in Bohemia who finally were to subdue the country, and attempted to eradicate the very memory of John Hus.

But the Protestant version of the events was also heard in the varied writings of the English reformers, especially since 1547, when the Convocation had accepted the communion under both kinds, the main feature of the "utraquist" creed. John Bale, the antiquary and dramatist, was most important for the establishment of a Protestant version of English history: he attacked Polydore Vergil for his treatment of Wiclif and Lord Cobham and incidentally refers frequently to Hus and the Hussites in complimentary terms. Bale thought that one of the reasons for the condemnation of Lord Cobham was his sending of Wiclif's writings to Bohemia and he knows that the Archbishop of Prague (Zbynko of Hasenburg, whom he calls Subinco Lepus) had two hundred volumes of Wiclif's writings burnt in public. The first information he took from Walden, the other from Aeneas Sylvius. In a later tract Bale quotes also from Hus's tract on the

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 90

<sup>36</sup> *Decem Rationes* (1581) From Simpson, *loc. cit* p 66.

Revelation of St. John.<sup>37</sup> Bale, in his first history of English literature, preserved also the knowledge of a drama on Hus written by Ralph Radclif in 1538. Radclif had a school at Hitchin in Hertfordshire where he had a stage for his pupils. He composed Latin plays for them which included one called *De Joannis Huss Bohemie nati condemnatione*. Bale, who visited Radclif between 1548 and 1551, preserved only the first verse,<sup>38</sup> but we can imagine the kind of primitive anti-Catholic school-drama the play must have been from the analogy of Bale's own productions of this type.

Bale inspired the "martyrologist" Foxe. In John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1554), one of the most popular books of the Elizabethan age, we find the first full-length "History of Master John Huss," based largely on Cochlaeus, but showing a knowledge of the actual Latin writings of Hus. In later editions Foxe reprints Hus's reply to John Stokes in English translation from the 1558 edition of Hus's works, his public defence, the second disputation and other minor pieces.<sup>39</sup> With Foxe Hus took his place in Protestant hagiography. His "most cruel death and martyrdom for the testimony of the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ" became a common topic down to Thomas Fuller's *Abel Redivivus* (1651), a collection of biographies preparatory to his better-known *Worthies*.

In Protestant polemical literature references to Hus and Hussitism are common. Archbishop Cranmer, whose library contained two volumes of Hus's writings, mentions him as a martyr for the original doctrine of the Church.<sup>40</sup> John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, who was burnt at Smithfield in 1555, appealed to the testimony of Hus when he was subjected to an examination which led to his condemnation.<sup>41</sup> James Pilkington, later Bishop of Durham and at that time Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Divinity, pronounced in 1560 a long funeral oration over the remains of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius in Great St. Mary's church, Cambridge. There he quotes as "a notable proof assuredly of the

<sup>37</sup> John Bale, *Chronicle of the Examination and Death of Lord Cobham* (1544), p. 9-11. "The Image of Both Churches," quoted from *Select Works*, ed. H. Christmas (1849), p. 256; cf. also p. 563. A new discussion of Bale's importance in Protestant historiography see J. M. Harris, *John Bale* (Urbana, 1941).

<sup>38</sup> "Ex quo novissime aderam fratres in Christo charissimi" from *Scriptorum Illustrium majoris Brytannie... Catalogus* (Bale, 1557), p. 700. Also in *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 332-333.

<sup>39</sup> J. Pratt, ed., Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 8 vols. (1877), III, 58, 64-86, 93-94, 97, 309, 402, 405 ff.

<sup>40</sup> E. Burbridge, ed., *Remains of the Library of Thomas Cranmer* (1892), and J. Jenkyns, ed., *Thomas Cranmer, Remains* (Oxford, 1833), III, 308.

<sup>41</sup> R. Eden, ed., John Philpot, *Examinations and Writings* (Cambridge, 1842), p. 120.

providence and pleasure of God in sowing the Gospel, that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to hear Wicliffe . . . and also the going of our men to the said Bohemians, when persecution was raised against us." The Protestant doctrine, he argues, is sent from heaven. "And if there be any that desired to be persuaded more at large in the matter, he might advisedly consider the voyage that the emperor and the pope with both their powers together made jointly against the Bohemians, in which the Emperor took such an unworthy repulse of so small a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place." Speaking of the Bohemians, he concludes with an illustration drawn from Bohemian history, a "most apt example that was reported of their captain Zisca, who, when he should die, willed his body to be flain, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum; for it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the sound of it, they should not be able to stand against them. The like counsel he himself now gave them as concerning Bucer; that like the Bohemians did with the skin of Zisca, the same should they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer, for as soon as the papists should hear the noise of him, their gewgaws would forthwith decay."<sup>42</sup>

Also the most prominent theologian of the early Elizabethan Anglicanism, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, used arguments from Bohemian ecclesiastical history. In his long-drawn out polemics with John Harding he even appealed to the example of Cyril and Methodius. Defending the use of the vernacular in divine service, Jewel mentions that "above six hundred years past it was granted to have the mass in the Sclavons' tongue," in Moravia. "After Cyrillus and Methodius by long preaching and great pains had converted [the Moravians] to the faith of Christ, and for the better continuance of that they had begun, were desirous that the people so converted might have their common service in their mother-tongue, and the matter stood in suspense at Rome, in the consistory, before the bishop there and his cardinals, a voice was heard by an angel from heaven: *omnis spiritus laudet Dominum; et omnis lingua confiteatur ei.*" But Jewel uses this story drawn from Aeneas Sylvius with some scepticism. "By this story it appeareth," he continues, "the Angel of God from heaven was author that these nations should have their service in the common tongue. Now if M. Harding be able to shew that either evangelist, or angel, or voice from heaven, ever willed them to leave their own natural speech, and to use the Latin, then may he say they had good causes to do so." Jewel also defends the Bohemians

<sup>42</sup> James Pilkington, *Works*, Parker Society, 1842, p. 644-645

against the accusation of being "new-fangled" they merely continued in the order of the primitive church and the Council of Bale granted them the use of the sacrament under both kinds.<sup>43</sup> In a later sermon, Jewel recites, in some detail, the story of the Hussite wars and the ill successes of the crusades. The Pope's armies fled before they did see the enemy and even Cardinal Julian, in a letter to Pope Eugene iv saw in their easy victories "a miracle wrought by God, to declare that their opinion is true, and ours false."<sup>44</sup> In a *Defence of the Apology of the Church of England* Jewel again reverts to the Councils of Constance and Bale, refers to the association of the Hussite with the Greek Church and does not forget to taunt his adversary with the breach of safe-conduct for Hus. "Ye shamefully betrayed and cruelly murdered John Huss and Hieronymus Pragensis, according to your vicious doctrine: *Fides non est servanda haereticis*."<sup>45</sup> This point recurs frequently in Protestant literature, in Thomas Rogers, the chaplain of Archbishop Bancroft, in Edwin Sandys, the Archbishop of York, and elsewhere. William Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, uses Jewel's argument in favor of the vernacular in divine service. If Cyrill and Methodius were granted the use of the Slavonic tongue "why might not the same be granted to other churches?"<sup>46</sup>

Even a knowledge of the other main Bohemian sect, the Bohemian brethren, began to penetrate into England. Nicholas Ridley, Archbishop Cranmer's companion in life and death, wrote from his prison in 1553 a letter recommending the well-known defence of the Bohemian brethren written for King Vladislav in 1507 or 1508 which Ridley had found in Ortwinus Gratius's huge folio.<sup>47</sup> Ridley admires the Bohemian Brethren as "men of much more learning, godliness, soberness and understanding in God's word than I would have thought them to have been in that time, before I did read their works. If such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, I suppose surely great good might have comen to Christ's Church hereby."<sup>48</sup> Foxe, in the 1583 edition of his *Acts and Monuments*,

<sup>43</sup> John Jewel, *Works*, Parker Society, I, 335, 210, 212, 205. In "A Reply to Mr Hard- ing's Answer" (1565)

<sup>44</sup> "Sermon on Joshua VI, 1-3" (1583), *ibid.*, II, 979

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 955. Also III, 128, 203, 309, 196

<sup>46</sup> J. J. S. Peraine, ed., Thomas Rogers, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*, (Cambridge, 1854), p. 36, 119, Edwin Sandys, *Sermons*, 1841, Third Sermon. Whitaker, *A Disputation on Holy Scripture*, trans. William Fitzgerald (1849), p. 269-270. The original *Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura* dates from 1588

<sup>47</sup> Printed in *Writings of John Bradford*, ed. A. Townsend (Cambridge, 1853), p. 158. The letter addressed to August Bernhere, dated December 1554, first published in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs* (1564), p. 70. Ortwinus Gratius, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* (1535)

<sup>48</sup> *Loc. cit.* in Bradford. See note 47.



quoted the apology in English translation, and Ortwinus Gratius, though himself sharply anti-Protestant, was re-edited in England as late as 1690 by an Anglican clergyman, Edward Brown. These extracts from Elizabethan theological literature could be continued almost indefinitely, but enough has been quoted to show the attitude of the two parties to the Czech reformation and the knowledge they had of Hus, Žižka, the Hussite Wars, Cyrill and Methodius, and the like.

### III SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELLERS

Not before the sixteenth century can we find Englishmen who left us literary records of their travels to Bohemia. However, Dr Andrew Borde's *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (1542) scarcely supports the author's claim to have travelled all over Europe. Borde has a little chapter on Bohemia which rehearses the story of the fanciful beast and informs us that "in Boeme is indifferent lodging and competent of vitels." He thinks that the Bohemians "speak duch," just as he informs us the Poles speak German and the Hungarians "corrupt Italian." Borde's Catholic viewpoint—the book is dedicated to the Lady Mary, the future Queen of England—comes out in a little poem prefixed to the section on Bohemia. There a Bohemian speaks for himself.

I am the kyngdom of Boeme  
 I do not tel al men what I do meane;  
 For the popes curse I do lytle care  
 The more the fox is cursed the better he doth fare.  
 Ever sens Wyclif did dwel wyth me  
 I did never set by the popes auctorite.<sup>49</sup>

Borde could find the story of Wiclif's supposed stay in Bohemia in Polydore Vergil. Similarly *Batman uppon Bartholome* (1582) contains no first-hand account of Bohemia. It repeats the story of the fabulous beast, but adds that the language is "the Slavone tongue" and tells some of the rumors of the Adamites, "this horrible and most filthy sect," as if they were still existent and flourishing.<sup>50</sup>

But Englishmen—and even famous Englishmen—did visit Bohemia in the sixteenth century. Sir Philip Sidney was on a diplomatic mission in Prague in 1577, where he was received by the Emperor Rudolf II. He met there Edmund Campion and was even present at

<sup>49</sup> *The Fyrst boke of the Introduction of knowledge*, chapter II. The woodcut representing the Bohemian shows a man making a gesture of refusal and a lady with a flower in her hand.

<sup>50</sup> *Batman uppon Bartholome, his Booke de Proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged, and amended* (London, 1582), p. 219

one of his sermons. Campion even seems to have cherished the illusion that Sidney might be converted to Catholicism. Even before Sidney saw Prague, he had struck up a friendship at Padua with a young Bohemian nobleman, Count Slavata, and Sidney's correspondence with Languet shows his lively interest in the religious struggles in Bohemia. After his visit he enquired of Languet for the laws of "Gottenburg" (Kuttenberg, Kutná hora) which are still considered important in the history of mining law and which Sidney wanted to send to England, as he hoped they would be of use in working the gold mines discovered by Frobisher in America.<sup>51</sup> Another English poet, Sir Edward Dyer, came to Prague in 1588 on a mission connected with the English alchemists working at the court of Rudolf II. Dyer observed Edward Kelley making gold and wanted him to come back to England, without avail. Dyer was arrested, questioned by the Emperor and finally expelled, while Kelley later died in an attempt to escape from prison by jumping from a window.<sup>52</sup> Other diplomatic visitors to Prague include Sir Henry Wotton in 1591 and Sir Anthony Sherley, who was received by Rudolf II in 1600.

The first among Elizabethan travellers to leave us a detailed account of his observations is, however, Fynes Morison, whose *Itinerary* (1617) is a mine of information on Europe during the last years of the sixteenth century. The *Itinerary* contains a number of passages referring to Bohemia and Mr Charles Hughes has added a few more from the much larger Ms. diary in his book of extracts called *Shakespeare's Europe* (1903). I have seen the original manuscript in the Bodleian and can thus supplement the quotations by further material which has never been printed.<sup>53</sup>

Fynes Morison came to Prague in March 1592 and stayed for two months. A year later Morison passed through Moravia, "a pleasant country, very fruitfull, and full of townes and villages." The huge Ms. diary contains a description of Prague which is quite detailed and concrete, with visits to the Cathedral, the Bethlehem Church etc., not forgetting even the twelve lions and one Indian in the "Star," a star-shaped castle just outside of Prague.

<sup>51</sup> See M. W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 176-179; also W. A. Bradley, ed., *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (Boston, 1912), p. 134.

<sup>52</sup> Ralph M. Sargent, *At the Court of Elizabeth. The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 97-122.

<sup>53</sup> Fynes Morison, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland . . .* 4 vols. (1617). Chas. Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Morison's Itinerary* (London, 1903).

Morison has a poor opinion of the Prague fortifications: "except the stinch of the streetes drive back the Turks, or they meet them in open field, there is small hope in the fortifications thereof." But his fullest and most interesting chapters are those on religion in Bohemia and on the customs of the people. Morison begins with a sketch of the religious history of Bohemia. The Bohemians "were the first that by suffering and by Armes wrought some Reformation," but the effect of the Hussite wars was rather to "admonish the Pope to restrayne his tyranny than to shake his power, as shall appeare by the Hussites doctryne." He describes then the amazing tolerance and multiplicity of sects in his own time. "In the same Citty some were Calvinists, some Lutherans, some Hussites, some Anabaptists, some Picards, some Papists " "Yea the same confusion was in all villages, and even in most of the private Familyes, among those who lived at one table, and rested in one bed together. For I have often seene servants wayte upon their masters to the Church dore, and there leave them to goe to another Church. Yea I have seene some of the Emperors Guard stand before his face laughing to see him creepe on his knees to kisse the Crucifix and other Reliques." Still, all the different people "converse in strang amity and peace together, without which patience a turbulent spirit could not live in those partes."

The churches appeared to Morison less sumptuous than in Germany. "I observed little carved worke, excepting that of the Emperors Courte, and the insides to have little beauty, and for the most parte to be unclenly kept." He thinks the revenues of the clergy are very large. A minister, whom he knew, had a "weekly three Dollars in mony, a mutton, a proportion of board, linnen for his house, and some like necessities out of the publike treasure, besides his own oblations and profitts, together with a house, an Orcharde, a garden, and two vinyardes. The yearly revenues of the archbishop of Prage were said to be twelve thousand Gold Guldens out of the publike treasure of the Citty, and twenty foure thousand from his owne landes." Morison then briefly speaks of the bishopric of Litoměřice (Litomyz) and abruptly condemns the Hussites. "If the Papists be superstitious, surely the Hussites (according to their ignorant zeale) are ridiculous." He then describes some of their customs. The Hussite priests may not marry. They administer the sacrament under both kinds though they believe in the "corporall eating of the body and blood of our lord." "They deny that prayers may be made to Saintes or before Images. They sing the masse in Lattin, but they reade the Epistle, the Gospell, the forme of Baptisme and buyrrial, in the Bohemian tongue. They signe the Baptised Infants with the crosse, and anoynte them on the forehead and on the neck with oyle, and use exorcisme at the doore of the Church before they admitt the Infant into the Church to be Baptised." They have no holy water, do not believe in purgatory and refuse to recognize the authority of the Pope. They sing no masses for the dead.

The Anabaptists and Picards, who are obviously identical with the

Bohemian Brethren, seem to inspire Morison's respect "Their profession is not so austere, as humble, abject, and industrious. They lived like brethren in Colledges with their wyves and children, having one common purse, to which all that entred gave their goods. Each Family had lodgings aparte, and each morning earely all went to theire superiors and tooke theire mente and taske of worke for that day. For they exercised all manuary Artes except the making of swordes and Instruments to hurte other men And I have seene some of these men in theire Jorneyes appaerred with a long Coate of Course home spunne Cloth (which all use without difference) having a staffe in theire handes without any other Armes. If any be expelled the Colledge for unchastity or blasphemy (as swearing and ungodly speeches) or for like offences, they loose the goods they brought, and they used severe disciplyne without any respect for persons . . . They kept the feasts of the Annunciation and of Easter, but they "did not observe the feast of the nativity of our lord "

During Easter of 1592 Morison "had the opportunity to satisfie his curiosity in observing all Ceremonyes" by visiting the services of the several denominations. He describes the Easter services in the Catholic Cathedral in detail, beginning with the Thursday before Easter On Good Friday "the Priest setting fifteen wax tapers before the high Altar, first putt out one to signiye an Apostle falling from Christ, and so twelve in order for the twelve Apostles, then two for Martha and Mary, and at last he putt out the fifteenth signifying the death of Christ, at which tyme all the Church resounded with growlings and despitefull spittings of the people, like noyse being made by the boyes with their feete, and with clappers of wood made for that purpose, all to showe their indignation against the Jewes " The Jews did not dare to stir out of their ghetto during Passion week. "About one of the Clocke on Easter morning, the Papist Priests beginne to celebrate Christs resurrection. But the Emperor being sleepy, Christ was made to ryse in the Church of the Courte before Tenn of the Clocke on the night, that the Emperor might goe to bed, at which tyme with many ceremonyes, the black hanginges of the Church were taken downe, and the Image of Christ was brought . . . from the Sepulchre to the high Altar."

It was different with the Hussites. "Upon Good Fryday they covered a Sepulchre with blacke cloth, but that day and the next I observed none of them worship at the sepulchre, only the Clarke attended to keepe it, whome I did see walke by it with his hatt on, and treade upon the Cloth with his foule shoes, yea being impatient at the driving of a nayle into the Cloth, he was bold to swear a great oath." "On Easter day some hower before morning, the Hussites came to Church, where the Preacher, as a Prologue to a Play, told them why they were assembled, then two little boys richly attired in woomans apparell, and so presenting Mary and Magdalen, went to the Sepulchre and began to lament not fynding the body of Christ, till a thirde boye like an Angel with spread winges lett downe from above with pulleys, bad them not to seeke him

among the dead, for he was risen This play ended, they sung Psalmes, and received the supper of our lord in both kyndes, till the full Congregation came, when they had Divine Service " Morison, however, soon came back to the more impressive Catholics "The Emperor (as I formerly sayd) would have Christ risen early in his Church, that he might go to bed, which gave me oportunity to see the Jesuites Ceremonie at the due hower of the Resurrection " He was much impressed by the elaborate service and the crowds of people attending it but ridiculed the congregation for "casting themselves prostrate on their faces to pray, and when they did rise up, crossing all their bodyes, not only before, but the very hinder partes "

Morison goes on describing the various activities of the Jesuits and their new college and to regale scandal about them "Those Jesuites have poysoned a great person being a Lutheran, lest by his grace with the Emperor, he should worke anything against the Roman religion, and . . . they left him dead with a place of Scripture layd open before him, that might persuade men he killed himself in dispayre " Life in the Jesuit College was none of the godliest according to anecdotes he picked up from an Englishman in the college "One Jesuite of that Colledge had gott a childe of a base queane, another used mightly to slyde out of the windowes by a rope to danse and revel in the Citty, and a third being an Italian had lately defloured a gentlemans daughter It was usual with the Jesuites to reveal Confessions." Morison then quotes the 1570 statutes of the Jesuits and breaks off rather abruptly

Later in the Ms. we find another chapter "Of Bohemia." It begins by stating that the Bohemians "though invironed on all sydes by German nations, yet were of old meere strangers to them." According to Morison they came originally from Dalmatia, "but by long conversation, and by having the Court of the German Emperor for many ages resident among them in their cheefe Citty Prage they are now grown in nature and manners much like the Germans Only the Germans being of a sterne and sul-len behavior, the Bohemians in that point differ much from them and come neare to the Pollonians (bothe of them being of old discended, if not from the same, yet of near bordering nations.) For I never found a greater humanity and curtosye in any people, then in the Bohemians, both gentlemen and Plebeians, especially in gentile worddes with frequent putting off their hatts to honor those they did meet " "The Bohemians seemed courteous of humble and ingenuous simplicity, the Polonians rather out of a pryde to be honored."

"The women of Bohemia, contrary to the custome of women in Germany, drinke with as large intemperance as the men, and goe alone by themselves without the company of men to taverns and *shenkhausen* (or houses where beer is sold) and so come short of that modesty and chastitie for which the women of Germany are renowned, neither are they indeed generally reputed so chaste as the women of Germany." "The Citty of Prage hath a publicke Stewes allowed by the magistrate where the

Harlotts dwell together in streets appointed for their habitation." "The men have large bodies and are of high stature, yet are nothing so active as the Polonians. . . . Yet were they of all reputed no lesse valiant and courageous whereof they gave good proof in the Hussite warre."

Morison then digresses on the reasons and the course of the wars and tells, of course, the story of Žižka and his drum which he must have heard many times, especially as he visited his tomb in Čáslav (which he anglicizes as Chassel). The Bohemians, Morison then continues, "are prayed rather for ingenious simplicity then sharpness of witt. Neither know I of any men they have had famous in Sciences And as they are a warlike people and live in a rich style and plentiful country, so are they less industrious and nothing excellent in mannuall artes."

Morison next gives an account of the University of Prague. He knows that it was founded in 1348 but, curiously enough, thinks that the Emperor Charles V "took away its privileges, because the Students stirred up seditions when he made his warr against the Protestant Princes of Germany," which seems to allude to the measures taken by Ferdinand I during the Schmalkadian war in 1547. Morison thinks that then (instead of 1409) the "students forsooke Prage and went to Leipzig." To this day the university "lyes unfrequented, like the shadowe and ruines of a decayed university. For the privileges being taken away, and many other universities being since founded by the Princes of Germany in their severall Dominions, and the Professors of Prage being not famous for learning, the Concourse of students could never since be drawne together." "When I passed that way, it had six ruined Colleges, as one called the Kings, another Queenes, the third the College of the Nations, which there had but 24 Students in them." The Rectors and professors lived on income derived from villages owned by the university. "Whatsoever remayned of their old rents, above the expense of their Dyett and the dyett of poore Schollars, they divided among themselves yearely, but this division seldome exceeded 40 Dollars to each of them." Though the degrees were not recognized by other universities, the professors continued to grant them. Morison also adverts to the language question. The Bohemians have a peculiar language which is also spoken in Moravia. The Moravians are even greater sticklers for their language than the Bohemians. "Of late when the Emperor, at his admittance to be king of Bohemia, pronounced his oath in the German tounge, the Moravians refused to take or to give oath otherwise then in their owne tounge, which the Emperor not understanding, was notwithstanding forced to learne the wordes of the oath in that tongue by harte, for their satisfaction." The Bohemians exceed even the Germans in their love of titles, "the title *Gestreng*, that is mighty, being given to every gentleman (and all be gentlemen, excepting Cittizens of great Cittyes, the country people being all slaves.)"

Then Morison comes back to the ever, to him, fascinating subject of religious ceremonies. "The Bohemian children," he tells us, "are not bap-

tised naked nor the whole body washed in the water, according to the custome of Germany, but are cloathed, and have only the forehead sprinkled with water and the forehead and neck anointed with oyle." Morison saw three funerals of persons of different rank which he proceeds to describe minutely. First came a gentleman's funeral procession. "At noone day three score lighted torches were carryed, then all the severall coate-Armes of his Family, then came the singing boyes, and 14 Priests, having 4 great Crosses carried among them, and all of them singing, then followed the gentlemans horse all covered with black velvett, and ledd by two gentlemen in black mourning habites, one holding the bridle on each side, then followed 4 gentlemen mourners, one carrying spurrs, the second his sworde, the third his Helmett and plumes, and the fourth his shielde — then four men carryed the Beare with the dead body, clothed in a coffin of copper. . . Twenty gentlemen mourning in black followed the Hearse, and next then came the women mourners, clothed with white vayles and ornaments, but having their faces uncovered. The body being sett downe in the middle of the Church, the Priests and boyes sang at the high altar, and after a shorte sermon, or rather oration (upon mortality and the dead person) the body was lifted to the foure Corners of the Church, and then brought to the grave within the Church where his nearest frendes attended to take their last leaves of him, which they did with many childish lamentations and complaynts that he would thus forsake them." The other two funerals were similar with this difference that the bodies of the dead were carried with the face open. The next funeral was that of a married citizen and his body was "apparreled in a poore blacke gowne, with a capp upon the head, a ruffe about the necke, black stockings, and shoes upon the feete, and layd upon a bedd with two fayre pillowes under his head " After the service, "the bedd and pillowes were carryed backe by servants, and the body so appareled was put into a Coffin of wood." The third funeral was that of a chief citizen's oldest son. Again "the body was layd with the face upward, the head being bare, save that it was adorned with a *krantz* or garland of roses. The hayre of the head was curiously combed and curled, about his necke was a fayre thick ruffe . . . with silke stockings of carnation coler, white pumpes and black velvett pantoffles on his feete, and the whole body was covered with a thinne robe of skye collored satten."<sup>54</sup> All this — and many more details could be quoted — sounds as the observations of a kind and shrewd man and it all has the merit of being concrete and detailed, a virtue which we miss frequently in contemporary travelers.

None of the other well-known Elizabethan travelers (Coryat, Lithgow) left any account of Bohemia, though Lithgow spent some time there and describes meeting the Count "du Torne" (Thurn) in

<sup>54</sup> The extracts from Folios 325-334 and Folios 539-544 of Ms in Corpus Christi College, used with permission of the Bodleian Library, where it was in safe-keeping in 1938.

Cracow in 1616 where he had fled from the Emperor.<sup>55</sup> Some direct acquaintance is shown, however, in Samuel Lewkenor's *Discourse not altogether unprofitable* (1600). There we find a description of Prague which tells us that the river in winter "is yearely so hard frozen, that carts laden do dayly passe over the same at which time the citizens do fill their sellers with the ice thereof, which in summer time they drinke mingled with their wines." Lewkenor recounts also the legend of the transfer of St. Wenceslaus' body to Prague when "the oxen pulling the hearses could not bee enforced to pass beyond a little round tower, wherein were imprisoned many capital offenders, untill all the said prisoners were set at libertie. Wheropen this prison was presently converted to a chapell." Lewkenor speaks of the University, of Hus, of whom he knows that his name signifies goose, the new Jesuits' College with its three churches which seemed to him "excellently beautiful," the Jewish town, the huge Oxmarket etc. Lewkenor went also to Olomouce in Moravia and tells us something of Zuantocius (Svatopluk) and his revolt against the Emperor which was put down only with the help of the Turks, a curious confusion with the Magyars who destroyed the Great Moravian Empire in 900. "Cyrullus" and "Melodius" (*sic*) are known to him and so is their founding of "Tielagrade" which should be Bělehrad. Lewkenor praises the people. "The people and inhabitantes of this citie entertaine strangers with incredible humanity, of which I myself had good experience at my being among them." Lewkenor then describes the new "magnificent and sumptuous" Jesuits' college, founded for the "reforming of Lutheranism in those territories generally professed."<sup>56</sup>

#### IV ELIZABETHAN DRAMA AND NOVEL

During the flowering of Elizabethan literature Bohemian motifs and allusions occur more and more frequently in the drama and novel. Thus, in the tragedy of Edward III, sometimes wrongly ascribed to Shakespeare, the Black Prince enters preceded by the body of the King of Bohemia, whom he "has cropt and cut down at the gate of death."<sup>57</sup> A play sometimes, though scarcely rightly, ascribed to George Chapman, *The Tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*,

<sup>55</sup> William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Travayles . . .* (1632), p. 367. Also modern reprint, Glasgow, 1906.

<sup>56</sup> Samuel Lewkenor, *A Discourse not altogether unprofitable, nor unpleasant for such as are desirous to know the situation and customes of forraigne Cities without travelling to see them* (London, 1600), pp. 56-59.

<sup>57</sup> *Edward III*, Act III, scene v. First ed. 1596, e.g. in C. F. T. Brooke's *Shakespeare's Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1908), p. 89.



(about 1590) introduced a King of Bohemia during the rivalry for the German crown between Alphons of Castile and Richard of Cornwall. Alphons of Castile, in the play, bribes the Elector of Mayence to propose to the College of Electors that, instead of electing Richard, one of their number should be elected joint-Emperor with Alphons. The King of Bohemia is elected, but later Alphons poisons him at a banquet. In reality, King Otokar II, who was then King of Bohemia, never became joint-emperor nor was he poisoned by Alphons who never set foot on German soil. The play is obviously crude anti-Spanish propaganda of the time. But the author knew something of the position of the kings of Bohemia in the electoral college, as the King of Bohemia, who calls himself Henry, refers to his dignity as sewer to the Emperor.<sup>58</sup> Equally fantastic Bohemian history can be found also in Philip Massinger's tragicomedy *The Picture* (1629). There Ladislaus, King of Hungary (who actually was also King of Bohemia), appears and Matthias, a "Knight of Bohemia," is the hero of a drama of jealousy. The play is based on a story of Bandello, and contains no other topographical or historical matter.<sup>59</sup>

Italian sources, in their turn, based on Aeneas Sylvius, were apparently responsible for the echoes of Bohemian history and legends elsewhere. In Thomas Dekker's *Whole History of Fortunatus* (1596), Fortune shows to Fortunatus the kings she has ruined and those she has exalted. Among those exalted she enumerates: "This Primislaus, a Bohemian King, last day a carter." This allusion to the legendary founder of the native dynasty of the Přemyslides who, like Cincinnatus, was called from the plough to marry the princess Libuše and to rule the country, is apparently drawn from Serdonati, where "Primislao" is listed among "huomini basi ad alti e reali stati elevati."<sup>60</sup> Ben Jonson, in his *Masque of the Queens* (1609), introduces another figure from legendary Bohemian history. There "Heroic Virtue" enumerates famous heroic ladies like Penthesilea or Camilla and also "bold Valasca of Bohemia." Valasca appears then as the eleventh figure in the processions of queens, and Jonson comments on her thus. "The eleventh was that brave *Bohemian Queene, Valasca*, who, for her

<sup>58</sup> *The Tragedy of Alphonsus*, reprinted in T. M. Parrott's edition of Chapman's *Plays*, I, 403. See, e.g., Act I scene ii. First printed 1654, but acted in 1630; see G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (Oxford, 1941), p. 133. On date cf. F. T. Bowers, *Harvard Studies*, XII (1933), 147 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *The Picture*, printed 1630, produced 1629. The source in Bandello I, 21, translated in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (II, 28).

<sup>60</sup> *Fortunatus*, first printed 1600. Act I, sc. i, 11. 211, ed. O. Smeaton (1904), p. 15-16. Cf. Francesco Serdonati, *I casi degl' Huomini Illustri di messer Giovan Boccaccio* (Florence, 1598), pp. 664, 669.

courage, had the surname of *Bold*. That to redeeme her selfe and her sexe from the *tyranny* of men, which they lived in, under *Primislaus*, on a night, and an hower appoynted, led on the women to the slaughter of their barbarous *Husbands* and *Lords*; and possessing themselves of theyr Horses, Armes, Treasure, and places of strength, not only ruld the rest, but liu'd many yeares after with the liberty and fortitude of *Amazons*."<sup>61</sup> The form *Valasca* (in Czech *Vlasta*) points to an Italian source and Ben Jonson himself refers to Raffaele Maffei de Volterra and to a book he calls *Forcia quæst.* This must be *Forciane Quæstiones* by Ortenso Landi (1536) which contains a similar list of women including *Valasca*.<sup>62</sup> Jonson's masque was performed in 1609 at the Court by Queen Anne of Denmark, consort of James I, and by her ladies. Inigo Jones, the famous architect, designed the costumes which we can still see in modern reproduction. Among the designs *Valasca* is unhappily not designated as such expressly, but, I think, we can identify her when we notice that the Head of one of the Masquers is decorated with ostrich feathers similar to those in the arms of the Prince of Wales. When Inigo Jones designed these costumes, he apparently could not think of anything distinctly Bohemian except the feathers which the Black Prince is supposed to have adopted from King John of Bohemia after the battle of Crécy.<sup>63</sup> Ben Jonson himself refers to the story in *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610), another masque, in these verses:

[The Black Prince Edward at Cressy field] . . . teares  
From the *Bohemian* crowne the plume he weares,  
Which after for his creste he did preserve  
To his fathers use, with this fit word, I SERVE.<sup>64</sup>

The names of the ladies who acted the queens are preserved, though again the lady who played *Valasca* is not specifically identified. But, by a process of elimination only three are left for this role: Elizabeth, Countess of Huntington, Frances, Countess of Essex, wife of Robert Devereux, the third Earl; and Catherine, wife of William Cecil, Viscount Cranborne.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *The Masque of Queenes*, in Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, vii (Oxford, 1941), 303, 312.

<sup>62</sup> Raffaelli Maffei de Volterra, *Commentarii urbani* (Lyons, 1552); *Forciane quæstiones, in quibus Italorum ingenia explicantur . . .*, Authore Philalethe Polytopiensis Cive (Naples, 1536), p. 18.

<sup>63</sup> The designs reproduced in edition of the *Masque of Queenes*, ed. Guy Chapman (London, 1930). No. 20 is the masquer representing *Valasca*.

<sup>64</sup> *Loc cit.*, n. 61 above. The story derives from Camden's *Remains* (1605, 1870 reprint, p. 369).

<sup>65</sup> List of ladies in Guy Chapman's edition as in note 63.

Bohemia was only a name for a far-away realm to the Elizabethan novelists. *Pandosto or Dorastus and Fawnia* (1588) is the title of a romance by Robert Greene from which Shakespeare drew the story of *Winter's Tale*. Only in Greene, King Pandosto of Bohemia is jealous of Epistus of Sicily, while in Shakespeare their roles are reversed. Thus Shakespeare's Bohemia is Sicily in Greene and Shakespeare's Sicily, Bohemia. There is, however, a seacoast of Bohemia also in Greene: Epistus in Greene "provided a navy of ships and sailed into Bohemia to visit his old friend and companion."<sup>66</sup> There has been much speculation on Greene's misconception of geography, which seems unlikely, as Greene had visited Cracow and must have learned the location of Bohemia. Several explanations have been suggested, e.g., that Bohemia is an old name for Calabria, derived from *terra Bohemundi* which would make sailing from Sicily to Bohemia or *vice versa* very sensible geography. Another explanation is based on some events of Polish history of the fourteenth century which are similar to the general outlines of the plot in *Pandosto*: these might have come to Greene's ears in Poland and he might have confused Silesia and Sicily, which still makes sailing from Bohemia to Silesia unrealistic. But the oldest explanation is still the simplest and best: Greene and Shakespeare wrote fairy-tales, and did not bother whether there is a seacoast or a desert in actual Bohemia.<sup>67</sup> This view can be supported by reference to a bulky Elizabethan novel by Emmanuel Forde, called *Parismus, the renowned Prince of Bohemia* (1598). There we find a story of loves, battles and adventures in the style of Sidney's *Arcadia* with no regard to geography. In Chapter XVIII Parismus, who had come from Bohemia to Thessaly, returns by sea, and in the second volume, a continuation called *Parismenos*, Parismus then actually visits his native country. One of the ladies in his suit, Violetta, is attacked by a bear near the capital in a huge forest and when she safely finds her way out she arrives at a castle, near the forest of "Arde."<sup>68</sup> Just as we cannot criticize Shakespeare for speaking of lions in the Ardennes, we cannot ridicule Greene or Shakespeare for the seacoast of Bohemia. Both were only in the Utopia of Fairyland.

Also the Latin literature written by Englishmen and Scotchmen shows traces of interest in Bohemia. A very important figure in Neo-

<sup>66</sup> *Pandosto The Triumph of Time*, 1588, ed P. G. Thomas, 1907, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> See articles by Caro, Lippmann, etc. listed in *CBEL*, I, 574. There is a King Taffinor and a Prince Grasandor in *Amadis de Gaul* (Southey's translation, IV, 42, 114).

<sup>68</sup> *Parismus, the renowned Prince of Bohemia, His most famous, delectable, and pleasant Historie* (London, 1598); See especially ch. XVIII. *Parismenos: the Second Part of the . . . Historie of Parismus* (London, 1599), esp. ch. I.

Latin literature, John Barclay, a Scotchman born in France, wrote an elaborate political novel *Euphormionis Satyricon* (1605) which contains a grotesque satirical description of the Court of Rudolph II, his erotic life, his dabbings in alchemy and art-collecting.<sup>69</sup> An Englishwoman, Elizabeth Jane Weston (1582-1612), came to Bohemia early in her life with her father and soon excelled by her learning and skill in Latin versification. Her Latin poems were praised by Scaliger, Heinsius, and Lipsius, and were reprinted as late as in the 18th century. Miss Weston married a jurist, Johann Leon, who was agent for the Duke of Brunswick and the Prince of Anhalt at the Imperial Court. A collection of her Latin poems, *Parthenicon* (1605), contains epistles to Rudolph II, to James I, to Peter Vok of Rosenberg, the last descendant of a famous Bohemian family, to Zdenko Adalbert of Lobkovic and other Bohemian noblemen, and also a poem on an inundation of Prague. She is expressly praised for her miraculous facility in Latin, Italian, Bohemian, and German. Miss Weston died young, and her memory today is very dim, as she shares in the general oblivion which has overtaken most humanistic Latin poetry.<sup>70</sup>

#### V THE BATTLE ON THE WHITE MOUNTAIN

The realities of a far less fairyland-like Bohemia were brought home to Englishmen only in 1619 and 1620, when the daughter of their king, Princess Elizabeth, who had married the Elector Palatine, had ascended the throne of Bohemia. The election of Frederick was contested by the new Emperor Ferdinand II, and war broke out which not only drove the English Queen of Bohemia into exile, but spelled the end of Bohemian independence and Bohemian Protestantism. We have no occasion to discuss the shilly-shallying policy of King James in face of the dangers to the throne of his daughter, nor his fruitless attempts at negotiation or his final decision to send a very inadequate and poorly equipped expeditionary force to Bohemia. We are interested only in the (more or less) literary reflections of the events. The numerous pamphlets defending and explaining the Bohemian cause need not to be detailed,<sup>71</sup> but we have several interest-

<sup>69</sup> *Euphormionis Satyricon* (Leyden, 1674), p. 264. There are no copies extant of a reported 1603 edition, cf. Jules Dukas, *Etude bibliographique et littéraire sur le Satyricon de Jean Barclay* (Paris, 1880). The Emperor Rudolph is called Aquelius in the novel.

<sup>70</sup> There is a monograph on Miss Weston in Czech by Antonín Kolář (Bratislava, 1926) and articles by Bohumil Ryba, in *Časopis filologický*, LVI (1929) and LIX (1932). She is not mentioned in the text of Leicester Bradner's *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry* (New York, 1940), though her books are listed in the bibliography. I have not seen the *Poemata*, printed in Frankfurt-on-Oder in 1602. The quotation on her linguistic abilities from *Opuscula cum Praefatione Joannis Christophori Kalckhoff* (Frankfurt, 1723)

<sup>71</sup> A list of 11 items in Pollard-Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue*.

ing documents of some literary character relating to the momentous year, 1620.

There is a Ms history of Bohemia in the British Museum addressed to the Marquis of Buckingham which must have been composed during the winter of 1619-20 when Buckingham urged strong measures in defense of Continental Protestantism and had not yet changed his mind under the influence of his marriage to a Catholic lady in May, 1620. The most likely author of the history is John Harrison, originally a groom of the privy-chamber to Prince Henry, who afterwards was in the suite of Princess Elizabeth at Heidelberg before when she left for Bohemia to receive the Bohemian crown. Harrison is the author or translator of three tracts in defense of the Bohemian cause and was in London at the time in question.<sup>72</sup> Though I am not aware of really positive evidence in favor of his authorship, I shall assume that the history was compiled by him.

The Ms represents only the first part of a history which, as history, is, of course, not first-hand, but merely a compilation from Aeneas Sylvius, Piccolomini, Dubravius and possibly other chronicles. Its value as a history of Bohemia is thus nil, but it is significant for its preface and general purpose and tenor. The long address to Buckingham deserves some quotation. Harrison begins by praising the Bohemians' steadfast faith in Christ

"They kept it better and purer than many other nations; they have stoutly defended it and many of them died for it; they maintained it against the Pope, and all the Kings of Europe who then were all slaves to the Pope and not one of them so free as the king of Bohemia." "Bohemia is one of the richest, civilest and strongest nations of Europe." "It hath had more warrs with the Pope and wonne more victories against him, and his partakers than any other nation. And what is not the least honour to it, it hath had more correspondencies with England, then any Countrie in the world, so far remote." The author then tells of the battle of Crécy and the Wycliffite contacts and continues: "What should all this portend but even as if God would hereby tell and teach us, that greate Brittain and Bohemia, are ordayned to be acquainted and allied in the most respects. As now we see at this day when Bohemia reioyceth to take from the greate king of greate Brittaines blood their much desired King and Queene and sues and lookes for no Protector in the world, under the God of Heaven, so much as his Maiestie of greate Brittain: thus the former tymes were presages to ours, and those of ours fulfill what they

<sup>72</sup> The ascription to Harrison in Thomas Čapek's *Bohemian (Čech) Bibliography* (New York, 1918), p. 34. Mr Čapek did not see the Ms., as he thinks that it was written for the Winter Queen's enlightenment. For Harrison compare the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The Ms. is in the Harleian collection (No. 4045)

foretold." The new alliance between the two nations prompts Harrison to "looke into the antient and modern Chronicles of Bohemia (which I love to have lie by me) and thereout to gather . . . not the bodie nor the bulk, but the Bowells and harte of the Bohemian historye." He then explains that Buckingham is a fit recipient of such a work because of his zeal in the Protestant cause and the identity of his name with that of George of Poděbrad. He hopes for the victory of the Protestant cause which "will leave naked that whore of Babylon, exposed to just shame in the sight of the world." The author then defends at length the parallel between Buckingham and George of Poděbrad and the reputation of Poděbrad against the imputation that he gained the crown by illegal means. Harrison quotes the pathetic dying speech of King Ladislaus by which he committed his kingdom to the care of George of Poděbrad, as he found it in Aeneas Sylvius. He then deplores that Bohemian history "is not written, but by his enemies, the Papists," and praises Bohemia as a "goodly Kingdome, famouse in all storyes for greate kings, wise statesmen, brave commanders, zealous divines, valiant people, strong towers, rich royall mynes, and golden rivers. But much more famous in all the Churches of God for their truly golden religion, as long agoe they received in a good parte from England, so have they bravely and manfully maintayned to this day." He concludes with the hope that Buckingham would lay the history "at the foote of your great Sovereigne," and prays that "greate Brittain and Bohemia may under God be governed, by him and his to the worlds end."

The first chapter is, then, a geographical description of Bohemia with much stress on its riches in corn, saffron, gold and silver mines etc. It tells a story of the love of Charles IV for Bohemia who showed "wedges and ingotts of pure golde and silver uncoyned" to a deputation from Germany, saying "I am richer as King of Bohemia than as Emperor of Germany." Harrison then correctly derived the name of Bohemia from the Boii and tells us of the riches of the Bohemian fish-ponds in carp, without forgetting to praise a little book on fish-breeding by Janus Dubravius (Jan z Doubravy) which George Churchey had translated from the Latin in 1599.

The second chapter is devoted to the nature and condition of the people. Harrison makes much of the view that the "signe principally predominant over Bohemia is the Lion," that the Bohemians are thus a "lion-like people of comlye stature, stronge and broad-breasted, and love to have their necks covered with long and yellow locks, they have loud and roaring voices, cleare, and sparkling eyes . . . they are a bolde, a valiant, and a ventrous people, high spirited and stoute harted, especially if they be provoked." "Nether," continues Harrison, "are they unlike the Lion in their feeding, which by

their nature they doo hastilie and gredylie. But the richer sorte are curiouse feeders and in their sawses, pickles, and preserves very costly, and ofttimes too sumptous." Drinking they have learned from their neighbors, the Saxons.

The third chapter describes the cities and townes of Bohemia. It gives a list of towns with badly garbled names and then a full description of Tábor taken from Aeneas Sylvius which makes much of its strong fortifications and the gold-washing in the river Lužnice. Harrison does not seem to realize that the whole account is out of date by two hundred years. The fourth chapter is a description of Prague with clear information on the castle, the Vyšehrad etc. He tells the curious story that the "Duke of Saxony bought a faire piece of ground," near the bridge, "and there from the verye red earth built him a goodly house where amongst other rare things were fish-ponds of glasse so high that hands could not hurt them, yet so nere, and so cleare that passengers as they went in the streets might see the fishes swimming in the water."

With Chapter v Harrison begins the telling of the actual history of Bohemia. He starts with Zecchus (Čech), the legendary founder of the nation, and Crocchus (Krok), and tells all the stories of Libuše, Vlasta and so on up to "Hostivitius, the last Heathen Prince of Bohemia." As all these stories are derived from Aeneas Sylvius and ultimately from Cosmas, there is no need of reproducing them. An appendix contains the proclamation of the estates of Bohemia proscribing the order of the Jesuits and an account of their expulsion from other countries.<sup>73</sup> Nothing is known of the second part promised in the Preface, possibly because the change in the King's policy made a new appeal to history useless.

In March, 1620, at last, about 2000 volunteers left England and sailed for the Continent. God's speed was wished to them in a touching poem composed by John Taylor, the Water poet, under the title "An Englishmans Love to Bohemia: with a friendly farewell to all the noble souldiers that goe from Great Britaine to that honorable expedition." The poem, addressed to Sir Andrew Gray, the commander of the English forces, is an exhortation to join, a meditation on military glory and on British military history. A few extracts may illustrate its tenor:

For God, for Natures and for Nations lawes  
This martiall army undertakes this cause,  
And true-borne Britaines, worthy countrymen,

<sup>73</sup> All quotations from British Museum Ms

Resume your ancient honors once agen  
 I know your valiant minds are sharpe and keene  
 To serve your Soveraignes daughter, Bohems Queene,  
 . . . a fig for foes,  
 God being with you, how can man oppose?  
 And you that for that purpose go from hence  
 to serve that mighty Princesse and that Prince,  
 Ten thousand, thousand praiera shall every day  
 Implore th' Almighty to direct your way.  
 Goe on, goe on, brave souldiers, never cease  
 Till noble warre, produce a noble peace.<sup>74</sup>

Taylor's interest in the Bohemian cause was so intense that in August, 1620, he set out from London and travelled to Bohemia where he stayed for three weeks and returned to England in the beginning of October. Immediately after his return he must have written and published his little book *Taylor his Travels: from the Citty of London in England, to the Citty of Prague in Bohemia* (1620). Taylor starts amusingly complaining about people pestering him with their curiosity and annoying him with their ignorance, since his return. "First John Ease takes me, and holds mee fast by the first halfe an houre, and will needes torture some news out of me from Spinola, whom I was never neere by 500 miles . . . I am not sooner eased by him, but Gregory Gandergoose, an Alderman of Gotham, catches me by the goll, demanding if Bohemia be a great towne, and whether there be any meate in it, and whether the last fleet of shippes be arrived there. This mouth being stop'd, a third examines me boldly, what newes from Vienna, where the Emperor's army is, what the Duke of Bavaria doth, what is become of Count Bucquoy, how fares all the Englishmen, where lie the King of Bohemia's forces, what Bethlem Gabor doth, what tydings of Dampier, and such a tempest of inquisition, that it almost shakes my patience in pieces." The pamphlet wants to silence such importunity and to put down "any scandalous speeches against the plenty of Bohemia of all manner of needfull things for the sustenance of man and beasts (of which there is more abundance than ever I saw in any place else)." Also all rumors of ill success of the Bohemian forces are untrue. Taylor tells us in the verse which is liberally intermixed with the prose:

For all this summer, that is gone and past,  
 Until the first day of October last,  
 The armies never did together meete . . .  
 The fault is neither in the foote or horse,

<sup>74</sup> Quoted from original pamphlet (Dordrecht, 1620), 10 pages.



Of the right valiant brave Bohemian force,  
From place to place they daily seeke the foe,  
They march, and remarch, watch, ward, ride, run, goe  
And grieving so to waste the time away,  
Thirst for the hazard of a glorious day.

Mixing verse and prose, Taylor then tells of his journey, in company with his brother, from Gravesend to Rotterdam and hence to Leipzig and Chemnitz, whence they had to walk on foot through the Bohemian forest which impressed Taylor as a "dismall wood," "most heavy unto mee, for the trees grew so thicke, and so high, that the sunne was obscured, and the day seemed night." Finally they descended on the other side into Bohemia and saw the fruitful country which seemed to Taylor "nature's storehouse or granary." Via Chomutov (Comoda) and Šlány (Slowne) they got, largely on foot, to Prague. On the journey "we saw above seaven score gallowses and wheelles, where thieves were hanged some fresh, and some halfe rotten, and the carkases of murtherers, broken limb after limb on the wheelles and yet it was our happiness onely to see the dead villaines, and escape the living." They arrived in Prague on September 7. Taylor was much impressed by the city, its 150 churches, and the religious tolerance unchanged since Morison's time. "I was there," he tells us, "at foure several sorts of divine exercises, viz. at good sermons with the Protestants, at Masse with the Papists, at a Lutherans preaching, and at a Jewes Synagog." He has heard fabulous stories about the wealth of the Jews, some of them accounted at 20,000, 30,000 or 40,000 pounds apiece, "and yet the slaves goe so miserably attired, that 15 of them are not worth the hanging for their whole wardrobes." Taylor admired the castle and called on the Queen. "There I saw (and had in mine armes) the King and Queenes yongest son, Prince Robert (i.e., Rupert), who was borne there on the 16 of December last: a goodly child as ever I saw of that age." Taylor took as a token the shoes from the feet of the little prince, hoping that he

Shall with his manly feete once trample downe,  
All Antichristian foes to his renowne.

Taylor then goes into great detail describing the plentiful food in town. "I did buy in the market a fat goose well roast for the vallew of nine pence English and I and my brother have dined there at a Cookes with good roasted meate, bread and beere, for the vallew of five pence: a good turky there may bee bought for two shillings and for fresh fish I never saw such store, for in one market day I have

knowne in Prague 2000 carps, besides other fishes, which carps in London are five shillings a piece and there they were for eight pence." Besides, there is plenty of fruit and grapes, and he has never heard complaints that the soldiers would not have enough to eat. They receive their pay most regularly, though there are 43,000 with 18,000 to carry provision under the Duke of Anhalt, and 7000 under Count Mansfeld. The British regiment is in camp with Mansfeld. Taylor met in Prague English officers who were there on sick-leave. "Captain Bushell, Lieutenant Grimes, Lieutenant Langworth, Ancient Galbreath, Ancient Fandenbrooke, Maister Whitney, Maister Blundell and others, all of which did most courteously entertaine me." He changes then again to rhyme.

Prague is a famous, ancient, kingly seate,  
 In scituation and in state compleate,  
 In Architecture stately: in Attire  
 Bezonians and Plebeians do aspire,  
 To be apparell'd with the stately port  
 Of worship, honor, or the royal court . . .  
 I there a Chimney sweepers wife have seene,  
 Habillimented like the diamond Queene,  
 Most gaudy garish, as a fine maid marrian,  
 With breath as sweete as any sugar carrion,  
 With sattin cloake, lined through with budg, or sable  
 Or canny furre (or what her purse is able),  
 With velvet hood, with tiffanies, and purles,  
 Rebatoes frizling, and with powdred curles . . .  
 She's fur'd, she's fring'd, she's lac'd and at her wast,  
 She's with a massie chaine of silver brac'd,  
 She's yellow starch'd, she's ruff'd, and cuff'd, and muff'd,  
 She's ring'd, she's braceleted, she's richly tuff'd. . . .  
 Her petticoate, good silke as can be bought,  
 Her smocke, about the taile lac'd round and wrought,  
 Her gadding legges are finely Spanish booted,  
 The whilst her husband, like a slave all sooted,  
 Lookes like a courtier to infernal Pluto. . . .  
 There (by a kind of topsie turvy use)  
 The women weare the bootes, the men the shooes, . . .  
 These females seeme to be most valiant there,  
 Their painting shews they do no colours feare. . . .

After a stay of three weeks, Taylor, in company of three gentlemen and a widow, started on the return journey: by coach they got to Litoměřice and there they bought a boat, 48 feet in length, and hired a Bohemian waterman to guide them to Dresden. They arrived all

right at Pirna in Saxony, but there the waterman disappeared as he feared the examination by the Saxon authorities. Taylor brought the boat down the river all the way to Hamburg and from there sailed for England.<sup>75</sup>

On November 8, 1620 the fatal battle was fought, and the fate of Bohemia decided for centuries. We have little on the battle from the hands of Englishmen. There is, however, one account of a participant in the battle. He characteristically enough was not among the expeditionary force, but was an Irish convert who served as a chaplain with Marshall Bucquoy in the Imperial Army. Henry Fitzsimon left a diary of the campaign in Latin, the most important points of which may be reproduced here. Fitzsimon joined Bucquoy on July 1, 1620 and marched with him through the Bohemian forest in September to Krumlov, Budějovice, Prachatice, Písek and Plzeň. He was humane enough to be shocked by the horrible burnings and lootings and he used the little authority he had to save women. Near Plzeň in October they took many English prisoners "who were wretched creatures of beggarly appearance, clothed in rags and covered with vermin . . . That renowned English contingent consisted in a great measure of the offscourings of the British jails and highways, and lost two-thirds of its force before it got to Bohemia." Amongst those men were a few Irish Catholics who went over to the Imperial forces and were enrolled in a corps of their fellow-countrymen, commanded by a Captain MacSorley. The actual battle is told only perfunctorily. Fitzsimon was ordered to recite the *Salve Regina* and was answered by the Duke of Bucquoy himself. Fitzsimon tells us then only that Bucquoy sent Lichtenstein to besiege the Castle of Karlstein, in which were stationed 600 Englishmen and Scotch, the remnant of the corps of 2000 men sent from England. Though they had plenty of provisions and an immense quantity of war material, they surrendered on condition of being sent home. "They had never done anything worth mentioning, and looked more like cowardly boors than soldiers." Fitzsimon then only points to the horrible future when he tells drily that "I know for certain that in the universal devastation of Bohemia, the peasants were plundered and dispersed, and the chief nobles had not enough to eat. Count Sternberg, being still an enemy, did not hesitate to beg 100 florins from Bucquoy, as he was hard pressed by want. Bucquoy gave him 300 florins at

<sup>75</sup> Quoted from first ed., also reprinted in *All the Workes of John Taylor, The Water Poet* (London, 1630). There we find another reference to his Bohemian visit. On p. 110 he speaks of "a street of whores, An English mile in length" which Taylor had seen in Prague, and there's a versified *Book of Martyrs* which mentions Hus and Jerome (III, 137).

once "<sup>76</sup> Sir Henry Wotton in a letter to Francis Bacon from Vienna, in December, 1620, reflects briefly on the battle of the White Mountain. "The triumphs of the field do not so much vex my soul, as the triumphs of the pulpit. For what noise will now the Jesuit disseminate more in every corner than *victrix causa Deo placuit*; which yet was but the gospel of a poet. No, my Lord, when I revolve what great things Zisca did in the first troubles of his country, that were grounded upon conscience, I am tempted to believe the all distinguishing eye hath been more displeased with some human affections in this business, than with the business itself "<sup>77</sup>

But the old Bohemia was dead and a new era began also in English-Czech relations.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted from *Word of Comfort to Persecuted Catholics, written in Exile, Anno 1607. Letters from a Cell in Dublin Castle and Diary of the Bohemian War of 1620 by Father Henry Fulsimon. With a sketch of his life by Edmund Hogan* (Dublin, 1881), pp. 83 ff. The Latin original was published under the pseudonym Constantius Peregrinus in Vienna, 1621. See DNB.

<sup>77</sup> Wotton's letter in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (London, 1651), p. 415. Also in Logan Pear-sall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907), II, 206. Later in his life (1628), in a letter to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Wotton comments in detail on Dubravius and his book *De Piscinis*, highly impressed by the lucrative fish-raising business of Bohemia (see Smith II, 306). Wotton was, of course, the author of the famous poem on Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, beginning, "You meaner beauties of the night." He wrote it in Greenwich Park before starting for Vienna in 1620. It was first printed in *East's Six Sets of Bookes*, 1624.

## ADAPTATION FOR SURVIVAL: THE VARŽIĆ ZADRUGA

By PHILIP E. MOSELY

IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE the zadruga, or communal multiple family, has long held a central place in peasant life and, especially during its decline in recent decades, many controversies have been waged around it. While no single definition embraces all varieties of zadrugas, for present purposes the zadruga may be described as "a household composed of two or more biological or small-families, closely related by blood or adoption, owning its means of production communally, producing and consuming its means of livelihood jointly, and regulating the control of its property, labor, and livelihood communally."<sup>1</sup> The growth of an exchange-economy, the displacement of peasant custom by the written law of the jurists and of the more individualistic town, the spread of new rules of dowry and inheritance, have contributed to break down the zadruga in many regions of the Balkans. Naturally, the question has been asked whether the zadruga can survive. Can it withstand the impact of growing individualism, of declining family-solidarity, of increasing pressure on the land?

Many Balkan commentators on this problem are reluctant to see the zadruga disappear. To many observers of village life, the zadruga, with its relatively larger and more consolidated scale of landowning and its more elaborate division of labor, possesses great advantages. Others look upon it as an encouragement to slothfulness and the spirit of routine, as an impediment to the development of individual initiative and of a progressive agriculture. In general, the zadruga has shown a greater viability in the mountainous regions of the Balkans than in the plains. It is all the more interesting to examine the present structure and recent history of a zadruga located in the fertile plains of Slavonia — a region surpassed only by the Banat, or Voivodina, in the productivity of its agriculture and in its high standard of living. A study of the Varžić zadruga brings into higher relief the problem of the ability of the zadruga to survive, and even to progress, under the impact of changing custom and of an increasingly capitalistic and individualistic outlook on life.

<sup>1</sup> For a general discussion of the problem of the zadruga, see P. E. Mosely, "The peasant family, the zadruga, or communal joint-family in the Balkans, and its recent evolution," *The Cultural Approach to History*, edited by Caroline F. Ware (New York, 1940), pp. 95-108.

The Varžić zadruga is located in the village of Zelčín, in the county of Valpovo, a part of the historic province of Slavonia. The surrounding district is one of plains, rich in black-soil, well-watered and sometimes inundated, and largely devoted to the production of cattle and swine, and, to some extent, of wheat and maize.<sup>2</sup> On one of the three streets of the village, radiating from a small irregular square near the church-yard, are the house, yard, and orchard of the Varžić zadruga. With twenty-six members, this household is the largest in the village.<sup>3</sup> It is made up of two brothers, Jozo (IV-9) and Djuro (IV-12), their wives, four married sons with their wives, and fourteen children. Except for the wives, who have married into the zadruga, the household consists of three generations of the descendants of Ivan Varžić (III-11), who died in 1915, and his wife Janje (III-12), who lived until 1927. Blood-ties are close, and they are further cemented by the close understanding of the co-elders of the household, Jozo and Djuro.

#### HEADSHIP OF THE ZADRUGA

Unlike most zadrugas, the Varžić household has a joint head, instead of a single one. Jozo and Djuro together serve as "house-head" (*kućni gospodar*). As Djuro put it, "My brother is older; I respect him. We are not set one above the other, but one brother beside the other" ("Brat moj je stariji; ja go poštivam. Mi nismo jedan nad drugom, a jedan uz brata").<sup>4</sup> As Jozo is no longer so robust as formerly, much of his work is now supervisory. The affairs of the zadruga are decided by all the married men together, as "adult" and "married" are in effect synonymous to the peasant. "After supper we talk over what work we shall do on the morrow. As we all decide, with our sons, so we work. With us it is not as one person wishes, but however is better" ("Posle večera mi pripovedamo, što radimo na jutro. Kako odredjimo svi, sa sinovima, i tako radimo. Kod nas nije tako kako voli jedan, ali kako je bolje").

When there is a job to be done, the zadruga is well provided with hands to tackle it. At plowing or harvesting the entire zadruga turns to. On the day the household was visited, a heavy wagon-load of quick-lime ("kolo sa krečom") had to be dumped into a slaking-pit; fourteen members of the family were on hand to assist.

<sup>2</sup> Data collected on August 27 and 28, 1938. The present tense refers everywhere to the year 1938. The field-trip was made possible by a Grant-in-aid of the Social Science Research Council.

<sup>3</sup> For the genealogical structure of the household, see Appendix I. Each member is identified in the accompanying table by generation (Roman numeral) and by placing within the generation (Arabic numeral).

<sup>4</sup> Deviations from literary Croatian express the actual words of the informants, a few unusual accentuations are indicated by the acute accent.

## DIVISION OF LABOR

In addition to the common tasks of the zadruga, special duties are assigned to each member. Three younger men, Šimo (v-13), Antun (v-17), and Marko (v-23), are "stablemen" (*kočias*) and look after the horses. Mikola (v-15) supervises the work of the swineherd (*svinjar*), whose duties are currently fulfilled by Žiga (v-19) "During vacation [from school] he is assisted by Pavao (vi-9) and Tomo (vi-11)" ("u feriju ga pomaža Pavao i Tomo"). Stjepan (vi-5) and Šimo (vi-6) are the cattleherders (*govedar*).

The work of the women is headed by Agica (iv-13), the wife of the younger co-elder, Djuro. Usually the women's work is managed by the wife of the head. As Manda (iv-11) is Jožo's second wife and entered the household after Agica had already been serving as the women's head, she has never held this function. In Zelčín the women's head is called simply "cook" (*kuvarica*), although in many parts of the Balkans she bears some more distinctive and impressive title. The cook is "always at home" ("uvijek kod kući"), for she supervises the preparation of meals for the entire household as a unit. She is assisted by fourteen-year-old Anka (v-20), who is thus learning her household duties by apprenticeship, not to her mother, but to the head of the women's work.

The "cook" is also aided by an "orderly" (*reduša*). Each of the other five wives of the household serves in turn as *reduša*. The order of their service, determined by seniority of marriage, is: Manda (iv-11), Reza (v-14), Eva (v-16), Kata (v-18), and Kata (v-24). Although there are two "Kata's," no confusion arises, as each wife is commonly referred to by her husband's name in the possessive form; one Kata (v-18) is called "Tunova" and the other (v-24) "Markova."

Each of the five wives serves one week in turn as *reduša*, the term of her service running "from Sunday morning to Saturday evening" ("od nedelja na jutro do subotu na več"). She "fetches water and firewood, and washes the dishes" ("nosi vodu i drva, pere sudja"). When asked whether *reduša* came from *red*, meaning "order, making order," or from *red*, meaning "turn, shift," Djuro replied that it came from both meanings.

## HIRED LABOR

Despite its abundance of hands, the Varžić zadruga hires a substantial amount of outside labor. About a kilometer distant from the village, in view across the meadows and a sluggish creek, is the dairy-farm (*salaš*), which is run by a hired-man (*sluga*), Mikola Barić, who hails from Kunišinci, a village about ten kilometers away. Jožo

(iv-9) goes there every day to supervise the work. About twenty-five head of cattle are kept at the *salaš* from the first of December to the beginning of April. Mikola "works on halves", "radi na polovicu"), that is, receives a part of the cheese produced for sale. In addition, he is provided with thirteen *metara* (about thirty-six bushels) of wheat a year, one thousand dinars (\$20) in cash, and as much "wood as he uses" ("drva, koliko potroši"). When the cows are at the farm he has as much milk as he needs. The hired-man also has one yoke (1 42 acres) for maize, and a quarter-yoke for a vegetable-garden.

Mikola Barić has worked for the Varžić household for the last four years, and in that time has acquired "a house, out-buildings, and two yoke of land" ("kuću, podkućnicu, dva jutara zemlji") in his own village. The *zadruga* has loaned him money to buy land and pigs. When he works with the members of the household, he eats with them at their board. This is a typical case of a peasant poorly provided with land who hires out for a number of years in order to build up his own farm-unit.

Other *zadrugas* so well provided with hands as is the Varžić family would not be inclined to spend money on an outside worker, but would normally detail one married couple to run the outlying dairy-farm, perhaps each of the younger couples by turn. The Varžić *zadruga* is well-off, and its members are closely attached to the life of the household and of the village. They prefer to incur the additional expense of hiring an outside worker rather than have one of their small-families "exiled" to the isolated *salaš*.

At the peak of seasonal work the *zadruga* also engages laborers by the day. In 1938 "for the mowing we had hired-men, two days, with twenty workers a day, at twenty-five dinars (\$0.50) a day, with plum-brandey and victuals" ("na kosidbu uzmemo nadničari, dva dana po dvadeset nadničari, po 25 dinara na dan, rakije, ranu"; properly "hranu"). For the potato-hoeing the *zadruga* engaged thirty laborers for three days, at fifteen dinars (\$0.30) a day, with food and drink. The *zadruga* harvested its wheat without outside help, requiring six days to reap thirty yoke, with the use of a horse-drawn harvester and binder.

#### THE HOME-FARM OF THE ZADRUGA

The yard (*dvor*) of the Varžić household is separated from the village street (*ulica*) by a wall about eight feet high, which fills the gap between the "old house" (*stara kuća*), which is to one's left on entering, and the new "sleeping-rooms" (*kijeri*; properly, *kiljeri*), to



the right. Entrance to the yard is through a large double-gate (*kapija*) and through two man-sized gates (*vrata*), one to the right of the wagon-gate, and one to the left of it leading directly to the porch of the old house. The latter, built sixty years ago, now serves mainly as a kitchen and a place for eating and gathering. Nearest to the street is the living and dining room (*kuća*), with wooden tables and benches, and a great hearth (*ognište*) in one corner of it. Access to this room is through a smaller room, the "old house" properly speaking, with a large projecting hearth, used for baking in winter, which occupies most of the rear wall, opposite the outside door. The third section of the house is the kitchen (*kujna*), with a capacious Dutch-oven (*špored*). Lengthwise of the "old house" runs a four-foot-wide porch (*trem*), separated from the yard by a wooden wall (*zid*) forty inches high, which links up five pillars (*stup*) supporting the sloping, shingled roof.

Directly across the yard are the "sleeping-rooms" (*kijeri*), seven in all, built since 1925. Each room is of equal size, about twelve feet by fifteen, airy and clean, with a well-fitted door and window (*pendjer*) for each. A four-foot-wide porch also runs the length of the court-side of the *kijeri*. The first room is inhabited by Djuro, his wife and two unmarried children (iv-12, iv-13, v-27, v-28); the second, by Jozo, his wife and two of their grand-children (iv-9, iv-11, vi-5, vi-6); the third, by Šimo, his wife and two younger children (v-13, v-14, vi-7, vi-8); the fourth, by Mikola, his wife and two children (v-15, v-16, vi-9, vi-10); the fifth, by Antun, his wife and two children (v-17, v-18, vi-11, vi-12); the sixth, by Marko, his wife and two children (v-23, v-24, vi-13, vi-14). The seventh room is now used as a supply-storeroom (*kućini kijer*), but will be available for the next son to marry, perhaps Žiga (v-19), who now sleeps in a hay-mow, while Anka (v-20) bunks down in the "old house." Built of plastered brick, the *kijeri*, with their red tile-roof, a gracefully proportioned porch, and well-made sills, doors, and windows, represent a very superior type of peasant housing.

In the courtyard, set back somewhat from the street and midway between the "old house" and the *kijeri*, is a brick barn (*ambar*; properly, *hambar*), in which are stored grains of all kinds, except corn on the cob. The adjoining woodshed (*šupa*), which is made of wood, contains a supply of stacked firewood ("drva složena u fatovi"). To the right of the far end of the woodshed is a dug-well (*bunar*), with its picturesque sweep (*šipka*) balanced on a pillar (*stup*). Still farther back, close to the wattle-fence which separates the Varžić yard from that of its neighbor, is a large hive-shaped stove (*peć*) used for bak-

ing bread out-of-doors in summer. Just back of the stove is a long chicken-coop (*kokošnjak*), slatted and set on stilts. Behind the coop, at the edge of the orchard, is an out-door wood-pile (*drvar*).

Behind the "old house," and extending twice its length, is a large pig-fold (*tor za svinja*), which has a gate of its own giving onto the street. Beyond it is a large pigpen (*svinjac*), built of wood, and thatched. Beyond the pigpen are seventeen farrowing-pens (*kočani*) for breed-sows. Just beyond the "old house," separated from it by a wall of plastered brick, is a large corn-crib (*čardak*), slatted and raised on stilts. Farther on is a row of farm-buildings, including a medium-sized wooden shed for storing implements (*veškujna*), an open wagon-shed (*kolnica*), a large hay-mow (*štagal*), and finally the horse-barn (*štala za konja*). Beyond the horse-barn is a manure-pit (*djubrište*), and near it the out-door toilet. Off to the left is a wooden "cook-house" (*pecara*), for distilling plum-brandy (*rakije*) and making sausage (*kolbasa*). Enclosed by the barns on one side and the farrowing-pens on the other, is a large cattle-yard, to which the livestock are brought on summer nights. Beyond the farm-buildings stretches a substantial orchard, with plum, apple, and pear-trees. In it are a lime-pit (*jama za kreč*) and another dug-well.

In addition, the zadruga owns another yard on the outskirts of the village, used only for housing some of its livestock. The dairy-farm, a kilometer away, has seven buildings, including a hut for the family of the hired-man, hay-mows, a horse-barn, and cattle-barns.

#### THE LAND OF THE ZADRUGA

The Varžić zadruga owns one hundred yoke (138.24 acres) of land. When it was formed in 1900, through the splitting up of an older zadruga, it came into possession of thirty yoke (42.68 acres) "from the father" (*od oca*). Since 1900 it has bought seventy yoke; sixty yoke, called "Močilno," in 1925 from a neighboring Magyar noble, Count Rudolf Norman, and ten yoke from a peasant. In 1900 the new zadruga, with ten members, had 4.27 acres per head; in 1938, with twenty-six members, it had 5.32 acres per head. The thirty yoke with which the zadruga started out were divided, and have remained divided, into sixteen parcels, at distances of from one minute to thirty-five minutes from the home-yard.<sup>5</sup> The possession of three-fifths of its land in one large unit of sixty yoke (85.36 acres) has great technical advantages. In Zelnin productive wealth is measured mainly by the number of cattle owned. As all the village livestock graze on the common lands during eight months of the year, the factor which

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the parcels, see Appendix II.

decides the size of a herd is the capacity for winter-feeding during the remaining four months. For this the possession of large meadows is decisive. As no commassation has been carried out in Zelčín, the livestock are turned out to graze together on the stubble as well as in the communal pasture and forest

#### THE ZELČÍN LAND ASSOCIATION

The Varžić zadruga has no pasture of its own; for eight months in the year its livestock graze in the common lands owned by the Land Association. The creation of the Zelčín Land Association ("Zelčínska zemljišnja zajednica") dates from the 1860's, when, after the emancipation of 1848, the lands of the peasants were separated from those of the noble, and the common pasture and woodland were placed under the control of the Association. Under serfdom each peasant household was supposed to be assigned eight yoke (11.38 acres), or one-fourth of a *šešija* (Ger. *Session*) of thirty-two yoke (45.52 acres).<sup>6</sup> For each *šešija* held the serfs (sing *kmet*) rendered one hundred days of labor per year and one-tenth (*desetina*) of the crop. For pasturage, firewood and building-material the serfs were allotted a portion of the forest jointly, "one-fourth of a *šešija* had one yoke of woodland" ("jedan fertajl šešije je imao jedno jutro šume").

In order to provide forage and fuel for the newly emancipated village, the Zelčín Association was assigned about one hundred and ninety yoke of pasture (*pašnjak*), and each household — there were then thirty-two or three of them — received a share in the use of the common lands proportionate to the area of arable and meadow owned by it. Accordingly, the lands assigned to the peasants in the 1860's enjoy the additional right of using the communal pasture and forest. This "urbarial right" (*urbarsko pravo*) attaches to some twenty yoke out of the hundred owned by the Varžić zadruga. Its remaining eighty yoke, in theory, do not possess "urbarial right." In practice, however, each household sends all its livestock to the common pasture, and the use of the communal lands is, in fact, open on equal terms to all villagers; there is no attempt to enforce the rule as it was originally designed by the imperial bureaucracy, that the enjoyment of the common lands should be proportionate to the area of the individual holdings.

No tax is paid to the Association for the use of its land; for yearlings

<sup>6</sup> In the nearby Military Border (*Krajina*) the standard holding for "border-peasants" (*graničari*, Ger. *Grenzer*) was a *Viertelsession* of eight and one-half "new" yoke, Hermann Haller, "Neu-Pasua und Neu-Banovci, zwei Schwabensiedlungen in Syrmien" (*Auslands-deutsche Volksforschung*, I [1937], 49).

and older an annual tax of eleven dinars (\$0 22) is collected by the communal administration (*općina*). Obviously, a family like the Varžić household, whose wealth is mainly in cattle, benefits greatly by the present arrangement. If the common lands were divided out among individual landholders on a basis of their urban-right land, the Varžić zadruga would come out at the small end of the partition.

The village feels a profound grievance against its former Magyar "spahi" (*spahija*). At the time of the separation (*segregacija*) of the peasants' land from the noble's demesne, the government had ordered the village to be provided with forest land equivalent to two yoke per household, or sixty-six yoke in all. According to the villagers, the landowner forced the peasants to plant fifty-six yoke of forest on the pasture assigned to the Association, thus giving them only ten instead of sixty-six yoke of his own woodland. The village feels to this day that the "Count" (*grof*) cheated it out of fifty-six yoke of pasture.

In 1910 the Association bought from the Counts Norman an additional twenty-five yoke of pasture. In 1938 it was negotiating for another two hundred and ten yoke, at a price of 480,000 dinars (\$9600), together with a deed-tax (*pristojba*) of 14,000 dinars (\$280). Part of the price was to be covered by selling off twenty-three yoke of its best stand of timber. Jozo (iv-9), who was in his twelfth year as President of the Land Association, was taking an active part in enlarging the property of the Association.

Today the main function of the Zelčín Land Association, aside from serving as titular owner of the common lands, is that of a cattle-breeding cooperative. The Association owns three bulls, which are kept in a pen (*bikara*) at the "village-house" (*seoska kuća*), owned by the Association. In 1937 a tax of one dinar per head of cattle was collected to buy oats for the bulls, as the local crop was poor. In addition, the Association owns five or six yoke of meadow, which are mowed by a peasant for one-third of the hay; the balance goes toward feeding the bulls, and, if that supply is inadequate, every household delivers hay to the bull-pen.

#### THE DRAINAGE-COOPERATIVE

An account of the landed property and usage-rights of the Varžić zadruga would be incomplete without some mention of its membership in the drainage-cooperative, an important undertaking in this low-lying and often marshy region. Eighty-two villages, including Zelčín, belong to the "Lower-Miholjac-Water-Cooperative" ("Doljnjo-Miholjačka Vodna Zadruga"), which was founded around 1896 or 1898. The peasants feel a certain antagonism toward the Coopera-

tive. They recall that it was founded by three "Counts" and a Hungarian Minister of Finance, Rudolf Norman, Janković, Pejačević, and Majlath, who first had their own lands drained, thus flooding the lands of the peasants and forcing them to join the Cooperative and to pay the greater part of the expense, as the peasants feel, for the benefit mainly of the "lord's land" (*spahiska zemlja*).

In 1938 the President of the Cooperative was a deputy of the Croat Peasant Party, Martinović, but the complaints of the villagers still continued. They objected to paying twelve dinars (\$0.24) a year per yoke to the Cooperative, and, in addition, to cleaning a fixed portion of the ditch and river system. The share of the Varžić zadruga consists of cleaning one kilometer of ditches and one of river, and requires about twenty-four days of labor a year. Criticism is directed principally to the cost of the central administration, which, it was claimed, amounted to 700,000 dinars (\$14,000) a year, including the President's salary of 75,000 dinars (\$1500), with "additional allowances for his wife, children, apartment, automobile, chauffeurs, janitors" ("doplatna na ženu, na dece, na stan, na auto, šoferi, podvorniki") The annual meeting of the Cooperative is held in the late autumn at Doljni-Miholjac; at it accounts are rendered, and every third year a committee (*odbor*) of six members is elected.

#### LIVESTOCK

The main livelihood of the zadruga is derived from the raising of livestock. In 1938 it had four pair of horses and two foals, and eighty-two head of cattle (*marve*). The zadruga also had 111 head of swine, including seventy-eight shoats, twenty-two breed-sows, one boar, and ten hogs for fattening. The swine are sent throughout the year to root in the common oak-forest. The zadruga also had sixty geese, one hundred chickens, four dogs, and seven or eight cats.

All the livestock of the household is zadrugal (*zadružno*). However, this has not prevented the development of individual property of its separate members in both land and livestock.

#### LIVELIHOOD OF THE ZADRUGA

The Varžić zadruga is approximately eighty percent self-sufficient. It covers its own requirements in wheat, maize, oats, potatoes, cabbage, peppers, other vegetables, meat of all sorts, butter, cheese, milk, and plum-brandy. It provides the greater part of its clothing and its wooden implements, and constructs its own buildings, hiring skilled workers only for brick-making and masonry-work. It buys shoes for Sunday-wear, sandals (*opanki*) for work, a few books, hats

and furniture, and much of its clothing. The zadruga is as well provided as the average Vermont farmhouse with city-bought beds, wardrobe closets, bureaus, and wash-stands.

The zadruga's annual cash outlay is about as follows:

sugar, 50 kilograms at 16 dinars	800 dinars	\$ 16
coffee, 3 kilograms at 54 dinars	162	3 24
matches, 360 boxes at one-half dinar each	180	3 60
salt, 3 "metara" at 250 dinars	750	15
allowance to wives, for clothing, 900 dinars for each of six	5400	108
sandals, three pair a year for each of ten men at fifty dinars each	1500	30
shoes, for the women	500	10
clothing, for men	2000	40.
school, five children at 30 dinars each	150	3
kerosene	600	12
farm equipment	500	10.
outside labor for repairs (1937)	250	5.
candles	220	4 40
village reading-room, 6 members at 1 dinar per week	330	6.60
newspaper, "Seljački Dom"	72	1 44

No written accounts are kept, and no formal account is rendered by the co-elders. Djuro estimated that annual expenditures for consumption amounted to 11,000 dinars; actually, the expenses listed above, omitting such items as may have been overlooked, totalled 13,414 dinars (\$268.28).

The taxes of the zadruga, national and local (*državni i općinski porezi*), amount to 20,500 dinars (\$410). The expenditure in cash for hired labor totals 3350 dinars (\$67). Thus, total cash outlay for the zadruga amounts to 37,264 dinars (\$745.28). The per capita outlay, averaged for the twenty-six members of the zadruga, comes to \$10.32 for consumption, \$15.76 for taxes, \$2.58 for labor, or a per capita total of \$28.66. The measure of the well-being of the Varžić zadruga is not found in the small volume of its market transactions, but in its excellent conditions of living. Much poorer families usually satisfy a far larger proportion of their needs by purchase at the market or in the local shops.

The Varžić household tries deliberately to keep its cash expenditures at a low level. Coffee, for example, is mainly for entertaining guests, otherwise, milk is the usual beverage. It uses its home-grown honey, and buys little sugar. While the zadruga provides its own brandy, it discourages the use of tobacco; the only member who smokes is Marko (v-23) who has to buy his tobacco from the "individual property" (*osobac*) of his wife. As Djuro says, "We flee from every kind of purchase" ("bežimo od svakoj kupovini"). However, the household feels that it is prompt to contribute to any community

purpose. In 1937 it provided a substantial amount of grain when a collection was made to purchase the *Collected Works* of Antun Radić for the reading-room. It has also advanced money of its own to help the Association arrange for the purchase of a new pasture.

The cash income of the zadruga is derived from the sale of pigs, cattle, and wheat. In 1938 it sold thirty head of pigs, but no cattle, as the region was included in a foot-and-mouth-disease quarantine. In 1937 it sold twenty-three head of cattle, and thirty *metara* (one *metar* equals 2.838 bushels) of wheat. Sales and large purchases are usually made at Osijek, the largest nearby market and administrative center.

One item of expenditure, the "allowance for wives," requires special comment. Each of the six wives receives from the zadruga three hundred dinars (\$6) in June (*lipanj*), the same in August (*kolovoz*), and again, before Christmas (*Božić*), or nine hundred dinars each year. Djuro remarked jokingly that each wife would spend nine thousand dinars if she could get it. Behind the jest is the real factor that the tendency toward increasing expenditures and the growing differences in taste and habits of life are disruptive factors in the zadrugal way of life. Because this growth of competitive spending is often felt first when young wives, coming from different backgrounds, enter the zadruga, the peasants traditionally blame the disintegration of the zadrugas on the women-folk.

In addition to their money-allowances, each wife receives in spring as many "furrows of flax" (*slogove konople*) as she wishes to work. After gathering the flax, she can sell the flaxseed, to buy additional thread or dyestuffs. Contrary to the practice of many zadrugas elsewhere, the women do not own and sell the eggs for their own use; the entire output of eggs is consumed within the household, as are the chickens at the home-farm. Of some three hundred chickens raised each summer at the outlying dairy-farm, fifty hens are kept over the winter; one-half of the remainder goes to the wife of the hired-man, and one-half is divided among the six wives, who sell them to buy extra sewing-materials. "From the [flax-]seed, from the chickens, they also buy" ("od seme, od piliće, još kupuju"). The wives also derive individual incomes from their "private property," which is kept strictly apart from the communal economy of the zadruga as a whole.

#### INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY

Side by side with the joint property of the zadruga, and separate from it, is the individual property of its members. Individual property, aside from clothing, musical instruments, and so forth, assigned

to the individual by the *zadruga*, cannot arise within the *zadruga*, for its members have no individual inheritance of *zadrugal* property and they have no individual earnings, apart from the joint work of the household. However, during the last fifty years individual property has penetrated the Varžić *zadruga* very considerably, through the dowry (*miraz*) or the inheritance of the wives. The old custom of the village was, on her marriage, to provide each daughter with a "marriage-outfit" (*otpremčina*), consisting of one or two wooden chests filled with clothing for her, shirts for her husband, towels, and household linen, a cow or a sow might be added. The bride thereupon lost all claim to inherit the *zadrugal* property, which passed intact to her brothers. So long as a *zadruga* had any male member, no female member or ex-member could inherit its property. However, with the breaking up of many *zadrugas* and the increasing trend toward smaller families, women began to fall heir to the family property. In addition, since the 1890's the custom has been growing of providing some dowry in land for the daughters, sometimes in anticipation of their future inheritance, sometimes as an outright gift. The development of this new custom and its effects on the *zadrugal* way of life will be discussed below, in tracing the history of the Varžić *zadruga*. The development of individual property within the *zadruga* must be outlined first.

The oldest living wife, Agica (iv-13), received one yoke of land at Bosanjevci (four kilometers away) and four hundred florins (*florinti*) from her step-father (*očim*). Djuro (iv-12) sold this parcel and bought 2400 "spans" (*hvat*; 2000 *hvat* equal one yoke) in Zelčín. This land is worked "on halves" (*na polovicu*) by a neighbor. In 1938 Agica's share amounted to seven *metara* (one *metar* equals 2.838 bushels) of oats, which she sold to buy additional clothing and embroidery materials for her daughter's "marriage-outfit."

Jozo's first wife, Eva (iv-10), received only her "marriage-outfit," as it was not yet customary in the 1890's to give land in dowry. After her father's death, the family lands passed to his brother, who is childless. In 1927, this uncle, Karla Mikolin of Harkanovci (four kilometers away), made a gift of 10,000 dinars (\$200) to the three sons of Jozo and Eva, Šimo (v-13), Mikola (v-15), and Antun (v-17). With that sum they bought two yoke in Zelčín, which are worked on halves by Antun's father-in-law. In 1937 the two yoke gave a yield of twenty-six *metara* of wheat; the three brothers sold their thirteen *metara* at 155 dinars per *metar*, paid taxes amounting to 200 dinars, and divided the balance among themselves, each receiving 605 dinars (\$12.10). This represents their "individual property" (*osobac, osobstvo*), which they may freely spend or save, apart



from the zadrugal property and income. In August 1938 they had spent part of the 1937 return on their wives, and still had some of it in cash.

In addition to this gift of 1927, Karla Mikolin has made his three grand-nephews eventual heirs to his entire property. He has "introduced Šimo, Mikola and Antun into zadruga" [with him] ("uveo je Šimo, Mikola i Antun u zadrugu"), in order to pass on his property to them, rather than to other relatives. Thus, these three members of the present zadruga have a prospect of inheriting within a few years a substantial property in their own right, apart from the dowry and inheritance of their wives. When these three brothers come into possession of their grand-uncle's land, it is quite possible that they will wish to work it themselves, instead of leasing it out "on halves." In that case Šimo, Mikola and Antun might conceivably form a new zadruga of their own, separating their shares of the present zadrugal property from those of their half-brother Žiga (v-19) and of their two cousins, Marko (v-23) and Mato (v-27).

Jozo's second wife, Manda (iv-11), received one cow as her *osobac* at her marriage in 1917 or 1918. Manda sold the cow at once, and bought two breed-sows (*krmače*), which have never been kept at the zadruga, but are cared for by a neighbor "on halves." As each litter of shoats is sold, Manda receives one-half the sale-price, and buys additional materials for the "marriage-outfit" of her daughter, Anka (v-20), beyond the equal provision made by the zadruga for each wife's allowance. Manda still owns one of the two sows.

Reza (v-14), Šimo's wife, "brought her marriage-outfit" ("donela je otpremninu"), but no dowry, and hence has no *osobac*. However, her father, a widower with two married daughters, will leave to her half of his eight yoke. In return for looking after her father's household needs, by going daily to bake, cook, and clean for him, Reza will also inherit her father's house and buildings. However, the members of the zadruga feel that he should write out a will, in order to make sure of leaving this additional property to Reza. One can imagine that, if Reza inherits a substantial house and farmyard, there will be a temptation for her and Šimo to break away from the zadruga and to claim their share of the zadrugal property, in order to set up their own household and farm. At present Reza's "individual property" is only an expectancy.

Eva (v-16), Mikola's wife, brought a marriage-outfit. At the time of her marriage her father was dead, and her zadruga was still headed by her grandfather. After the latter's death, her three uncles split the zadruga into individual holdings, and gave Eva one and three-

fourths yoke as her "necessary part" (*nužni dio*), that is, her legal share of the land. The land, which is in Bosanjevci, is worked by a neighbor "on halves." In 1937 it brought her no income, as the crop covered only the seed. In 1936, a good year, Eva received seven *metara* of wheat as her share; she sold the wheat at 150 dinars a *metar* and bought additional sewing and clothing materials.

Kata (v-18), Antun's wife, brought her "marriage-outfit," including bedding (*kreveti*) and "ducats" (*dukati*). When her father dies, he will leave his land to her, as her only brother has already separated out from his father, receiving his share of the property.

Kata (v-24), Marko's wife, brought a "marriage-outfit" and "furniture" (*nameštaj ili mebli*; *mebli* is more common, but the peasants call it a *švabski* or "Swabian" (i.e., German) word, and try consciously to substitute the Croatian work, *nameštaj*). A year after her marriage, Kata received two sows, two cows, two calves, and three yoke of land from her father as "dowry" (*miraz*). This gift was "of his own will" (*po svojoj volje*); it was not agreed upon before marriage.

Kata's three yoke are worked by a neighbor "on halves." In 1938 she received seven *metara* of wheat and twelve and one-half of oats, the wheat bringing 150 dinars a *metar*, the oats 110 dinars. Kata and Marko sold the wheat and oats. With the proceeds they buy "shirts, cigarettes; they arrange something better for themselves, the house [zadruga] provides only what is necessary" ("košulja, cigarete; popravi se nešto bolje, kuća da samo nužno"). One of Kata's breed-sows died, after having produced one hundred shoats in six years, a single litter sometimes brought in over 1000 dinars (\$20). The other sow was sold for 600 dinars (\$12). "One cow died; one I sold" ("jedna krava je uginula; jednu sam prodao") for 1100 dinars, Marko sold the two calves for 1000 dinars. The "wedding-collection" (*za svatovi*), contributed by the guests and amounting to 7000 dinars (\$140), was in part lost; for 4000 dinars Marko bought one yoke in Zelčín, as his *osobac*. From it he received in 1937 eleven *metara* of wheat as his half, after paying the taxes and giving one *metar* to the man who reaped it for him. From this *osobac* Marko paid his own expenses when he had a long illness, although Djuro's (iv-12) operation for appendicitis was paid for by the zadruga.

Thus, apart from the zadrugal property, which is owned and used by the household as a unit, its various members have acquired, or have expectancies of acquiring, substantial amounts of individual property of the Roman-law type. The members are not permitted to spend any time working their own land or looking after their own

cattle; all their time is devoted to the work of the zadruga, except for the sewing and embroidery of the women. As Djuro put it, "What she [a wife] has there [at her father's] we do not admit into our zadruga" ("što ona ima tamo, mi ne dademo u našu zadrugu"). The income from the *osobac* is never mingled with that of the zadruga. Yet, each individual small-family within the zadruga, especially each of the four younger couples, has its own income which it spends for its own pleasure beyond the uniform provision of necessities made by the zadruga for all its members, or else it saves it to increase its individual capital in the form of land or livestock. A point may come when the "individual property," added to the "ideal share" of the small-family in the zadrugal property, will promise an easier life. At that point, the urge to break up the zadruga and to separate out will become exceedingly strong. That this may well prove to be the case is suggested by one such break-up, which the zadruga underwent in 1900.

#### HISTORY OF THE ZADRUGA

The Varžić household first emerged as a self-directing economic unit as the result of the emancipation from serfdom in 1848. As Djuro says, "Jelačić freed Croatia from serfdom" ("Jelačić je oslobodio Hrvatsku od kmetstva"). The family-name, which it acquired somewhat prior to that, is pronounced indifferently as "Važić" or "Varžić." According to tradition, the "r" was added by the Magyar priest (*popa*), who kept the civil register of the village. There are numerous other Varžić families in Zelčín, but no attempt is made to keep track of blood-relationships beyond the lineage of Pavao (I-1). Three terms are used to refer to the zadruga. *Kuća* (house, household) is the everyday term. *Zadruga* is more often employed in referring to the communal family as a legal or property-owning entity. In this juridical sense it has been used officially in Civil Croatia since 1848 and in the nearby Border (Krajina) since the code of 1810. Finally, the members of the zadruga often refer to themselves as a *družina*, or "a lot of people," "a band."

When the zadruga emerged from serfdom, Pavao (I-1), the earliest ancestor of whom its members have any recollection, was its "house-head" (*kućni gospodar*). His successors were Mikola (II-1), Ivan (II-4), and Djuro (II-6), in order of age and seniority alike. Djuro was succeeded by Šimo (III-15), then the oldest in the household, but not the eldest in seniority. In 1900 the zadruga, with Šimo as its head, numbered twenty members, including seven married men (*ljudi*), seven wives (*žene*), and six children (*dece*). It was at this time that the first and only partition of the zadruga took place.

## ORIGINS OF THE DIVISION OF 1900

It was Marko (III-1) who took the initiative of dividing. "Everyone was dividing up throughout Croatia, well, he too wanted to separate out" ("svi po Hrvatskoj se delili, pa i on je voleo da se oddeli"). With four grown men in his own branch of the family, and only four others, one of them very elderly, in the rest of the zadruga, Marko felt that his smaller zadruga would be better off on its own land and in its own house. "He thought it would be better so; he had three sons for the work" ("on je mislio da bi će bolje, on je imao tri sina za rad").

The decisive impetus to separate out came, however, from the fact that Marko had now acquired a substantial amount of individual property, thanks to the change in dowry and inheritance custom which had developed markedly in the 1890's. Marko's second wife, Eva (III-3), had received three yoke as *osobac* from her father, and was thus the first wife in the Varžić zadruga to have property of her own. "From his individual property her father bought her three yoke as a dowry" ("iz svoga osobstva njezin otac je kupio njoj tri jutra na miraz"). This small amount of individual property, nevertheless, would not have induced Marko to break away from the zadruga. At this very time a much larger individual holding happened to come his way.

Eva (III-3) was an only child; after her father's death, the property had passed, according to zadrugal custom, to his brother, with whom he lived "in zadruga." This uncle, Djuro Varžić, a distant relative of the present zadruga, being childless, now decided to transfer his eighteen yoke of land to Marko and Eva. He and Marko signed a contract (*ugovor*) at the village-office (*optina*), according to which Djuro transferred his land to Marko, who in turn pledged himself to furnish his uncle-in-law with "life-support" (*doraniivanje*; properly, *dohranivanje*). Djuro was to live in his own house; Marko was to provide him annually with sixteen *metara* of wheat, one *metar* of pork, with salt, beans, and potatoes. Djuro was to keep his own cattle, and Marko was to provide their fodder. Marko was to distill plum-brandies for Djuro from the latter's plums. Marko's children "served" ("doslužili") Djuro by cutting wood and by sleeping at his house when he was ill. After Djuro's death, his widow continued to receive one-half of the contractual life-support.

Now in possession of twenty-one yoke of his own land, in comparison with about forty yoke for the zadruga as a whole, Marko (III-1) saw his advantage in claiming his share of the zadrugal property, and in setting up a new household with his three sons, two of whom were already married. Accordingly, in March (*ožujak*) 1900,

the existing zadruga of twenty members was broken up into three smaller units. Marko (III-1) left the zadruga with his second wife (III-3), his three sons and two daughters-in-law (IV-1, IV-2, IV-3, IV-4, IV-5), forming a new household of seven members. On the same day Marko's half-brother Mišo (III-8) separated with his wife, Mara (III-10), and his daughter, Anka (IV-8), forming a small-family of three members. Unlike Marko, Mišo had received no *osobac* from either of his wives, except for a single cow given to Mara (III-10) on her marriage, for the custom of providing dowry or allowing inheritance in land by a woman who had married out of her own zadruga into that of her husband had not yet appeared in Zelčín in the 1880's. Ten members still remained in the zadruga, with Šimo as "house-head": Šimo (III-15), who died in the following year, his wife Janje (III-16), two of Marko's half-brothers, Mato (III-6) with his wife Jula (III-7), and Ivan (III-11; the progenitor of the entire zadruga of today) with his wife Janje (III-12), and two sons and two daughters of Ivan and Janje: Jozo (IV-9), Djuro (IV-12), Kata (IV-14), and Vera (IV-15).

#### GROWTH OF FEMALE INHERITANCE OF LAND

Before tracing the procedure by which the division of the Varžić zadruga was carried out, it is necessary to discover how far back the origin of the new and disruptive custom of female inheritance of land can be traced. So long as the land belonged to a zadruga, a daughter who had married out of her own household had no further claim on its property, which passed to the surviving males, or, for lack of them, to a "son-in-law married into the house" (*domazet*). But, when zadrugas began to break up into numerous small-families, and when the small-families began to restrict their progeny to three, two or one child, the zadruga land began rather frequently to pass in the female line of descent.

The development of individual property through the dowry or the inheritance of the present wives of the Varžić zadruga has been traced. It is curious, but not surprising, to note that its members are inclined to assert the inheritance rights of its wives according to the written code, while stressing the older, zadrugal custom of no female inheritance in order to protect its own property. In a sense, it is trying to have the best of both systems of inheritance. Agica (IV-13), for example, received one yoke and 400 florins as a gift from her step-father, but she inherited nothing from her father. According to Djuro, Agica should have inherited four yoke, an ox, and other property, but her uncle, with the help of the Magyar priest and the "notary" [village official representing the Ministry of the Interior]

(*notarius*), sold his own share and Agica's lawful share to his own son-in-law during the War of 1914-1918. To an outsider it seems quite possible that Agica's uncle was acting in harmony with the older, zadrugal concept, just as Karla Mikolin is now doing in taking his three grand-nephews "into zadruga" in order to bequeath to them his childless patrimony. This time the shoe is on the other foot, however, and the Varžić household is not so eager to see the customary, zadrugal rule prevail over the newer written law!

On the other hand, the zadruga is obviously reluctant to give its own daughters dowry or inheritance-rights in the lands of the zadruga. Kata (iv-14), the sister of Jozo and Djuro, received from the zadruga only her "marriage-outfit." In the case of Kata's younger sister, Vera (iv-15), the zadruga, from its joint property, bought her a yoke of land, as dowry, in addition to providing her with a "marriage-outfit," a heifer, and a sow. In this instance, the Varžić zadruga yielded to the newer custom, presumably because, with the growth of the new custom, the marriage which either Vera or the zadruga especially desired could not otherwise have been arranged.

In the preceding generations, down to the 1890's, no wife brought any land to the Varžić zadruga, and no daughter took with her to her husband's household any rights in the land of the zadruga. There is no need to list every such case of non-inheritance, from Eva (ii-2) to Janje (iii-12), who died in 1927. The first wife in the history of the zadruga to run counter to this rule was Eva (iii-3), the second wife of Marko (iii-1), who, as we have seen, took the initiative in partitioning the zadruga. Yet, curiously enough, when asked why zadrugas break up, Djuro, the present co-head, repeated without hesitation the answer, universal in Balkan villages, that it is because the women are allowed "to boss" (*gospodariti*). Only when asked if the female inheritance of land did not have something to do with Marko's decision to separate out, did he, after a moment's reflection, agree that this was, in fact, a cause of the break-up.

In addition to the influence of changing custom, successive legal enactments concerning the zadruga are generally credited with having encouraged the dissolution of the communal family. Prior to the emancipation of the serfs in Civil Croatia, effected by the Imperial Decree of April 1, 1848, the zadruga of a serf family, such as that of Pavao Varžić, was regulated, not by the state, but by the serf-owner, who preferred the zadruga to the small-family as a surer guarantee of getting in his dues in labor and in kind. Within a generation after 1848 the pendulum was swinging violently the other way. By the first general laws of Civil Croatia on the zadruga, in 1870 and 1874,

division was permitted even at the request of a single member, and, for the first time, women, even those who had married out of the zadruga, were given a share in the inheritance.<sup>7</sup> According to the zadruga law of 1889, which was in force in 1900, partition was made somewhat more difficult. Even so, it provided that either the parties to the division might draw up their own terms for separation, or, if they could not agree, the real estate was to be divided according to descent by lineage, counting from those "representatives of lineage" who were alive on January 1, 1837. Movable property was to be divided into equal shares according to the number of souls, with a half-share to each member under sixteen.<sup>8</sup> In actuality, the division of the Varžić zadruga was carried out almost entirely on the basis of traditional peasant concepts of zadrugal justice, and was influenced hardly at all by the written code of the law-schools and the courts.

#### DIVISION OF THE ZADRUGAL PROPERTY

The division of the property of the zadruga raised all kinds of problems concerning the application of both customary and written law. Unlike many less fortunate zadrugas, the Varžić household was able to effect its division without recourse to lawyers or to the courts, except for the registration of the new titles to the real estate in the "Register of Deeds" (*gruntovnica*). In the elaborate settlement which was finally evolved from the clash of interests and of legal concepts, different principles were applied in the distribution of each different type of property: the "patrimony," the "bought land," the livestock, and the buildings.

In 1900 the "patrimony" (*dedovina*) consisted of approximately twenty-six yoke. This was "old manorial land received from the measuring" [segregation of peasant and noble land in the 1860's] ("staro spahisko dobuto od mjere"). It was agreed that this land should be divided "by lineage" (*po lozi*). The chief dispute arose over the question of who was entitled to share in the division by lineage.

As Pavao (I-1) had had three sons, Mikola (II-1), Ivan (II-4), and Djuro (II-6), the patrimony was first divided into three "ideal shares." But Ivan's line had meanwhile disappeared from the zadruga. His son, Kuzman (III-13) had died about 1879; Kuzman's widow, Ceca (III-14), had "remarried out of the zadruga," thus forfeiting all rights in the Varžić zadruga and acquiring, according to zadrugal custom, the right of subsistence in the new household. Djurdja (IV-16), the daughter of Kuzman and Ceca, upon "marrying out" of the Varžić

<sup>7</sup> V. Krišković, *Hrvatsko pravo kućnih zadruga, historijskdogmatski nacrt* (Zagreb, 1925) pp. 31-34.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 100.

zadruga, been provided by the zadruga with a "marriage-outfit," 300 florins, a cow, a sow, and two hives of bees (*košnice pčele*). This outfit, the zadruga reckoned, was equivalent in value to "a fourth" (*jedan fertajl*) of a *šešija*, or seven "old" yoke of land. In return, Djurdja had signed an agreement (*namira*), renouncing all further claim to the property of her father's zadruga, and her lineage was thus extinct or "married out."

Nevertheless, at the time of the division Djurdja laid claim to her grandfather's third of the zadrugal "patrimony," with the intention of transferring her share to Marko (III-1). According to Djuro and Jozo, the present co-elders, Marko had been all the more eager to "divide out," as he was counting on receiving the "ideal share" attributed to Kuzman's lineage. Djurdja and Marko were unable to carry through their plan against the opposition of the rest of the zadruga and against the force of the zadrugal tradition, and Kuzman's third finally remained with the zadruga. This solution illustrates the strength of the tradition that the zadruga itself is the residual heir of any extinct lineage within it, and that a daughter, once married out of the zadruga, has no claim to zadrugal land so long as there is a male heir to carry on the household. In strict law, of the modern, written type, the claim could have been made that the equity in Kuzman's third should be divided equally between the lineage of Mikola (II-1) and that of Djuro (II-6), inasmuch as both lineages had contributed to extinguish Djurdja's potential claim. In this case the patrimony would have been divided by two lineages, instead of three, and the shares of Marko and Mišo in it would have been substantially larger than they actually turned out to be. However, so strong was the customary-law concept that neither party to the dispute seems to have raised this issue then or since.

In the division of the patrimony, the basis on which the residual zadruga, with Šimo (III-15) at its head, continually insisted, and to which Marko (III-1) finally agreed, was that Marko (III-1) should receive "one-fourth of one-third" (*četvrtina od trećini*); Mišo (III-8), the same; Šimo (III-15), one-third, as sole descendant of Djuro's lineage; Mato (III-6), one-fourth of one-third; and Ivan (III-11), one-fourth of one-third. Šimo, Mato, and Ivan at once lumped their "ideal shares" together to continue the zadruga, which, as shown above, also received the remaining one-third accruing to Kuzman's now extinct lineage. Thus, the residual zadruga, under Šimo, "got two-thirds and one-half of one-third" ("su dobili dvije trećini i polovinu od trećini"), or ten-twelfths; Marko and Mišo each received one-twelfth of the patrimony. The fourteen fields of "grandfather's



land" were now divided into twenty-six parcels, corresponding in value to the respective "ideal shares."<sup>9</sup>

In the division of the "bought land" (*kupovina*) — land which the zadruga had acquired between the "segregation" and 1900 — a different principle was applied. This land was divided "according to souls of sixteen" and over ("po dušama od šesnaest godina"). The "bought land," consisting of three fields totalling fourteen and one-half yoke, was now divided into seven parcels, according to elaborate calculations based both on "souls" and on the yield of the various parcels.

In dividing out the livestock and food (*blago i rana*; properly, *hrana*), the zadruga likewise applied "division by souls," with one difference, that each "soul" over sixteen was assigned two shares, and each one under sixteen a single share. This is the only part of the procedure of division which was made in accordance with the provisions of the Law of May 9, 1889.<sup>10</sup> In this instance, it is safer to assume that the written law for once reflected one of the simpler and more widespread rules of customary law, rather than to suppose that the zadruga substituted written for customary law in this single exception. In accordance with the principle applied, Šimo's zadruga received three horses, eleven head of cattle, and twenty pigs, including eight breed-sows and twelve shoats, Marko received three horses, nine head of cattle, and eighteen pigs, including five sows and thirteen shoats; Mišo received one horse, two head of cattle, including a cow and a heifer, and four pigs, including one sow and three shoats. Foodstuffs on hand were divided similarly. Šimo's zadruga also received two wagons (*kola*) and one iron-tipped wooden plow, while Marko and Mišo shared a single wagon but received two iron-tipped plows.

In the division of the buildings of the zadruga, the principle of "division by lineage" was again applied.<sup>11</sup> Marko received the best hay-barn, one horse-barn, and "materials for a house" (*gradja za kuću*). With this material he built a wooden house, which his sons later replaced by one of plastered brick. Mišo was given one hay-barn, part of the pigsty (*svinjak*), and some materials to build a wooden

<sup>9</sup> For the detailed listing of the fields included under *dedovina* and *kupovina* and their division in 1900, consult Appendix II.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Krišković, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Articles 23 and 33 of the Law.

<sup>11</sup> This runs directly counter to Krišković's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 90) that wooden buildings are usually treated, in the partition of a zadruga, as movable property. If this were the case, they would have been divided according to "souls" with a double share going to each "soul" of sixteen or over, and Marko and Mišo would have received one-half, instead of two-twelfths, of the buildings by value. The discrepancy in Krišković's statement of the law is all the more striking in that Marko and Mišo actually treated their shares in the buildings as movable property by dismantling them and setting them up in new locations.

house, in which he still lives. Šimo was assigned the "old house," which was valued at 700 florins, as much as all the other buildings together. Of the two members who remained "in zadruga" with Šimo, Ivan received a wheat-shed, a horse-barn, a hay-barn, and a wagon-shed, Mato, two horse-barns, a corn-crib, a pig-pen fence (*plevnja*), and a bee-hive shed (*pčelenjak*).

#### ROLE OF THE ZADRUGA IN VILLAGE LIFE

This ingenious division of the zadrugal property illustrates the capacity of the zadruga-members for understanding and applying a system of traditional jurisprudence, based on customary law. Their ability to carry through this elaborate partition in a few days sheds light on the qualities of leadership which are developed in the management of a large cooperative household. These abilities are also prized by the village as a whole, and the co-elders of the Varžić zadruga play important roles in the organized life of the community. Jozo (iv-9) has been the "elder" (*starešina*) of the Zelčín Land Association for eleven years, and president of the Farmer's Union (*Gospodarska Sloga*) sponsored by the Croat Peasant Party. Djuro (iv-12) is president of the Peasant's Union (*Seljačka Sloga*), also promoted by the Peasant Party, and president of the School Board. Šimo (v-13) is captain (*satnik*) of the Croatian Village Defense (*Hrvatska Seljačka Zaštita*), an unarmed semi-military body likewise organized under the auspices of the Maček Party; Marko (v-23) is a corporal (*rojnik*), and Antun (v-17) a member, in the same organization. The active leadership of a prosperous zadruga in village affairs is greatly facilitated by the division of labor within the large household, a well-managed zadruga can afford to devote a share of its time to public affairs, while the head of a small-family is hard pushed to get his own work done. In addition, a zadruga has considerable voting-power in village elections, if one adds to its own numbers a large share of its "in-laws" and god-parents.

While the Varžić zadruga has become the wealthiest family in the community, it has remained an integral part of the village; in every respect its members live and feel like the other villagers. Its peasant outlook has been preserved so completely that it has never considered educating any of its sons beyond the village-school, and thus fitting him to live outside the village as an artisan or tradesman, or, under favorable circumstances, as an official or a professional man. The thought of the zadruga-members is concentrated on preserving the zadrugal way of life. Both its mode of life and its handling of the vexatious problem of individual property illustrate this conscious

striving to retain its unity and its identity. Its other main interest is in preserving and enlarging its economic basis.

One threat, analyzed above, to the continuation of the Varžić zadruga is the growth of individual property. Another weakness is sensed in a visible decline in the physical vigor of the stock. Jozo and Djuro are six feet tall, powerfully built. None of their sons is outstanding in physique. Marko (v-23) had had a long and expensive illness; Mato (v-27) was then undergoing medical treatment in a sanatorium. Djuro is a dynamic personality, a great power, naturally just, quick to sympathize with others or to show his own feeling. When he came to speak of his son who had died in 1935 at the age of nineteen, and displayed an elaborate stone bought for his grave, he turned aside to weep for a moment.

Djuro is a man of definite views, which he upholds vigorously yet courteously. For example, he is opposed to commassation, or consolidation of holdings, because, as a result of the working of the new customs of dowry and female inheritance, the consolidated holdings are soon cut up again into many small strips, and the whole expensive procedure of commassation has to be applied over again. He was bitter against the Stojadinović regime, mainly because he felt that the Croat regions were not treated fairly in the distribution of the tax-burden and of governmental benefits. He was well-stocked with arguments, drawn from the newspapers and pamphlets of the Croat Peasant Party, of which he was one of the local leaders. However, he seemed to have no dislike of Serbs as such. His hatred for the Hungarian landlord ran deep, from his description of the life of the peasants under serfdom, to the difficulties involved in arranging to buy additional pasture from the descendants of the former serf-owner.

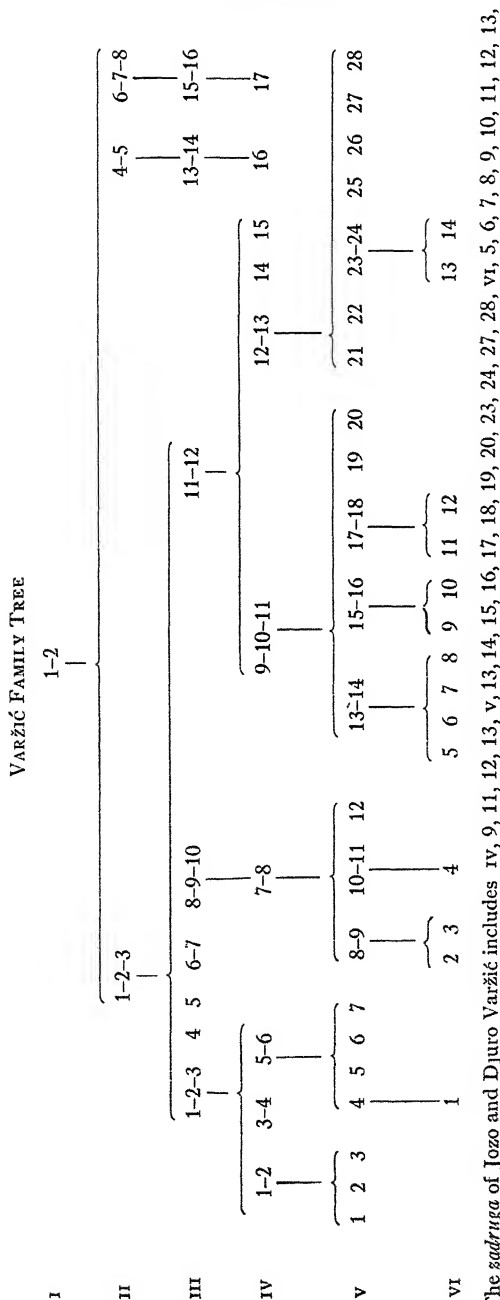
\* \* \* \*

The Varžić zadruga represents one of the most complex and significant types of the Balkan communal family. In a region in which production for the market is unusually well-developed, in which individualistic laws and tastes have penetrated rather deeply, it has not only survived the first shock of the new custom of dowry and female inheritance of land, but has modernized considerably its method of work and broadened its economic basis. The Varžić zadruga has deliberately been stemming the tide which, for fifty years, has been running in favor of the small-family. In accomplishing this primary aim of self-preservation, it has also thrown up vigorous and popular personalities to lead in the political and social development of the village.

According to the predictions of economic liberalism, the Varžić zadruga should have disappeared some forty-odd years ago. Yet, through a profound instinct to preserve the traditional values of the close-knit communal family, it has achieved stability and prosperity. Whether the younger generation will have the same desire and the same ability remains an open question. The accumulation of individual property outside the zadrugal pattern, the growing demand for luxury, the pressure to conform to the recent changes of custom, the ravages of war, these factors may, singly or in combination, result in the destruction of the Varžić zadruga. While it lasts, it is an example of social and economic efficiency to the neighboring small-families and small-zadrugas. The zadruga can be destroyed from within by a single strong will, once the present co-elders have passed from the scene. In the meantime it is an outstanding instance of the power of a multiple communal household to survive and flourish through conscious adaptation to the new conditions of a changing social environment.

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## APPENDIX I



The *zadruga* of Jožo and Djuro Varžić includes iv, 9, 11, 12, 13, v, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 27, 28, vi, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 4; a total of 26.

The *zadruga* of Mišo Varžić includes III, 8; IV, 8; V, 8, 9, 11, 12, VI, 2, 3, 4; a total of 9

The household of Stjepan Varžić includes iv, 2, 3, 4, 6; v, 4; vi, 1, a total of 6

## FAMILY-TREE OF THE VARŽIĆ ZADRUGA

Symbols \* living in 1938, d dead, ae aged, b. born; m married (out of zadruga)

- I- 1 Pavao
- I- 2 Stana, his wife, name doubtful
- II- 1 Mikola, son of I-1 and I-2
- II- 2 Eva Stratić, first wife of II-1
- II- 3 Janje Vazić, second wife of II-1
- II- 4 Ivan, son of I-1 and I-2
- II- 5 Manda Mihaljević, wife of II-4
- II- 6 Djuro, son of I-1 and I-2
- II- 7 Julia Matoković, first wife of II-6
- II- 8 second wife of II-6. name forgotten
- III- 1 Marko, son of II-1 and II-2, b. 1848, d. 1926
- III- 2 Reza Pavošević, first wife of III-1
- III- 3 Eva Vazić, second wife of III-1, b. 1855, d. 1928
- III- 4 Kata, daughter of II-1 and II-2, m.
- III- 5 Djurdja, daughter of II-1 and II-2, m.
- III- 6 Mato, son of II-1 and II-3
- III- 7 Julia Djurković, wife of III-6
- \*III- 8 Mišo, son of II-1 and II-3, b. 1858
- III- 9. Eva Krstić, first wife of III-8
- III-10 Mara Pavlić, second wife of III-8
- III-11 Ivan son of II-1 and II-3, b. 1860, d. 1915
- III-12 Janje Balukić, wife of III-11, b. 1860, d. 1927
- III-13. Kuzman, son of II-4 and II-5, b. 1850, d. 1879
- III-14. Ceca Zetović, wife of III-13, remarried out of zadruga
- III-15 Šimo, son of II-6 and II-7, d. 1901
- III-16 Janje Pavašević, wife of III-15
- IV- 1. Mikola, son of III-1 and III-2, b. 1865, d. 1934
- \*IV- 2. Ceca Šimošić, widow of IV-1
- \*IV- 3: Stjepan, son of III-1 and III-3, b. 1873
- \*IV- 4. Manda Šimošić, wife of IV-3, b. 1873
- IV- 5: Tomo, son of III-1 and III-3, b. 1888, d. 1928
- \*IV- 6: Janje Pavošević, widow of IV-5, b. 1895
- IV- 7: Jozo Horvat, husband of IV-8, b. 1883, d. 1925
- \*IV- 8 Anka, daughter of III-8 and III-10, widow of IV-7, b. 1885
- \*IV- 9. Jozo, son of III-11 and III-12, b. 1884
- IV-10 Eva Mikolin, first wife of IV-9, b. 1884, d. 1917
- \*IV-11 Manda Madjarić, second wife of IV-9, b. 1893
- \*IV-12: Djuro, son of III-11 and III-12, b. 1889
- \*IV-13 Agica Bošnjak, wife of IV-12, b. 1893
- \*IV-14. Kata, daughter of III-11 and III-12, b. 1893, m.
- \*IV-15: Vera, daughter of III-11 and III-12, b. 1895, m.
- \*IV-16: Djurdja, daughter of III-13 and III-14, m.
- IV-17. Julia, daughter of III-15 and III-16
- V-1, V-2, V-3, sons of IV-1 and IV-2, d. in infancy, names forgotten
- \*V- 4 Kata, daughter of IV-5 and IV-6, m., living in household of Stjepan Varžić (IV-3) as her husband, Marko Magić, is out of his head
- V- 5. Milan, son of IV-5 and IV-6, b. 1913, d. 1929
- \*V- 6: Agica, daughter of IV-5 and IV-6, b. 1918, m.
- \*V- 7: Manda, daughter of IV-5 and IV-6, b. 1921, m.
- \*V- 8. Franje Horvat, son of IV-7 and IV-8, b. 1903
- \*V- 9: Manda Alšić, wife of V-8
- V-10: Jozo Horvat, son of IV-7 and IV-8, d. ae. 23
- \*V-11: Manda Magić, widow of V-10

- \*v-12. Mikola Horvat, son of rv-7 and rv-8, b. 1922
- \*v-13. Šimo, son of rv-9 and rv-10, b. 1903
- \*v-14. Reza Berečić, wife of v-13, b. 1903
- \*v-15. Mikola, son of rv-9 and rv-10, b. 1905
- \*v-16. Eva Strugačević, wife of v-15, b. 1907
- \*v-17. Antun, son of rv-9 and rv-10, b. 1910
- \*v-18. Kata Pavošević, wife of v-17, b. 1910
- \*v-19. Žiga, son of rv-9 and rv-11, b. 1922
- \*v-20. Anka, daughter of rv-9 and rv-11, b. 1924
- v-21. Stjepan, son of rv-12 and rv-13, d., ae. 1 yr
- v-22. Stjepan, son of rv-12 and rv-13, d., ae. 2 mos
- \*v-23. Marko, son of rv-12 and rv-13, b. 1913
- \*v-24. Kata Magić, wife of v-23, b. 1913
- v-25. Ivan, son of rv-12 and rv-13, b. 1916, d. 1935
- \*v-26. Janje, daughter of rv-12 and rv-13, b. 1918, m
- \*v-27. Mato, son of rv-12 and rv-13, b. 1924
- \*v-28. Manda, daughter of rv-12 and rv-13, b. 1930
- \*vi-1. child of v-4, name not recorded, living in house of rv-3
- \*vi-2. Mara Horvat, daughter of v-8 and v-9, b. 1925
- \*vi-3. Jozo Horvat, son of v-8 and v-9, b. 1929
- \*vi-4. Djuro Horvat, son of v-10 and v-11, b. 1925
- \*vi-5. Stjepan, son of v-13 and v-14, b. 1921
- \*vi-6. Šimo, son of v-13 and v-14, b. 1923
- \*vi-7. Eva, daughter of v-13 and v-14, b. 1928
- \*vi-8. Mladin, son of v-13 and v-14, b. 1932
- \*vi-9. Pavao, son of v-15 and v-16, b. 1926
- \*vi-10. Mara, daughter of v-15 and v-16, b. 1929
- \*vi-11. Tomo, son of v-17 and v-18, b. 1928
- \*vi-12. Pero, son of v-17 and v-18, b. 1932
- \*vi-13. Fabijan, son of v-23 and v-24, b. 1932
- \*vi-14. Janje, daughter of v-23 and v-24, b. 1934

## APPENDIX II

The "patrimony" (*dedovina*) was divided as follows in 1900:

No.	Name of parcel	Minutes from house	Total area in "spans"	Marko's share	Mišo's share	Zadruga's share
1.	Markovlaz	1	4,207	1,200	—	3,007
2.	Staroselo	3	ca. 5,000	—	1,300	3,700
3.	Rušćansko	5	ca. 4,030	1,200	1,200	1,630
4.	Gaja — 1st	15	ca. 4,000	—	—	4,000
5.	Gaja — 2nd	15	ca. 2,000	—	—	2,000
6.	Zelćinice	20	ca. 4,540	1,200	1,200	2,140
7.	Gorača	15	ca. 5,000	1,200	—	3,800
8.	Selišće — 1st	14	4,300	1,200	—	3,100
9.	Selišće — 2nd	14	2,200	—	—	2,200
10.	Duže	15	4,038	1,200	—	2,838
11.	Gajić	25	4,000	—	1,300	2,700
12.	Vraničevo	30	4,000	1,200	—	2,800
13.	Plana	35	4,000	1,200	—	2,800
14.	Ležaj	20	500	500	—	—

The "bought land" (*kućovina*) was divided as follows:

15.	Velika Bara	20	16,000	—	—	16,000
16.	Zelćinice	30	3,000	1,200	200	1,600
17.	Mlaka	15	10,000	3,333	1,666	5,000

## RAGUSA AND THE PORTUGUESE SPICE TRADE

By NICHOLAS MIRKOVICH

• NOTE This article summarizes the result of a part of the author's research in the economic history of the Serbian lands and the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). The work was begun in Yugoslavia in 1938 and then continued, with interruptions, in England and the United States. It is the special aim of the author to investigate documents and reconstruct the commercial history of Ragusa during the period of the Commercial Revolution, principally the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in connection with the discoveries and the colonization of America. It is almost unknown that Ragusa was one of the principal commercial and naval powers in the period 1510-1667 and that it played an important role in the history of Brazil, the Caribbean, and the West Indies in general. The same goes for England, the Netherlands, Spain, and other regions. The author will center his work around three regions in which the role of Ragusan commerce and navigation was of extreme importance: (a) Spain and America, (b) England and the Netherlands, and (c) the Levant and the East Indies.

The present article will be followed by another on "The East Indian Trade of Ragusa," to appear possibly in the *Indian Journal of Economics*. Special interest will be paid to the importance of Ottoman rule for the expansion of Ragusan trade in the East. It is a pity that the Venetian trade in India for the corresponding period has not been investigated.

Documentary sources on which this work is founded are of a varied nature. The richest sources are to be found in Venetian, English, Spanish, and, naturally, Ragusan archives. English sources are published to a very great extent. Venetian documents are to a large extent published in numerous volumes, the most important being the British *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian). Spanish documents (Archivio de las Indias, Simancas, Navarrete) are mostly unpublished.

This particular article chiefly relies on (a) Ragusan documents of the group "Lettere e commissioni di Levante," (b) contemporary Ragusan annals, and (c) descriptions of contemporary travelers. The author had some Ragusan materials pertaining to the commercial expansion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries copied, but the recent invasion of Yugoslavia has made the continuation of that work impossible. Most useful documents were being selected and published by the Serbian Academy of Science under the direction of Jovan Radonić. Accounts of travels, although they concern mostly Venice, offer an invaluable source. A great deal of them has already been published by the Hakluyt Society. Ragusan annals offer some materials, but one can never be careful enough in using them. They are not always very trustworthy and accurate. As far as the East Indian trade goes, the annals of Giacomo Luccari (1605) are most interesting, but still one must help himself with numerous Venetian, Portuguese, and other sources in order to come to very simple results.

Portuguese documents published in the collections *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* give interesting information on Ragusan competition for the spice trade of Portugal. These documents should be studied in connection with the documents (English, Venetian, and Ragusan) on the Ragusan trade with England. It could be seen that Ragusan competition with the Portuguese trade has been extremely sharp in the period 1580-1620, the period dominated by Ragusan naval expansion in the Atlantic. Portuguese waters were at that period under the control of Ragusan fleets in the service of Spain.

Historians of Ragusa have so far paid attention only to relations with Italy and the Balkan hinterland. English, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese documents were almost unknown to them. On the other hand, historians of the Commercial Revolution never paid any attention to Ragusa for reasons which are partly obvious and partly involved so that they cannot be explained here. The author hopes to devote an article to the documents covering Ragusan commercial expansion in the period 1510-1667.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries needs a number of fundamental revisions. There are too many as-



sumptions which could not stand a thorough and conscientious re-examination of contemporary source materials. Most of those are connected with the question of the place of the Mediterranean world in the commercial revolution. It is true that during the sixteenth century the centers of world trade have shifted toward the Atlantic. On the other side that process has not been by any means "clean" and exclusive.<sup>1</sup> Some sections of the Mediterranean world have maintained their positions throughout the sixteenth century. This remark applies in the first place to the little Dalmatian republic of Ragusa or Dubrovnik, which succeeded in building up (during the second half of the century) one of the most powerful merchant fleets of the time. It can be estimated that Ragusa had the third largest fleet of big ocean-going vessels (above 300 tons) in the period between the Spanish conquest of Portugal (1580) and 1610 or 1618 (the naval expedition of Pedro Giron into the Adriatic Sea). Only Spain and the Netherlands maintained a larger fleet of big ships. Until the earthquake of 1667, which destroyed the city almost entirely and set an end to its shipping, Ragusan ships were covering the waters between England and Flanders in the north, Alexandria, Tripolis, Ormuz and Goa in the east, and Brazil and the Caribbean in the west. About one third of the Spanish fighting marine in the Mar Oceano between 1588 and 1640 was composed of the Ragusan "Squadre dell'Indie" and the "Squadre dell' Mar Oceano" (Ragusan built, manned, and commanded). Unfortunately, the history of Ragusan naval exploits in the West Indies and the Atlantic is not yet written.

One of the most interesting places in the history of the commercial revolution still asking for more clarification is the Portuguese trade with the East Indies during the sixteenth century. The question is still open: Was there a real Portuguese monopoly in the East Indian spice trade following the discoveries and conquests of 1498-1502, and what happened to the trade that was carried through the old trade routes of the Levant. In the examination of the latter lies a great part of the answer to the question.

For that reason we can be grateful to the author of an article which appeared in the April, 1940, issue of the *American Historical Review*.<sup>2</sup> In support of the thesis of Dr. Lane we should like to give some supplementary materials, mainly concerning Ragusan trade with the East Indies, which might broaden the argument. Namely, the trade

<sup>1</sup> N. Mirkovich, "Economic Growth of the Pacific Area," *Pacific Affairs*, XIII, 4 (December, 1940), 458-460.

<sup>2</sup> F. C. Lane, "The Mediterranean Spice Trade," *American Historical Review*, XLV, 3 (April, 1940), 581-590.

of Ragusa and Venice, was not halted at the Levantine ports of Alexandria, Tripolis and Beirut, but was carried by the merchants of these republics as far as Goa and possibly even Malacca and Batavia, thus penetrating the commercial empire of the Portuguese in India at a period when Portugal is supposed to have a "monopoly" of the spice trade. We shall restrict the paper only to a number of important facts.

The reader will find a discussion of the price and quantities of spices in Portugal and the Mediterranean ports respectively in Lane's paper. It is certain that the first shocks at the market of Lisbon have been of a short duration. The participation of individual merchants in the expeditions of Da Gama and Cabral (1498-1501) has heavily contributed to the fall of the prices. As soon as the king forced his own monopoly upon the East Indian trade, the market has been stabilized to a great extent.<sup>3</sup>

Venetian reaction to the voyages of Vasco da Gama and Pedro Alvarez de Cabral was immediate. "Venise apprit d'une façon confuse au mois d'août 1499" write de Lannoy and Van der Linden, "d'une façon certaine le 23 février 1501, la réussite du voyage de Vasco da Gama et le départ de la flotte de Cabral."<sup>4</sup> An attempt to secure the Portuguese spice import at Lisbon has failed.<sup>5</sup> Already in 1501, an ambassador was sent to the Mameluke sultan of Cairo to persuade him to drive the Portuguese from India. The attempt did not succeed. New ambassadors were sent in 1502 and 1505, but with the same result. Finally, in 1507 Abunasser Causer Gauro, seeing the commerce of his lands threatened by the competition of the Cape route, agreed on fitting out a fleet, which was to sail down the Red Sea for the Indian Ocean. The expedition was unsuccessful in the end (following some initial success in 1507, the Egyptian fleet was defeated by Almeida in 1508), but it was significant in many respects. As a whole the expedition can be regarded as a Venetian enterprise. It was initiated by them, and the fleet of some twelve ships was almost entirely built by them. Timber was brought from Dalmatia, unladen at Alexandria, then transported up the Nile to Cairo, from there to Suez, where Venetian shipwrights were at work. The ships were manned by some 1,500 Turks, more important posts (gunners in the

<sup>3</sup> K. Haebler, *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 24-25.

<sup>4</sup> C. de Lannoy and H. Vander Linden, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens: Portugal et Espagne* (Brussels and Paris, 1907), p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> The attempt was of a later date, about 1521 (*Report on the Old Records of the India Office* [London and Calcutta, 1891], p. 174).

first place) being covered by South Europeans.<sup>6</sup> Venetians and Ragusans were always to be found in great numbers in all the expeditions of the Mamelukes and the Turks in the Red Sea and in the Indian Ocean. The fleet of Abunasser Gauro was later aided by the fleet of Gujerat. This throws an interesting light on the relationship that existed between the Portuguese and the native rulers of India. Throughout the sixteenth century we see various Indian fleets taking part in the struggle against Portuguese rule.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time Venice has continued to carry the trade with the Egyptian and Syrian ports. Venetian *fondachi* existed at Alexandria and Tripolis. That at Alexandria was the most important one.<sup>8</sup> That at Tripolis gained in importance with the shifting of the trade routes to the north. In connection with that Aleppo became an important center of Venetian, French, Ragusan, English and Dutch trade in the latter part of the century. When the Turks conquered the countries of the Mamelukes (Syria in 1516, Egypt in 1517) Venetian trade was discontinued only for a short time. Old trade treaties were soon renewed by the Turks, and Venice was able to carry on the trade with Syrian and Egyptian ports.

During the following decades Venice became involved in wars in the Levant and in Italy. Most harmful to her trade was that fought with Turkey 1537–1540. For long periods she was excluded from the ports of the Ottoman Empire. The decline of her shipbuilding was also a very important factor in the rise of her rival Ragusa.<sup>9</sup> She regained her positions about the middle of the century.

During the absence of Venice the largest part of the oriental trade was taken over by Ragusa, which about 1530–1540 had a virtual monopoly of that trade. For a decade or two there existed a sharp competition between Ragusa and Portugal, which was carried on also in Portugal's own East Indian empire. The Ragusan colony São Braz near Goa is one of the strangest and most interesting examples of the economic expansion of that little republic in the period of the commercial revolution.

<sup>6</sup> "The gunners in the Portuguese service were frequently Flemings and Germans; those that came with the Turkish fleet were usually renegades from Southern Europe" (R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* [Westminster, 1899], p. 40).

<sup>7</sup> R. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping: A History of the Sea-Borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times* (Bombay and Calcutta, 1912), p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Lane in his article mentions two Venetian *fondachi* in Alexandria about 1561, "the other 'nations,' the Genoese, Ragusans, and French, who were less numerous, each having one" (Alessandro Magno Ms, Lane, *op cit*, p. 582).

<sup>9</sup> C. F. Lane, "Venetian Shipping During the Commercial Revolution," *American Historical Review*, xxxviii, No. 2 (January, 1933), 219–237.

Ragusan trade with the Levant dates back to the eleventh century and the Crusades. Ragusa was active in trafficking men and supplies for the western armies and gained her, at that time very moderate, share in the Levantine trade, the best part of which was in the hands of Venice, Genoa and Pisa. From the trade agreements concluded with Venice we see that in the thirteenth century Ragusa was engaged in regular commercial intercourse with Asiatic and African ports. The treaty with Venice<sup>10</sup> of 1232, renewed in 1236 and 1252, counting the places to which Ragusan merchants are going, mentions, among other less distant regions, Egypt, Tunis, and Barbary.<sup>11</sup>

Political disorders, which followed the fall of the Serbian empire of Stephen Dushan (1355), forced the Ragusans to transfer most of their economic activities (trade, banking, mining) from the Illyrian Peninsula (Balkans) to oversea territories. Since that time (second part of the fourteenth century) Ragusan navigation and maritime trade rose rapidly, so that already in the beginning of the fifteenth century Ragusan ships and merchants were to be found in all countries of the Mediterranean world. By the middle of the century they went out into the Atlantic, taking up commercial traffic with England and Flanders. When the Venetians and the Genoese were expelled from the Mare Majus (Black Sea) and the establishments at Kaffa and Pera closed, Ragusa was the only Christian power to keep up the commerce with Moldavia and Tartary. This was done through the chain of Ragusan colonies stretching to the East as far as Akkerman and Silistria. The swift adaptation to Turkish rule in the Levant was the most important cause of Ragusan success in navigation and trade during the commercial revolution. Ragusa was probably the first Christian "nation" to settle commercial relations with the Ottoman Turks on a stable basis.<sup>12</sup> When they occupied the former territories of Serbia, Bosnia and Albania, Ragusa, for an annual tribute of some

<sup>10</sup> Ragusa was under Venetian supremacy at that time and stayed so until 1358, when the Venetians were forced by Hungary to abandon Dalmatia.

<sup>11</sup> "Praeterea Ragusini de mercibus Romaniae, quas Venetias apportaverint, debunt in Venetis communi Venetiarum quinque pro centenario, et de marcibus ultramarinis et terrae Aegypti, Tunixi et Barbariae, solvent quintum . . ." (*Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante, vom neunten bis zum Anfang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. G. L. Fr Tafel und G. M. Thomas (Vienna, 1856), I (814-1205), *Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Diplomataria et acta*, XII, Doc. cccxxi, 468).

<sup>12</sup> It is believed that the agreement concluded between Ragusa and sultan Urchan at Brusa in 1340 was the first agreement to be signed by any Christian nation with the Turks. The authenticity of that agreement is doubted (C. Jireček, "Die Bedeutung von Ragusa in der Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters," *Almanach der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, XL [1898], 451).

12,000 ipperperi, put herself under Turkish protection. The Turks left to the little republic all the independence she wanted, and Ragusan merchants, as subjects of the Grand Signor, received freedom of trade in all his countries. This was of special importance in the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman rule spread through Syria and Egypt to the Indian Ocean. On the other side, Ragusa, being in good relations with the Pope and the king of Spain, had all the protection from the rulers of the Catholic world.

Coming closer to our subject of the Portuguese-Ragusan relations in the East Indian spice trade, the capitulations of 1510, which the Ragusans received from the Mameluke sultan Abunasser Causer Gauro, were the most important date in their penetration to the territories beyond Syria and Egypt. Until that time their traffic in the lands of the Mamelukes was confined to the Mediterranean ports (Alexandria in the first place), where they were waiting for goods brought by Mohammedan merchants from the East.<sup>13</sup> The new understanding permitted them to engage in commercial activities beyond Alexandria. Their effort was concentrated on the safe conduct of merchandise from Suez and Tor on the Red Sea to Cairo and Alexandria where their ships waited for East Indian spices. Although we do not possess more details on the subject, the understanding of 1510 was connected with a Ragusan project to dig a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. An author calls the enterprise the earliest project of the Suez Canal.<sup>14</sup> The same idea was entertained by the Venetians. An attempt to induce the Mamelukes to dig a canal in 1504 did not succeed.<sup>15</sup> The same was tried again in 1529: the Turks employed some 20,000 laborers to clear the bed of the old Egyptian waterway, but the work was never brought to an end.<sup>16</sup> Both Venice and Ragusa were very conscious of the importance of the Portuguese discovery and tried to counteract its possible consequences already at that early date.

Thus Venice and Ragusa were firmly established in the countries of the Mamelukes at the time when the Portuguese established themselves in India (Goa was taken 1510, Malakka 1511, Ormuz 1515). We know already that Venice had the Mameluke treaties renewed by

<sup>13</sup> For the relations between the Mameluke empire and the Medieval trade cf. G. S. Rentz, *The Mameluke Empire at the Close of the Fourteenth Century*, Ms. (University of California, Berkeley, 1938).

<sup>14</sup> F. Kirchmayer, *La caduta della repubblica aristocratica di Ragusa dopo quasi tredici secoli di esistenza e la lotta dei soldati di Napoleone I colla flotta russa i Montenegrini e Crivosciani pel possesso delle Bocche di Cattaro* (Zara, 1900), p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> C. W. Hallberg, *The Suez Canal* (New York, 1931), p. 33.

<sup>16</sup> W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantenhandels im Mittelalter*, II (Stuttgart, 1879), 540.

the Turks after they occupied Syria and Egypt.<sup>17</sup> Both the Turks and the Venetians were anxious to keep open the Levantine trade routes, and did their best to counteract the efforts of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. When Venice became involved in the wars against the "infidel," Ragusa took her place and remained the only "bridge" between Europe and the Levant. It is at that particular period that the rivalry between Portugal and Ragusa in the eastern trade has its most interesting aspects.

Ragusans were nominal subjects of the sultan and were permitted to trade in all his territories without any special restrictions. On the other side they were under the protection of Charles V and the Pope. This strange position enabled them to keep up commercial contact with the two worlds during the period of the Holy League. Luca de Linda calls Ragusa at that time "Porta dell'Oriente,"<sup>18</sup> for the reason that all oriental goods, in the first place the spices of India, coming by the Levant routes, were brought to Ragusa and from there distributed throughout Central Europe and Italy.

When Selim I conquered Syria and Egypt 1516-1517 he sent a message to the Ragusan Senate to notify the city of the change and reassure her of the earlier commercial privileges. He died in 1519 and was succeeded by Suleiman. Both rulers were personal friends of the little republic and were to a great extent responsible for the expansion of Ragusan oriental trade in the sixteenth century. Immediately two ambassadors, Marino Gondola and Stefano Palmotta,<sup>19</sup> were sent to Suleiman with special instructions as to Ragusan trade interests in Western Asia. The written instructions are preserved in the Ragusan archival collection "Lettere e Commissioni di Levante" (xix, 1504-1526, 172-175) and are the most interesting piece of documentary material on Ragusan oriental trade in the first half of the century. Names of places where Ragusans had special commercial interests were specified: Alexandria, Behier, Cairo, Damietta, Beirut, Tripolis, Damascus, Aleppo.<sup>20</sup> Ragusan commercial privileges in the Levant were extended during the later years.

<sup>17</sup> A. H. Lybyer, "The Influence of the Rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the Routes of Oriental Trade," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1914, 1 (Washington, 1916), 127-133.

<sup>18</sup> F. M. Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*. 1 (Ragusa, 1802), 236.

<sup>19</sup> Ragusa was represented in Constantinople by two ambassadors, who were changed quite frequently.

<sup>20</sup> Srpska kraljevska akademija, *Fontes Rerum Slavorum Meridionalium*, Series prima (Acta Diplomatica Ragusina), II, fasc. 1, collected and edited by J. Radonić (Belgrade, 1935), Doc. xc (November 1, 1520), 205.

It is, undoubtedly, during the years of Suleiman's rule that Ragusans have been encouraged to penetrate deeper into the lands of the "infidel" and come in touch with the Portuguese in Persia and in India. The event which to a great extent "opened" the Indian Ocean to Ragusan trade was the Turkish expedition to India 1537-1538. This expedition was a "Ragusan affair" in the same sense that the Egyptian expedition of 1508 was a Venetian affair. A certain merchant Giacomo Rauseo, who was very active working against the Portuguese in Gujarat,<sup>21</sup> was the moving spirit of the enterprise. Having the backing of the native rulers of Western India, in the first place that of the princes of Cambaya and Tramopatan, he was said to have induced Suleiman to order his Egyptian governor Suleiman Pasha Albanese to undertake an expedition against the Portuguese in India. With crews from Ragusan and Venetian ships, which at that time were in the harbor of Alexandria, a fleet of some seventy sail was outfitted.<sup>22</sup> On the whole the expedition was unsuccessful and after an attack on Diu the fleet returned to Egypt, where the Ragusan ships were permitted to leave unharmed.<sup>23</sup>

In the meantime Venice was engaged in a war with Turkey (1537-1540) Ragusa was by a special Papal intervention freed from the obligation of taking part in the Christian league. This is one of the innumerable instances where the active Ragusan commercial diplomacy has opened ways and removed restrictions to the trade of the republic, which now pushed its territorial limits to Persia and India. Writes Luccari (of all the Ragusan annalists he is undoubtedly the one with the best knowledge of oriental affairs): "Stando dunque i Rausei neutrali i quella guerra, & alloggiado e l'una parte, e l'altra, & concorredo da loro tutt'il traffico di Levante sino dall'estreme parti di Persia, & dalle parti di Ponente, si fecero molto ricchi, & il dominio accrebbe l'entrate per la negociatione, gabelle, & passaggi delle navi."<sup>24</sup>

During that period Ragusan merchants established themselves in India. Unfortunately, we do not possess sufficient materials covering their activities, but from contemporary sources, in the first place from the journals of Dutch, English and other travellers of the latter part of the Sixteenth Century, we can reconstruct some phases of the Ragusan trade in the East Indies.

<sup>21</sup> In Luccari's annals we read that this Ragusan merchant was "the Viceroy of Delo" and "ambassador of the king of Cambaya" (G. P. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto de gli annali di Ragusa* [Venice, 1605], p. 140).

<sup>22</sup> F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India: Being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire*, I (London, 1894) 425-430

<sup>23</sup> G. P. Luccari, *op cit*, p. 141

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 141-142.

Alexandria and Tripolis<sup>25</sup> were the principal ports where Ragusan ships were laden with merchandise brought from India. The port of Alexandria served the trade carried on through the Red Sea route, Tripolis the trade coming from the Persian Gulf. In these two ports, as well as in other cities of Syria and Egypt (Beirut, Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus) Ragusan merchants had their *fondachi* in which the commercial activities were concentrated. In the second half of the sixteenth century Tripolis and Aleppo have been gaining in importance, the desert route through Mesopotamia being shorter and safer than the route through the Red Sea.

From Aleppo caravan routes were leading to India, by way of Persia or the Persian Gulf. At Basra caravans were laden with goods brought by ships from Ormuz and India. Ormuz was the most important link in the trade of the Mediterranean nations with India. It was in the hands of the Portuguese throughout the sixteenth century (taken 1515 by Albuquerque), but merchants from all the parts of the Mediterranean world could be found there. From a letter the English traveller John Newbery wrote from Goa in January 20, 1584, we read: "... all nations do and may come freely to Ormus; as Frenchmen, Flemings, Almaines, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Nazaranes, Turks and Moors, Jews and Gentiles, Persians, Moscovites, and there is no nation that they (the Portuguese) seek for trouble except ours (the English)."<sup>26</sup> It must not be forgotten that in the period 1580–1640 Portugal was under Spanish rule.

The center of Ragusan trade in India was their colony São Braz (Sveti Vlaho) located at the northern end of the Malabar coast.<sup>27</sup> This colony is the most interesting example as to what extent the Portuguese commercial empire in India was penetrated by the Mediterranean nations. The colony was centered around the church of St. Blaise in the northeastern end of the Island of Goa (Ilha de Goa, called also the "Tissuary"). Surrounding the church there was a settlement of the same name. Although within the territory of the Portuguese colony of Goa, the village of São Braz was separated from the city of Goa and had some degree of self-government. It had a special strategical significance being situated along the central part of the wall surrounding Goa from the east, and stretching from the settlement

<sup>25</sup> Tripolis in Syria (Tarabulus ash-Sham), as distinguished from Tripolis in Lybia (Tarabulus al-Gharb).

<sup>26</sup> *The First Englishmen in India*, ed. J. Courtenay Locke (London, 1930), pp. 79–80

<sup>27</sup> St Blaise (São Braz, San Biagio, Sv Vlaho) is the patron saint of the Republic of Ragusa, which was also frequently called the Republic of St Blaise (Repubblica di San Biagio, Republika Svetoga Vlaho).



Daugim to that of São Thiago.<sup>28</sup> São Braz retained its independent position for centuries to come, and later even incorporated the parish of Sta. Lucia.<sup>29</sup> A later author writes: "... all these villages (Upper Dowji, St. Blasius etc.) are very small, and cannot be considered as part of the city, nor included in its population . . ."<sup>30</sup>

The church of St. Blaise was built sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is not known whether the Ragusan merchants paid all the expenses of building the temple. Luccari writes: "... è situata (Goa) nell'Isola di Tizuarin, ch' è fatta di due stagni d'acqua amara; e n'hà dentro frà gli altri Tempij, uno dedicato à San Biagio, molto ricco, ch'i Rausei, i quali trafficano in quei mari, l'hanno adornato . . ."<sup>31</sup> The settlement was for the most part inhabited by natives. Ragusan merchants had undoubtedly the center of their commercial activities farther west in the city of Goa, on the Rua Drecha. From the journal of Pyrard de Laval (1608) we understand that on that street "the richest Portuguese, Italian, and German merchants" have established themselves.<sup>32</sup>

Goa was the center of the commercial activities of Ragusans, and later of Venetians, in the East Indies. The colony had a strategic position in regard to the oriental trade routes. Merchandise from all parts of Southern and Eastern Asia were brought to Goa and then shipped to Europe and the Levant. Here we come to a question which is extremely interesting to all those who are concerned with the history of the commercial revolution, but the discussion of which we must abandon here because of the limited nature of this paper. It is the question of the efficiency of the Portuguese trade monopoly in India during the sixteenth century. Even before the Dutch and the English had begun to penetrate the Portuguese commercial empire in Asia, Mediterranean nations, in the first place Ragusa and Venice, competed very successfully with the Portuguese in their own reservation. There existed a Portuguese monopoly of East Indian trade only in regard to the countries of Western Europe, but the restrictions did not seem to have been applied rigidly to Mediterranean merchants (Turks, Moors, Ragusans, Venetians, Armenians, Greeks).

<sup>28</sup> F. Diniz d'Ayalla, *Goa antiga e moderna* (Lisbon, 1888), pp. 144-145

<sup>29</sup> J. Nicolau de Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa* (Bombay, 1878), p. 255.

<sup>30</sup> D. L. Cottineau de Klougen, *An Historical Sketch of Goa* (Madras, 1831), p. 82.

<sup>31</sup> G. P. Luccari, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>32</sup> *Historia general de los viages, desde el principio del siglo XV*, Libro IV (Historia general de los viages, o nueva coleccion de todas las relaciones de los que se han hecho por Mar, y Tierra, y se han publicado hasta ahora en diferentes lenguas de todas las naciones conocidas, Tomo XII), Madrid, 1772, p. 386

Throughout the sixteenth century we have thus the Levantine trade routes competing with the Portuguese Cape route. One must be acquainted with the special difficulties of the ocean voyage around the continent of Africa, in order to understand the relative advantages of old trade routes. Even the Portuguese themselves have been using the Basra route for sending diplomatic representatives and important messages. About the middle of the century the competition was so great that the Portuguese entertained the idea of arranging with the Turks the right of passage for Portuguese goods from India through the Levant routes.

Knowing about the activities of Ragusan and Venetian merchants in the East Indies we can now better understand the successful functioning of their trade communications in the Levant. The entire enterprise seems to have been more systematic than it might be assumed. The Turkish domination of the territories between the Mediterranean and India has in the end favored that trade. Not being very commercially minded, the Turks have allowed Venetians, Ragusans, Florentines, French and other Christian nations to carry on the trade through their empire, which was not possible during the period of Arab and Mameluke rule. The direct communication between India and the Mediterranean has thus been to a certain degree established.

As for Ragusa its direct communication between the East Indies and Europe seems to have been functioning for a considerable length of time. From the Indies goods (spices in the first place) were shipped to Ormuz and Basra, from there transported by caravans to Aleppo and Tripolis. The alternate route was that through the Red Sea to Suez and Alexandria. The land route through Persia, ending at Tripolis or Iskenderun, has also been used to a great extent throughout the Century. The principal markets for Persian goods were to be found in the Levant, not in India or Tartary. At Alexandria and Tripolis ships were waiting to take the goods to Ragusa, wherefrom they were distributed throughout Europe by factors of foreign countries and cities residing in Ragusa or by the Ragusans themselves.

It was about the middle of the century that the Portuguese became alarmed about the Ragusan competition with their East Indian spice trade. In the correspondence of the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Lourenço Pires de Tavora,<sup>33</sup> who later became Viceroy of India, one can find many interesting documents as to that competition.<sup>34</sup> To re-

<sup>33</sup> Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, Relações com a Curia Romana (Reinado de el-Rei D. Sebastião), ed. J. da Silva Mendes Leal, ix (Lisbon, 1886).

<sup>34</sup> The reader will also find detailed reference in Lane's article, pp. 581-590

peat a passage from Lane's article on the Mediterranean spice trade: "Shipment from Alexandria westward went principally to Ragusa, Messina,<sup>35</sup> and Venice. From these three *scalas* . . . spices were sent to all Italy and Germany. Venice was still a leader in the Levant trade according to their own reports and those of the Portuguese, and Venetian trade with Germany was 'full bloom.' Some of the German merchants, however, had begun to do business through Ragusa, for the Venetian-Turkish war of 1537-1540 had enabled the Ragusans to take a larger part in the Levant trade. At Venice Germans were prevented from buying directly in the East. By trading through Ragusa they could send their own agents to the Levant."<sup>36</sup>

It seems that Dom Lourenço was especially concerned with the activities of German merchants at Ragusa.<sup>37</sup> The Fuggers of Augsburg have through their establishment in the city (Ragusa) come in direct contact with Alexandria. In Ragusan ships they had the spices conveyed to Dalmatia and Istria and from there by land to Germany. Even more interesting than that is the fact that Ragusan ships brought spices to England and Flanders throughout the reign of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. When Spain conquered Portugal and the Ragusan fleets of Ivella, Oliste and Prodanelli kept watch over the gates of Lisbon, Ragusan merchants could feel safe to bring oriental goods regularly to London, Southampton and Antwerp. At that time Venetians had completely withdrawn from the Atlantic, Portuguese fleets were harassed by the Dutch and British in the waters of the Azores, and England and the Netherlands had not yet established contacts with East India. It was the period when Ragusan ships, known as *argosies* in England, supplied the northwestern countries with goods from the Levant and India.

About 1570 Ragusan interest in the East Indian spice trade began to decline. This does not imply that Ragusan merchants have entirely withdrawn from the Levant and India. Old commercial connections have been kept up until the earthquake of 1667. But the main fleets of Ragusa, beginning with 1580, have been transferred to the Atlantic and the West Indies. The main reasons for the Ragusan withdrawal, from the Orient were the revival of Venetian trade in that region, and

<sup>35</sup> It must be added here that a great amount of the trade of Messina, then under Spanish rule, was in the hands of the Ragusan merchants, who had their establishments in that city. The station at Messina enabled them to distribute the goods brought from the East without having to call at Ragusa first. This station supplied Southern Italy and the islands, including Malta, and was an important base for Ragusan fleets serving the England route.

<sup>36</sup> *Mediterranean Spice Trade*, p. 587.

<sup>37</sup> *Corpo Diplomático Português*, pp. 111, 112.

the political lineup of Ragusa with Spain. The merchant fleets previously engaged in Mediterranean trade were outfitted for war service and for some sixty years the West Indian fleets of Ragusa, especially those of Ivella, Oliste, Martolossi and Masibradi have been making history in the Caribbean, in Brazil, in England and Flanders, and in other parts of the Western world where Spain was defending her empire from the attacks of the English, Dutch and French.

With the Ragusan withdrawal from the East Venice enjoyed a period of prosperity of her trade and a partial revival of her shipping. One should remember that at that time the competition of the old commercial powers Florence and Genoa did not amount to very much, and that new and dangerous rivals were to be found in France, England and Holland. Venetian merchants spread in a very short time all over the Asiatic empire of the Turks and secured important positions in the East Indies. In the second half of the sixteenth century and the very beginning of the seventeenth century we can see Venetian merchants in almost every important commercial center of the East. They were numerous in Aleppo, Ormuz, Goa and other places. From the early Dutch traveller John Huigen van Linschoten (1583-1584) we hear that "the Venetians, which in Ormuz, Goa and Malacca have their factors and traffic there, as well for stones and pearls as for other wares and spices of those countries, which from thence are carried overland into Venice."<sup>38</sup> During the said period Venetians were more numerous in India than Ragusans have been ever before, or any other "Frankish" nation except the Portuguese themselves. The largest colonies existed in Goa and Ormuz. The traveller Pedro Teixeira, who was visiting India at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was, on his return to Europe, able to meet Venetian merchants on every step of the route from Goa to Ormuz, Basra, Bagdad and Aleppo.<sup>39</sup> Mediterranean merchants were to be found in India clear until the definite breakdown of the Portuguese empire. Even as late as 1650 we hear of Genoese ships in the East Indian waters. As a matter of curiosity it might be mentioned that Ragusan ships appeared again in India and China in the second half of the eighteenth century, but not for a long time. The sudden revival of Ragusan shipping about 1770-1800 was finally stopped by the French occupation of Dalmatia and the end of the Republic of Ragusa in 1808.

Let us reach a conclusion. There is no doubt about the fact that

<sup>38</sup> *The First Englishmen in India*, p. 90.

<sup>39</sup> *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, Hakluyt Society, Series II, Vol. IX (London, 1902), especially ch. x, pp. 102 ff.

with the Portuguese route around the Cape of Good Hope a profound change in the directions of world trade has taken place. The era of the Atlantic began. On the other side, it is an exaggeration to say that the Mediterranean world has disappeared from the scene. The decline of Genoa and Florence has its specific political reasons. As for Genoa it must be remembered that the Genoese were the builders of Spanish trade in the West Indies in the early days of the Conquest. In the East two commercial republics, Ragusa and Venice, have never ceased to play an important role in the Oriental trade. The real rise of Ragusan shipping and maritime commerce begins with the end of the Middle Ages. The spread of Ottoman rule throughout the Levant has greatly favored the expansion of some Mediterranean nations toward the Indian Ocean. Very soon Venetian and Ragusan merchants found themselves in Persia and India competing successfully with the king of Portugal. Not only were old routes of oriental trade kept open, but the traffic of "Franks" on these routes was intensified and made regular. Throughout the sixteenth century the Cape and the Levant route were existing and operating side by side. For many reasons the Levant route had its advantages, so that even the Portuguese themselves thought of using it. At certain periods the old routes through the Mediterranean (sometimes the only means of communication) were of greater importance than the Portuguese route. Ragusan and Venetian merchants were also firmly established in Portugal's own empire in India, so that the conception of a Portuguese monopoly of East Indian trade must be subject to revision.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

## BOBCHEV AND BULGARIA (1853-1940)

By JAMES F. CLARKE

FOR BULGARIANS the decade preceding the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 was a period of feverish activity along two principal lines. One, centering in Constantinople, was primarily cultural: its object the wresting of ecclesiastical independence from a reluctant Porte and a still more reluctant Greek Patriarch, together with a far-reaching program of intellectual and educational propaganda in preparation for political independence. The other school of thought and action, focused in Bucharest with branches in other Bulgarian emigré centers such as Odessa and Belgrad, was impatient and scornful of the cautious Constantinopolitans; its avowed object was immediate political liberation, to be achieved through revolutionary risings in Bulgaria, with or without outside help. The seeming docility and "loyalty" of the evolutionists exasperated the followers of Rakovski, Karavelov, and Levski. On the other hand, the rashness of the revolutionists shocked the party led by Slaveikov, Tsankov, and Burmov, who were in a better position to appreciate the risks and the need for solid preliminary groundwork.

The spectacular but ill-conceived revolts attempted in 1867 and 1868 failed miserably, but in 1870 the *ferman* establishing the Bulgarian Exarchate was finally granted, although not immediately put into effect. Yet it was the premature revolution of 1876 which led, by way of the "Bulgarian Massacres," to the intervention of Russia and the resurrection of an independent though truncated Bulgaria. In fact, both Slaveikov and Karavelov were essential to ultimate success and the existence of the two opposed parties was largely due to misunderstanding, for both groups had the same object and only through force of circumstances used different means.<sup>1</sup> This was the opinion of S. S. Bobchev, one of the energetic young leaders of the evolutionists.<sup>2</sup>

Young Bobchev found himself in this tense situation when he arrived in Constantinople in the autumn of 1868 to continue his education. Born in 1853 in Elena, near Tirnovo, one of the many small mountain towns which contributed notable leaders to the national cause,<sup>3</sup> Stefan Savov Bobchev was a precocious child, eager for learning and a voracious reader. He learned French, Greek, Russian,

<sup>1</sup> The several wings of the two principal movements are left out of consideration here

<sup>2</sup> "Zaslugi na Carigradskija pečat v osvoboditelното дело s ogled kŭm slavjanskata ideja," *Proslava na osvoboditelната воина 1877-1878 g.* (Sofia, 1929), 94-115.

<sup>3</sup> Bobčev, "Elensko prez vreme na turskoto vladicestvo," *Elenski Sbornik*, II (Sofia, 1938).

and Turkish and at the age of fourteen became a teacher in the local school. Failing to get a government fellowship for study in France, he chose the Turkish military medical school in Constantinople — to which Bulgarians were not admitted until 1858 — primarily for the sake of a higher education. Furthermore, it offered to a *rayah* the exceptional privilege of wearing a uniform.<sup>4</sup>

Soon he was devoting all his spare time to the work of the Bulgarian colony as a member of patriotic societies, contributor to periodicals, and teacher of French in the community school. Of importance was his connection with the "Macedonian Brotherhood," an organization for the cultural uplift of Macedonia. As its president, and protected by his officer's uniform, Bobchev toured the society's schools in that region in 1873. In 1874, together with P. R. Slaveikov, he became editor of the influential magazine *Chitalishte* and the following year also edited *Den*.

Bobchev began a seventy year literary career in 1871 with an article on the Bulgarian language and the first of half a dozen translations and compilations from French sources, which included a *Short Ottoman History*, a roundabout way of directing attention to the history of Bulgaria; a *Life of Franklin*; and *Travels around the World*, which gave him an opportunity to describe the Balkans as Bulgarian.<sup>5</sup> For this the Turkish chief of police threatened to hang him. After the outbreak of the revolution in May, 1876, deciding that Odessa was safer, Bobchev hastily left Constantinople, although he was within a month of getting his medical degree.

After a visit to Chernyaev in Serbia, he settled in Bucharest as editor of the newspaper *Stara Planina*.<sup>6</sup> In connection with the Russo-Turkish War he was appointed (together with Slaveikov) special assistant to Prince Cherkassky in Tirnovo. After publishing a short account of the war<sup>7</sup> Bobchev left to continue his studies in Moscow, where he enrolled in the law faculty of the university, graduating in 1880. Here he was subjected to influences that determined the two main interests of his life. The greatest impression at the university was made on him by Maxim Kovalevski,<sup>8</sup> with his lectures on the

<sup>4</sup> Bobčev "Kopneži idei i dela na buditeli i vžroditeli v Carigrad," *Naučen Pregled*, vi (1934), 1-16

<sup>5</sup> *Súkratena Osmanska Istorija* (Constantinople, 1871), *Životit na Franklina* (1874), *Pútaevane okolo sveta* (1873). The two offending pages were cut out by the Turkish censor

<sup>6</sup> Until the facilities of the press were needed for printing the 5 v. of *Materiali dlja izučenijsa Bolgarij* for the Russian civilian administration

<sup>7</sup> *Rusko-Turškata Vojna* (Bucharest, 1877; enl. eds., Ruse, 1879, Plovdiv, 1898; Sofia, 1928)

<sup>8</sup> Bobčev, "M. M. Kovalevski," *Spisanie na Búlgarskata Akademija na Naukite*, xxxii (1921), 1-52. A year older than Bobchev, Kovalevski came to teach at the University the same year Bobchev came to study.

history of legal institutions. The other influence came from the Slavophile circles of Aksakov and Katkov which he frequented

On his return to Bulgaria, Bobchev chose Plovdiv in which to begin his public career. With trained native jurists at a premium in Eastern Rumelia he advanced rapidly from the presidency of one of the six district courts to membership in and later presidency of the supreme court, in which capacity he was ex officio a member of the provincial assembly.<sup>9</sup> Only four years after finishing his legal studies, he was director (minister) of justice, a post which he retained until the revolution of September, 1885 united Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria. After the final abdication of Prince Alexander a year later, Bobchev as an avowed adherent of the Russian party was forced for the second time to seek safety in flight, first in Constantinople (1886-1888), then in Odessa with eighty other Russophile emigrés.<sup>10</sup>

With the coming of Ferdinand, the exiles returned home. An active member of the Popular Party founded by K. Stoilov, Bobchev was repeatedly elected to the *Sobranie* after the fall of Stambolov. When his old Plovdiv colleague Geshov became premier in 1911 he entered the cabinet as minister of education. In this capacity he was responsible for the establishment of the state academy of music. The advent of the Balkan Wars made him the logical person to send as minister to St. Petersburg, where he was known for his Russophilism. Failing to prevent the disastrous Second Balkan War and unable to persuade the new cabinet of Radoslovov that Bulgaria's future still lay with Russia and Serbia, he left St. Petersburg in September, 1913,<sup>11</sup> and with this his official career ended save for successive elections to the *Sobranie*. Bulgaria's entry on the wrong side of the World War was the supreme contradiction of his life work.

As publicist and editor Bobchev earned a permanent place in Bulgarian letters. Wherever he went he was invariably engaged in some form of journalism. Until the union of the two Bulgarias reduced Plovdiv to a provincial town, it was the intellectual and literary center of Bulgaria. There Bobchev was associated with M. I. Madzharov as editor of the leading newspaper, *Maritsa* (1880-1885), of *Novini* (1886), and of *Nauka* (1881-1883), the first serious literary magazine. Later he revived *Stara Planina*. As a student in Moscow he had supported himself by writing for Russian papers. Again dur-

<sup>9</sup> For the administrative organization of Eastern Rumelia see Bobčev, "Iztočna Rumelija. Istoričeski pogled, ustroistvo, zakonodatelstvo i pravosuđe," *Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet. Juridičeski Fakultet*, xix (1924), 1-224

<sup>10</sup> Described by him in *Jubileen Sbornik na Ivan Vazov*, H. Cankov, ed. (Sofia, 1920).

<sup>11</sup> See *Stranici iz mojata diplomatičeska misija v Petrograd (1912-1913)* (Sofia, 1940), published a month before his death.



ing his voluntary exile he served as correspondent for a dozen Russian journals. Later in Sofia he was a frequent contributor to *Mir*, *Slavjanski Glas*, *La Bulgarie*, and other periodicals.

In 1893 Bobchev and Madzharov founded the *Juridicheski Pregled*, devoted to legal, administrative and economic questions. The following year, the fiftieth anniversary of the first Bulgarian periodical,<sup>12</sup> they established the *Bŭlgarska Sbirka*, which was to become one of the most influential reviews. Soon afterwards, Bobchev took over the sole editorship of both monthlies. In 1899 he transferred himself, his legal practice, and them to Sofia and continued their publication until the World War. *Bŭlgarska Sbirka* outlived its two most serious competitors, *Bŭlgarski Pregled* and *Misŭl*. Beginning with Vazov, a list of its contributors reads like a "Who's Who" of modern Bulgarian authors. Although constantly on the look-out for new talent, Bobchev was conservative in his editorial policy and the new generation became somewhat critical. Yet the *Bŭlgarska Sbirka* remains a monument to its creator.<sup>13</sup>

A distinguished scholar, Bobchev was a pioneer in the history of Bulgarian legal customs and institutions. Between 1897 and 1927 he published a *Collection of Bulgarian Legal Customs* in five volumes.<sup>14</sup> In 1902 he became the first incumbent of the chair of the History of Bulgarian and Comparative Slavic Law at the university and not long afterwards published the standard history of old Bulgarian law.<sup>15</sup> His work in the history of legal institutions and the family included studies of blood-brotherhood, bride-barter, the *zadruga* and marriage customs.<sup>16</sup> As a historian, Professor Bobchev's interests ranged from Roman and Byzantine law to contemporary world history and covered the political, social and economic structure of Bulgaria in the Middle Ages and under the Turks; and the origins of Bulgarian na-

<sup>12</sup> For this occasion Bobchev wrote a brief history of Bulgarian periodicals, "Pregled na Bŭlgarskija periodiĉeski pečat ot 1844–1894" *Jubileen sbornik po sluĉaj 50 godišniznata na bŭlgarskata žurnalistika* (Sofia, 1894), 1–116

<sup>13</sup> With him were two brothers, Nikola and Ilija, both active writers and publicists. After the war only the *Juridicheski Pregled* was revived

<sup>14</sup> *Sbornik na bŭlgarski juridiĉeski obiĉaji* (Plovdiv, 1897; Sofia, 1902, 1915, 1917, 1927), also "Našeto narodno pravo v juridiĉeskite ni poslovlci," *God. Jur. Fak.*, xxvii (1934), and other collections and studies of customs and proverbs. His first contribution to the subject was made while a student in Moscow in 1879.

<sup>15</sup> *Istorijska na starobŭlgarskoto pravo* (Sofia, 1910), based on the comparative historical method of Kovalevski. Bobchev also published his lectures on civil and canon law, and history, and an edition of old Bulgarian legal texts

<sup>16</sup> "O probatimstve i posestrimstve," *Žvaja Starina*, II (1892); "Agŭrlŭk (prid) i proizhođenje na prikjata," *Periodiĉesko Spisanie*, LXIV (1903); "Bŭlgarskata ĉeljadna zadruĝa v seĝašno i minalo vreme," *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvorenija*, xxii–xxiii (1907), 1–207; "Narodno braĉno pravo v juridiĉeskite ni poslovlci," *God. Jur. Fak.*, xviii (1923), etc

tionalism.<sup>17</sup> Other topics in which he had a personal interest were Russo-Bulgarian relations, the Church Question, and personalities of the Bulgarian *risorgimento*, many of whom he knew and among whom he must be included. Consequently many of his articles have additional interest and value for their autobiographical content.<sup>18</sup> In 1920 Bobchev launched his last important undertaking—the establishment of the “Free University” in Sofia (also called the Balkan Near Eastern Institute) for professional training in diplomacy, public administration and business. He was its director until 1937, as well as professor of contemporary history. In this connection he started his last editorial venture, the *Nauchen Pregled*.<sup>19</sup>

Bobchev has been compared to Karamzin, Fustel de Coulanges and Baltazar Bogišić. His ubiquitous interests and prolific career spanning the whole of modern Bulgarian history remind one of the late Nicholas Jorga. With much justification he was called the most energetic and industrious man in Bulgaria, an activity which scarcely diminished to the time of his death on September 8, 1940, although he was blind during his last years.<sup>20</sup> Active in many societies, both scientific and professional, he was instrumental in establishing the Juridical Society in Sofia and the Association of Bulgarian Publicists and Writers of which he was president for many years. Long a member of the Bulgarian Academy, his reputation abroad is evidenced by his election to societies in Moscow, Petrograd, Cracow, Zagreb, Belgrad, and Prague. He was also a corresponding member of the School of Slavonic Studies in London.

Yet Bobchev is most likely to be remembered for his life-long devotion to Slavophile ideals. As a young medical student in Constantinople, he first became interested in Serbo-Bulgarian affairs. After he moved to Sofia he became the focus of the Slavophile movement, serving as president of the Slavic Society from 1903 to 1940. He was responsible for the first convention of Yugoslav publicists in 1906 and

<sup>17</sup> “Rimsko i vizantijsko pravo v starovremenska Bŭlgarija,” *God. Jur. Fak.*, xx (1925), “Krumovo zakonodatelstvo,” *Izvestija na Istoriceskoto Druŭestvo*, II (1907); “Simeonova Bŭlgarija ot dŭrŭavno-pravno glediŭte,” *God. Jur. Fak.*, xxiii (1928); English trans. “Bulgaria under Tsar Simeon,” *Slavonic Review*, vii (1929), 621–633; viii (1930), 99–119, “Dŭrŭavno-pravnija i obŭstven stroi v Bŭlgarija prez vreme na osmanskoto vladicestvo,” *Godiŭnik na Svobodnija Universitet*, viii (1936), also in *Kniga o Balkanu*, I (Belgrad, 1936); “Novi prinosi i osvellenija za bŭlgarskoto vŭzraŭdane,” *G S U*, xvii (1937), etc.

<sup>18</sup> For a complete bibliography of Bobchev's publications to 1921, see H. Cankov, ed., *Sbornik v čest na Stefan S. Bobčev 1871–1921* (Sofia, 1921), 141–252.

<sup>19</sup> 1929–1936, after which it was combined with the *Godiŭnik na Svobodnija Universitet*.

<sup>20</sup> His last work, dated Sept. 1, 1940, is a critical study of the Kizilbash Turks in Bulgaria: “Beleŭki za osnovnija plemenen karakter na bŭlgarite,” *Slavjanski Kalendar*, xxxi (1941), 12–23.

four years later organized and presided over the All-Slav Congress in Sofia. The World War increased the number of Slavic countries, "neo-slavism" was again fostered, and conventions were resumed. Thus in 1933 Bobchev presided over a gathering of Slav jurists in Bratislava.

The World War also increased the bitterness between Serbia and Bulgaria, but in spite of this Bobchev continued to believe in a true Yugoslav federation which would include Bulgaria. Although he did not live to see the return of Macedonia to Bulgarian hands, one may feel sure that the dean of Bulgarian Slavophiles would have been saddened by the method of its accomplishment.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

## HUNGARIAN HUMOR

By JOSEPH REMENYI

### I

IN THIS ESSAY no distinction will be made between humor and the comic spirit. While, no doubt, the form and content of humor is apt to bring to the listener or reader results differing from those of any expression of the comic spirit, the inherent differences only then become conspicuous when the social and individual causes of both prevent them from being integrated. In judging things *sub specie aeternitatis* humor is apt to equalize differences, and the comic spirit is apt to emphasize contrasts. The representational attribute of humor in relation to the intention of understanding is a certain innocence of the spirit, confidence, sometimes credulity; that of the comic strain answers those demands of human insight which should be considered as correlatives of man's complicated nature. Nevertheless, the distance between humor and comedy can be shortened when the latter is willing to be less critical and the former less innocent. To be sure, this approach does not aim to improve the understanding of the psychology of humor and of the comic spirit; but it aims to simplify issues which since Kant have sometimes been unduly magnified in their oppositions.

### II

Is there national taste which includes humor as a collective experience? If there is, it would mean that certain humorous occurrences affect the people of a nation similarly. Comic characters like Reynard the Fox or Brer' Rabbit, puppets like Punch and Judy, seem to indicate a universality of the comic spirit which is immune to national boundaries. However, a joke or a comic character that goes around the world is naturally passing through experiences which imply the influence of various environments; hence, it often happens that an anecdote, let us say, born in Russia scarcely recognizes its adult face in America. A Faustian puppet play produced in Salzburg compared with one produced in a Czech village may recall mirth of similar intensity or lack of sophistication; but the manner of dramatic interpretation shows an unmistakable deviation in the adoption of ideas and wit related to the philosophy and character of Faust. The spirit of fun is universal; its attributes vary in time and space.

If this universality is the basic principle of humor, is it reasonable to speak about a pronounced Hungarian humor? Are there character-

istic Hungarian foibles, dominating aberrations, manifestations of ignorance, aridity, meddlesomeness and braggart heroism, limitations of judgment and perspectives of credulous innocence? Yes, there is a definite Hungarian humor, a definite Hungarian comic spirit, but in the light of evidence that Hungarian humor offers it is important to state that the question is only then approached sensibly when its possible and plausible answer excludes a belief in the infallibility of so-called racial homogeneousness. It would be utterly wrong to discredit the racial validity of Hungarian humor by stating that scientifically speaking there is no pure race, "racial validity" involves less than "pure race," but restates the faith in symbols which provide the key for the understanding of the relativity of racial contributions. Racial memories are more deep-rooted than theories about racial purity. That is true in the case of the Hungarians (Magyars) as well as in the case of the Serbs, Croats, Roumanians, Slovaks, Ruthenians. But it is a mistake when "scientists" speak about the "organic unit" of a race, and use this impressive fallacy in the estimation of humor. Bela Bartok, the great Hungarian composer and student of folklore has given a comprehensive interpretation of the interconnection of Hungarian, Roumanian, and Slav folksongs and peasant customs; with intuition and factual knowledge he revealed that there is a considerable affinity of recreational tradition among these people, intrinsic and extrinsic, despite racial differences.

Yet, while one must make allowances for the interrelation between the humor of the surrounding nations and the Hungarians themselves, it would be wrong to go to another extreme and recognize nothing but these interrelations in the quality and quantity of Hungarian humor. The truth, as so often in other problems, lies in the similarity and dissimilarity of the question. The ethnological and folkloristical investigations of Hungarian writers in recent times suggest that Hungarian folklore is a bearer of the epic tradition of common European culture. The homogeneous Hungarian elements and the heterogeneous elements imposed on each other do not inflict confusion on Hungarian culture. This is true in the microcosm of humor and in its relationship to the world of other creative expressions. In the *Popular Ballads of the Szekely people* the collector, Gyula Ortutay and the illustrator, Gyorgy Buday, imply that "Transylvania is a mysterious island" which, however, "never lost its contact with Europe." What is said about Transylvania, is rightly said about Hungary proper. But the image of a "mysterious island" also suggests uniqueness, that is Hungarianism *par excellence*. Charlotte Lederer in her *Made in Hungary* gives a romantic picture of Hungarian life. She speaks about

the "perfect line and harmony of design" observable in Hungarian peasant art, showing that there are forms and colors in Hungary that cannot be recaptured in foreign lands. No doubt, in Hungarian minstrel shows, Christmas, Carnival and Easter customs, in weddings and wakes, in grape festivals, in embroideries and dances, one recognizes expressions of a humorous fancy which give a positive answer to the question whether there is a national taste that includes humor as a collective experience.

From all this one may gather that, indeed, there is a Hungarian humor that may be considered a transmitter of certain racial fundamentals and there is a Hungarian humor which participates in the humor of other nations. Humor that is severed from the soil and has urban sophistication is, of course, also a Hungarian attribute; so is irony, satire, sardonic superiority, diabolical conceit, bizarreness and the kind of madness to which Horace says it is good to be sometimes subjected. Finally, the subtlety and legitimate delicacy of mature or decadent minds expressing themselves by means of shadowy and smiling sensitiveness is also known in Hungarian life. Things that make the people of Budapest laugh and things that make the people of the villages gay are interplaying experiences as they spring from the invisible unifying spirit of the nation. The intellectual differences of Hungarians do not prevent them from having certain similar reactions. There are Hungarians who like caviar, but almost every Hungarian likes his native dish, the goulash. There are Hungarians who may not like every Hungarian anecdote, comedy or farce, but most Hungarians will find something entertaining in them. *Summa summarum*: there is a Hungarian national mind revealing the nation's particular and universal sense of humor.

### III

In a world of unreason in which materialistic concepts prevail, often no account is taken of attempts through which the impossible could be accomplished. As so many know, one of these "impossible" attempts is to win understanding for the peaceful solution of the problems of Hungary and the surrounding states. Domonkos G. Kosary, in his "History of Hungary," speaks about Carpathian Europe, implying a climatic habit and political temper which has its characteristic form. Oscar Jaszi's more emphatic pattern of a Danubian confederation indicates a vision of cooperation which, as yet, has not been asserted on a large scale by those who could cure the injustice of the present situation. There are others, whatever their nationality may be, who maintain that all the chauvinistic pain and

sorrow of East-Central Europe would disappear if justice should displace terror, understanding displace hatred, and coercion be replaced by cooperation.

In fact, the interrelationship of the folklore spirit and of the humorous mentality of the Hungarians and the surrounding people implies a possible diminishment of misunderstanding and strife. In the deepest mental stratum of this section of Europe, as has been suggested in this essay, there are sublime and ridiculous factors which, so to say, invite the cessation of differences. Rituals with the symbolic significance of prehistoric magic or pastoral sweetness or jesting masqueraders are not merely expressions of religious or rural foolishness, but reflections of creative imagination which introduce us to a collective honesty of the spirit that has been somewhat defaced by modern times. When, for example, Stojan Pribishevich in his *World Without End* declared that the southeastern European peasants have a sense of the meaninglessness of time, like the Chinese, when he declared that the true cultural division is between the village and the city, knowingly or unknowingly he included in this sphere of psychology the Magyar peasants, though they are neither Slavs nor Roumanians. Folk-humor should bridge the gap between the Hungarians and the surrounding Slavs and Roumanians, but this "dream" may make politicians wonder whether they have anything in common with "non-political" minds who wish to hasten the solution of this problem in such an innocent manner. They are prone to forget that one of the ingredients of humor is introspective freedom; that is a capacity to reject unfairness. Humor adds to intimacy, and thus turns suspicion into confidence. Naturally, from a purely practical point of view, this vision of humor as a conciliator of opposing forces has only an academic value; but, if really applied, it might have an equally practical value. Precisely because it seems easier to be prejudiced than fair, *more majorum* the latent and visible forces of Central and South-Eastern Europe, institutionalized and otherwise, interfere with ideas that may lead to understanding. Consequently, it becomes comprehensible why the Hungarians should be considered by some historians unwelcomed in the midst of Slavs and Roumanians. The Hungarians are accused of being unduly proud; especially their ruling class which, according to this accusation, is an unregenerate anachronism of European society. It is stated that the Hungarian attitude is dominated by a stubborn illusionism of a *Herrenvolk* which Count Keyserling likes, but which neither the Hungarian landless peasants and underpaid proletarians nor the surrounding nations seem to enjoy. As a matter of fact, the Hungarians who set-

tled in the Carpathian valley in the year 896 A.D. are neither better nor worse than the Slavs or the Roumanians, and while they are a mixture of the Finnish-Ugrian and the Turkish people, during their one thousand years in Europe, much of their Asiatic strain has been obliterated with the infusion of foreign blood

Information about the ancient Hungarian spirit, including humor, is meager and is inevitably based on speculation. Nevertheless there are folktales that can be traced back to their sources, but not to their original sources. Geza Feja, a present-day Hungarian writer, identifies the decorative richness of peasant art (that of the districts of Sarkoz and Kalotaszeg) with the beauty of folklore, and considers its pensiveness and gayness an expression of "Hungarian homecoming." He claims the emotional and spiritual freedom of the people is achieved through an adherence to folk-imagination. Whether the tales portray the fate of a poor peasant woman's son, whom the Princess marries because he is strong and honest, or of the poor girl whose magic gifts enabled her to pluck golden flowers and spread happiness wherever she went, or whether they spoke about the charm of the golden-fleeced lamb of King Matthias, or show a conformity with other accustomed themes of fairy tales, they imply an understanding of folklore imagination which has pronounced traditions in Hungary. The Hungarian peasant habits of which Karoly Viski speaks in his book display the same freshness of an imaginative spirit which lurks in every recreational expression of the people. The fertile spirit of Hungarian humor is not an extraneous feature of folk-imagination; it is an organic part of its dreams and fashions, of its homely and visionary philosophy. It shines through the darkness of Hungarian destiny; it clears away fears and anxieties.

There are no written Hungarian documents before the acceptance of Christianity in the year of 1000 A.D. It is logical to assume that Christianity affected, in its correlative function, the character of Hungarian humor and the humorous behavior of the people. However, it is also logical to assume that the primitive impetus of the original imagination was strong enough not to permit Christian consciousness to modify it entirely. Hungarian folk-tales are obviously naïve or heroic in their humorous aspects. The humor is apt to be didactic. In many folk-tales, the ridiculed person is identical with the subject of moral condemnation. Cowardice, deceptiveness, double-crossing, cunning, when found out, must be punished. There are philosophers and psychologists who maintain that with laughter we punish the person whose absurd or dishonest actions or frivolous reflex-motions fully deserve this. Sometimes learned wisdom and in-



instinctive wisdom meet. Hungarian humor of early times, as well as that of today, resents humbug; but not heroic lies (the people know how to differentiate between lies and imagination), even though these lies should be as incredible as those of Janos Hary, who, according to folk-stories, was a contemporary of Napoleon and boasted of heroic deeds. Zoltan Kodaly succeeded in musically portraying the delightful humor of this harmless impostor, this Hungarian *miles gloriosus*. Sandor Petofi's *Janos Vitez* ("Hero John," a folk-character) contains abundant humorous material. This young hero, who travelled much and had many adventures, attains in the greatest Hungarian lyric poets epic presentation a symbolic significance that upholds the traditions of genuine Hungarian folk-humor. In modern times Jenő Heltai made of this theme a light comedy, and Pongrácz Kacsóh set it to music. Martial humor was always popular in Hungary.

Psychologically there is hardly any difference between naiveness and heroism. Yet, especially in folk-tales, folk-songs and superstitions communicated orally from one generation to the next, one must draw a line of demarcation between these two postulates of folk-humor. While naïveté in this atmosphere is rather anthropomorphic (like the totem cult of the Indians) heroism is more of a rational experience. The imaginative relationship between trees and flowers, storms and sunshine, the humanization of natural facts may be a parallel, but not a similar experience of someone who proved to be a hero in battle, saved the life of his sweetheart, punished the villain, conquered the enemy, and went through other heroic actions. Naïveté is imagination *per se*, and heroism is action that suggests imagination. Probably the most interesting part of this kind of humor is indulgence, a sign of secure superiority, and maturity in regard to judgment; a sign of collective mental and moral ripeness. The evaluation of the *Corpus Hungaricum* must have recourse to views which consider the criterion of humorous fancies. Humor, by the virtue of its purpose, is a creative expression. Balzac was right when he said that through creation everything grows: space, concept, word and man. Hungarian humor, not confined to anecdotes, but in its motivation dictated by creative urge, is as much a true history of the idiosyncrasies and virtues of the people as of the virtues and terrors of the ruling class.

There are more smiles than laughter in Hungarian folk-tales and farces. Once I asked an American-Hungarian unskilled laborer of peasant extraction why he liked to read Mark Twain. "He makes me smile," he replied. That was generous appreciation, because the appreciation of the Hungarian peasant is controlled by an inner dignity

and is not exuberant. For example, when he likes someone, he will not say: "I love him." He is apt to say, "I rather like him," which is a complete surrender of his emotions to the other man. Hungarian folk-humor is not boisterously gay like that of the Latins, where tipsy friars and monks become the target of amused observers and listeners; it is a smiling experience; it is not an explosion of one's pent-up energies, but release from monotony and deep silences. Horses, ducks, geese, chickens, roosters, foxes, wolves, song-birds and dragons may appear in these stories; their source, indeed, may be prehistoric, or they may be emphatically modified by modern times, though still adhering to some traditions; they may contain rustic scenes almost vulgar or coarse (which, by the way, is seldom so) but the result, as a rule even in its cosmic perspective, is a smiling affirmation of this adventure, and not a laughing approval of it.

What is the relationship of Hungarian humor to love and death? It has been said that these two phenomena of human life do not require intelligence. The keenest analytical equipment cannot prevent the experience of human bondage and the inevitableness of death. In contradiction to this statement one might say that the recognition of these two factors is already a sign of applied intelligence. Humor, being a certain expression of active intelligence (quite often an antithesis of intellectuality), must be related to love and death. As to love, it should be stated that the Hungarian peasant's imagination is not sensual. He resents innuendos; yet he may use blunt expressions which are embarrassing or grotesquely entertaining. He calls a spade a spade, not because of brutal frankness, but because his nature resents obscenity. Hence humor related to sex is rarely, almost never, lewd; thus there is revealed a smiling sense of evaluation motivated by the tragicomic aspects of male-female relationship. Steeped in the conviction of moral decency (not moralization), the abused passions of sex-life, by virtue of their low quality, may furnish the Hungarian peasant either with a laughter that separates him from filth, or with a farcical sense of superiority that gives him a chuckling satisfaction that sees beneath the evident desire for pleasure. But when he laughs with the freedom that the caprice or fulfillment of sex-urge symbolizes, one may be sure that his laughter is healthy and refreshing. Dionysiac frenzy is unknown to him. When he is sensually aroused, like certain characters in the stories of the able realistic writer Zsigmond Moricz, his sense of humor deserts him.

Death to the Hungarian people is not always a mournful fact. Homer considers Sleep and Death twins. Around these two realities many stories have been woven; in Hungarian folktales, one frequently

finds a verification of the Homeric conception. Even today we will find rural districts (mostly in the Trans-Danubian section of Hungary proper and in Transylvania) where man's relationship to death is rather cordial. It seems an unconscious revenge upon fear caused by tales of ghosts and other visitors of the supernatural world. One of the most pathetic and humorous expressions as to death is the custom in some Transylvanian-Hungarian villages where, before burial, the corpse is given a farewell party by a member of the family; in this farewell speech the corpse is asked to forward sad and happy greetings to those who departed from this earth before him. Something should be said about the wakes given by members of the family. Dezso Szabo, a contemporary Hungarian writer, made an artistic and psychologically successful use of this traditional weird humor of such wakes in one of his novels. Jozsef Nyiro, a Transylvanian writer, describes the train ride of a dead peasant from the city to his village. His widow accompanies the corpse; the passengers and the conductor are unaware or pretend to be unaware that the husband is dead. He travels, as a passenger, his fare has been paid, he is therefore entitled to a seat. There is nothing gruesome in this trip. The wife travels with her husband as if he were alive, thus saving the shipment of the body which would cost much more. The story touches one's heart, yet makes one smile.

In discussing folk-humor one must also refer to the humor of the proletarians. Hungary is chiefly an agrarian country; the stress of city-life and its splendorless vocabulary have affected less people than in western European countries. Nevertheless the human condition called the proletarian lot is known in Hungary, i.e., in Budapest and in the provincial cities. It is expressed with a certain argot, but its character derives rather from a class-position that has an international terminology than from the soil of the nation. It contains the defeated or poorly compensated man's arrogance in relationship to social, political and economic unfairness; but it has also good sense. It professes an admission of social pressure which is disheartening and justifies rough and tough reactions. In modern Hungarian literature there is much that can be traced to the interplay of proletarianism and exploitation, usurping and creating humorous scenes and characters. The humorous taste of the skilled worker is closer to the cliché of the petty bourgeoisie. Gypsy humor suggests awkwardness of a low social position; supercilious contempt for the poor peasant, hypocritical or honest admiration for the "gentleman."

As to the part that children play in Hungarian folk-humor, one must remember that irreverence for parents is highly deplorable in

the light of the patriarchal standards of the peasants. Hence children are expected to mind their business, and respect their elders. The result is limited freedom obtained through gayety, generally expressed in fairy tales with a didactic purpose and in games. In the humor and games of children living in the cities one discerns the shadows of an embryonic sophistication.

#### IV

Too often, foreigners visiting Hungary expect only exotic gypsy music and homespun atmosphere. The world today is so complicated that a nation known for gypsy music, gypsy humor, gay dances, pretty women, good wine, and large wheat fields, seeks to justify a romantic concept of return to nature. In the jokes of the Hungarian peasants one finds recognition of traditional and present-day social unrest; the spirit of the people exercises the right of expressing transparent dissatisfaction through humor. But it would be unjust to the Hungarian nation to assume that in the realm of humor their contribution is only that of the common people. Such is not the case.

Hungarian culture has never been separated from the west of Europe. This being the case, one should overcome the temptation of westerners to see in the cultural process of the nation merely a reflection of peasant-taste or an unsuccessful attempt at being urbane. In fact, at the time of the Renaissance, Hungarian humanists, while they expressed themselves in Latin, were adding to the intellectual and esthetic richness of the European continent. A Hungarian poet, Janus Pannonius, had the same discriminating intelligence and humanistic inquisitiveness as his contemporaries in Italy. Erasmus of Rotterdam exerted a profound influence on Hungarian humanists. At the time of the Reformation and anti-Reformation not only did the theologically controversial western vocabulary enter Hungary, but also its complimentary color, a rather harsh humor with religious and ecclesiastical references. In the earlier and later chronicle writers, to judge them from the standpoint of cultural history, one finds an anecdotal intelligence that does not show an indifference to western habits and taste, though they pursued their own particular Hungarian themes. Balint Balassa, a Hungarian warrior and poet of the sixteenth century, the first genuine lyric poet of Hungary, (sometimes compared with Francois Villon) could fight like a soldier, dream like a poet, hate like an emotionally disturbed man, show pity, and terror like a humane human being and could entertain and be entertained like a gentleman. Instances are known of his experiences with a gypsy girl in Poland or with another girl in Vienna which are delight-

fully and hilariously masculine. In the first part of the eighteenth century a Hungarian writer, Kelemen Mikes, a political émigré in the company of his ruler, Ferenc Rakoczy, wrote letters from Turkey to an assumed relative. These letters, besides being informative, contain charming humor, Gallic in its individuality. A western European or an American will discover not only in present-day Hungarian writers, but in those of the past, humorous qualities and conceptions which remind him of home. After all, the mingling of blood and Hungary's cultural adjustment to the west were realities which cannot be denied, they produced in the realm of humor psychological parallels often unknown or unrecognized by foreigners.

It is significant, as Gyula Illyes points out in his excellent book on the Hungarians, that there was an eighteenth-century Hungarian poet of the minor nobility, Mihaly Fazekas, who during the whole of his life was so discerning in his humorous manner that the distinction of belonging to the minor nobility did not flatter his ego. He wrote hexameters to a potato which shows his attachment to the simple things of life. His major work, however, was a comic epic poem entitled *Ludas Matyi*, apparently written under the influence of a thirteenth-century fabliau. The peasant who was whipped by his master, a country gentleman, paid back his score on three different occasions. The democratic tendency of the poem is obvious. Mihaly Csokonai Vitez, eighteenth-century Hungary's greatest lyric poet, also wrote humorous works. Though influenced by Alexander Pope, the *couleur locale* in his comic epic poem, entitled *Dorottya*, the story of a spinster, is undeniable. Count Jozsef Gvadanyi's narrative poem about the village notary who visited the city of Buda is abundant in comic scenes, and represents the outbursts of village moralists against the city.

It is a commentary on Hungarian life, explaining much of the distress of that nation, when Hungarians say, "sirva vigad a magyar." (The Magyar's good time is in a tearful laughter.) The fusion of tears and laughter cannot be ignored in the interpretation of Hungarian humor. It is observable in the humor of the common people as well as in those whose social plane is higher. The unfortunate economic status of the people led to devastating poverty, and was caused as, in other European countries, by a wrong relationship of the have's and the have not's. Gyorgy Dozsa, the sixteenth-century Hungarian-Transylvanian peasant leader, raised questions of social justice which had their counterpart in the west of Europe. As to the ruling class, this "tearful laughter" finds explanation in the doubtful security of its own existence. The geographical position of the country made of Hungary a battlefield for ages. Hungary, like Poland, was partitioned

in the past. These external dangers were detrimental to the internal peace of the country. When there was peace and calm and little fear of attack by enemy powers, the facts that many parts of the land were devastated by Tartar and Turkish forces and that the ruling class was unwilling or incapable of adjusting conditions led to an introspective and tangible uneasiness which fused laughter with tears.

Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Hungarian writers and poets like Karoly Kisfaludy, Gereben Vas, Moricz Jokai, Lajos Tolnai, Kalman Mikszath, Sipulusz, Ferenc Herczeg, Karoly Eotvos, Geza Gardonyi, Istvan Tomorkeny, and Ferenc Mora portrayed this tearful laughter of Hungarian humor with more or less success. Some of their humor, especially that of a rather indigenous writer like Gereben Vas, would be abracadabra to foreigners; some of it would be convincing and disarming, as, for instance, the colorful and inexhaustible imagination of Jokai and the satirically inventive and observing mind of Mikszath. There is much anecdotal material in their stories, but they are free of the cheap glory of puns. The anecdotal quality of their stories indicates the leisureliness of an agrarian civilization; of country gentlemen who smoke long-stemmed pipes; of young people who are good lovers, dancers, and gamblers and who in later life become hearty drinkers who love their country and treat their people paternally, and are sometimes victims of a nationalistic megalomania; they are pleasant hosts, appreciate rich food, and live in an atmosphere that seems to suit them. Only here and there, chiefly in some stories of Mikszath, one detects an anxiety on the part of the writer to arouse them and convince them of their various individual and collective duties. But Mikszath, himself a member of the Hungarian landed gentry, was too comfortable or, in some respects, too decadent, to go into constructive criticism of his class; evidently congenital easygoingness and solidarity with his own class prevented him from being a Hungarian Voltaire. The collapse of the war of freedom in 1848-1849, because of overwhelming Austrian and Russian forces, called for a censure of Hungarian vainglory. Janos Arany, Hungary's classical poet, could be idyllic and humorous in his epic *magnum opus*, *Toldi*, especially in a part called "Toldi Esteje" ("Toldi's Evening"). But the stream of times was such that it carried him into the waters of irony and bitterness; his *Nagyidai Ciganyok* ("The Gypsies of Nagyida") is a poetic diatribe against those countrymen of his who do not seem to know the difference between applied and declamatory responsibilities. This satirical poem appeared in 1852, at a time when Hungary's independence was practically nil.

Nineteenth-century Hungarian humor was conditioned by political

illusionism. Even Gardonyi's exaggerated village Justice of Peace, Gabor Gore (Gardonyi had sometimes the farcical taste of Plautus), shared something of the illusion of political power. The Procustean bed of Hungarian politics was enlarged or made smaller according to those whose interests were involved. Austria expected conformity from Hungary, enlightened Hungarian leaders like Count Istvan Szecsenyi or Baron Miklos Wesselenyi expected *evolutionary* changes, and Baron Jozsef Eotvos and Lajos Kossuth expected *revolutionary* changes in accord with the doctrines of nineteenth-century liberalism and humanitarianism. The failure of the war of freedom did not prevent Hungarians in their hearts from believing that the symbolic meaning of freedom remained victorious. In the second part of the nineteenth century, until the outbreak of the World War in 1914, the Austro-Hungarian *Anschluss* of 1867 functioned well according to some interests, badly according to others. This political affliction resulted in the establishment of magazines and weeklies, and led to the art of political caricatures. These political papers, which sometimes aimed to be a combination of *Punch* and of *Jugend* plus Hungarianism, no doubt fulfilled an important function, because they not only published good or bad jokes about marital triangles, misplaced umbrellas, and other provocations for laughter or smiles, but criticized, through caricatures, and through remarks, stories, axioms, epigrams, some of the inconsistencies of Hungarian political life

One element was missing in these publications: real judicial objectivity. They were political sheets, serving the aim of a political party, and they portrayed truth in the reflection of a deforming mirror. While Hungary did not have caricaturists like Daumier, or Gavarni, or Doré, yet there were Hungarian caricaturists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries whose intimate association with formlessness found an artistically valuable critical vehicle in their drawings. Janos Janko, Elemer Janko, Akos Garay, Jozsef Farago, Lajos Linek, Dezso Ber, Henrik Major illustrated *Borsszem Janko*, *Bolond Istok*, *Ustokos*, *Kakas Marton* and other comic papers, reserving the supreme right of the artist to link up their assigned works with art. They did not portray exclusively political deformities. Gypsy chicken-thieves and rhetorical patriots enabled them to make fun of the two extremes of Hungarian life. Between these two amusing realities there were minor objects of ridicule; for example, the mercantile middle-class in the process of undermining "historical" rights; bloodless aristocrats and old fogies of the gentry; recently acclimatized citizens who maltreated the Hungarian language; women who made the life of the male agreeable or disagreeable; or the plebeian element of the country invading

new territories of social life from which heretofore they were excluded. There were editors of humorous sheets and caricaturists who arrived at the conclusion that there is such a thing as class-struggle.

## V

When one compares the liberal political humor, let us say, of Adolf Agai, or the conventional humor of Ede Szigligeti and Gergely Csiky, the playwrights, with the humor of the late nineteenth and with that of the twentieth centuries, one will see an essential difference which is psychological and esthetic. In the second part of the nineteenth century in some stories and sketches of Sandor Brody and in the works of Zoltan Ambrus one finds *finesse*, a new symptom in Hungarian humor. Both writers like to portray with a humorous or satirical intention, people floundering about with the exalted sensation of self-importance. Brody rather recognized the erratic or erotic heretics of the lower middle-class, or the proletarian and landless peasant and vagabond stratum of society, in a larger sense, of course, his "realism" adapted itself to the "respectable" elements or to the artists of middle-class society. Zoltan Ambrus was apt to see the ambivalence of the Hungarian *fin de siècle*. His wide-awake sensibilities, influenced by French views, resented the mannerisms of parvenues. *Finesse*, however, was not a sudden innovation; there were signs of it in some Hungarian writers at the time of the Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo era. But a subtle and humorous awareness of sense and nonsense, a proper Hungarian rhythm of complicated perceptions and expressions was a new experience, and it certainly enriched Hungarian life and letters.

The cultural contribution of Budapest, a city of almost American growth, was remarkable. The peculiar turn that was given to Hungarian humorous taste, was that of cosmopolitanism, as a proof of Hungary's "modernity." Ferenc Molnar is the most representative literary voice of Budapestian humor. As Charles Lamb is unimaginable without London, so is Molnar unimaginable without Budapest, though he now resides in New York. His witty and concise dialogues and articles published in pre-war times in Budapest newspapers, his sentimentalism allied with cynicism, his civilized smoothness spiked by devilish cleverness, his delicately and sometimes artistically constituted stories and plays show creative qualities of sophistication. He also wrote children's stories in a humorous vein. For a long time Budapest was so much the center of the country, as Paris was in France, that consequently Hungarian humor was conditioned by the intellectual and esthetic preponderance of the capital. Humor created outside



of Budapest was considered provincial, this was true, to a degree, but not always so. For example in the stories of Mihaly Cserzy (pen-name: Homok), who lived in Szeged, one could discover a pattern of rural simplicity and joyfulness that had the promise of a minor literary Pieter Bruegel. The pavement-superiority of Budapest neglected the innate humor of the provinces. Then too, in justice to this question in general, it should be stated that writers and editors of abominable taste and damned with unscrupulous commercial disposition, published books and magazines that contained jokes and yarns of utterly low quality. *The Hungarian Treasure Book of Anecdotes*, edited by Bela Toth, an excellent and eminent journalist, contained much naive and much good material. But this book appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century, at which time, and later, much more so, cheap, yellow sheets of artificial "Bohemianism" pretended to be exponents of French *esprit* and they affected and infected Budapest and the countryside. The counterpart of these publications would be certain American monthlies and weeklies, kow-towing to the most vulgar table instincts of human nature. Filth and ignorance are international diseases.

Free from the handicaps of conservative Hungarian traditions, yet creating a freedom through humor that became traditional, was the literary art of Frigyes Karinthy. He became known with a book, entitled *Igy Írtok Ti* ("Thus you write") somewhat resembling Bret Harte's *Condensed Novels*. Stephen Leacock's comment on Bret Harte's volume can be used in connection with Karinthy's book: "He achieved a quite unparalleled success in his burlesque stories — the parodies, if one must call them so, in which he imitated the hand and exposed the shortcomings of the great masters of contemporary literature." In Karinthy's book some were "masters," some at the threshold of "greatness," but most of them did not rise above the average; it was Karinthy's skill that made them seem more original than they actually were. Karinthy's metaphysical intelligence and imagination is sometimes Swiftian in its rational relation; a confession, like *A Journey Around My Skull*, which is the story of a brain-tumor and of its operation, chronicles of a spirit that knows no limitations from the viewpoint of humorous (though at the same time pathetic) understanding. The poet and critic Ignatus revealed subtlety and wisdom in his humorous and ironic writings. The poetic universality of Mihaly Babits also possessed the consciousness of paradoxical perspectives; he could write fantastic stories with a comic passion, honoring stupidity and hypocrisy by recognizing it with penetrating creative intelligence. Dezső Kosztolányi knew how to amuse and discomfort the

civilized selfishness of readers and he did this with an extraordinary insight into human frailties and with charity. The founder of the best Hungarian literary cabaret was Endre Nagy, today the most popular traditional writer of drawing room comedies and of comedies of errors is Kalman Csatho. What Gyula Szekfu, the prominent Hungarian historian, calls the post-war "neo-baroque," produced little ornamental or involved humor.

After 1918 something happened to the cultural life of Hungary to which one should pay special attention. Hungarians, dispersed in the newly established countries of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and in enlarged Roumania, were wondering what was really memorable and lasting in the genius of their nation. This same and sane question was asked by Hungarians in Hungary proper. Dimly, and then more clearly, they recognized the inherent artistic qualities of the people, immune to demagoguery. They remembered that in the nineteenth century Janos Kriza and later Elek Benedek revived Transylvanian folktales and fables, thus enabling their successors to understand the symbolic and empirical aim of imaginative gayness and delight. Writers, poets, artists appeared on the horizon of Hungarian life and of that of the Succession States; many of them were educated or uneducated descendants of peasants, and they wished to and sometimes were able to transpose the congenital humor and the comic spirit of the people into the experience of art and literature, shaped by consciously applied artistic principles. A Hungarian bibliography of post-war literary and artistic activities would present names of peasant origin in a much greater number than ever before. Rousseau would have been pleased by all this; Apollo less so, because while in the preceding age the gentry and the bourgeois spirit regulated the character of Hungarian humor (too often without esthetic taste) at this period much inferior material was accepted as superior, thereby catering to peasant vanity, but not helping genuine peasant art.

Nevertheless, the best of these poets and writers of peasant stock, Gyula Illyes, and Jozsef Erdelyi in Hungary proper, Aron Tamasi in Transylvania, represent admirable qualities of creative integrity, pure humor, impulsive and pensive gayness, and, sometimes, satirical intelligence. Their humor, by its very nature, is primeval, hence rather devoid of the spirit of twentieth-century machinations. This does not mean that their literary art and their smiling sense of proportion is not related to contemporariness. Gyula Illyes replaced bucolic sentiments and peasant directness with Marxist dialectics which he no longer uses; Erdelyi's poetry was and still is exposed to present day problems, unfortunately sometimes with undesirable political results;

Tamasi's ethical symbols are not fanciful escapes from the present, but implications that the writer is unable and unwilling to degrade his smiling and laughing spirit to the level of mere momentariness. Tamasi created a character by the name of Abel. He is the hero of a trilogy. This young fellow Abel is the incarnation of the Szekely (Transylvanian-Hungarian) people. He is frank, but when necessary cautious; he is obliging, but when necessary, indifferent; he is fond of his native soil, but when necessary, he leaves it for a time. Sometimes he is a charming rascal. Abel migrates to America, but returns to Transylvania. He does and says the most unexpected things; he is a practical psychologist; if there is such a paradox, he is a vital stoic, that is, while he accepts the inevitable as a determinist, he still wonders . . . as he likes to be surprised and curiosity is assisting him in his imagination and pragmatic activities. The underlying motive of the novel is the singing and merry courageousness of a people of whom the world knows very little, but who knows the world.

## VI

That Hungarian humor and the comic spirit is not dead is a good sign of the healthy spirit of the Hungarian people. The fact that this humor, whether it is racial or national or universal, as a rule provokes a smile rather than laughter, shows that Hungarian common sense sees the ridiculous but does not wish to compete with it. It recognizes immanent features of life and living, and it recognizes transitory conditions. It jabs at ignoramuses whatever their positions may be, yet it does not claim infallibility. It may indulge in mother-in-law jokes and it may tease Olympian gods. It is collective because it registers the sense of humor of many people; it is personal because it reveals the sense of humor of an individual who is an artist or a writer. It is immeasurable in its quality; it is a part of the creative spirit of Hungary. It is Hungarian, Carpathian, European and cosmopolitan; in other words, familiar to those who speak the language; familiar in spirit to those who do not speak the language but who capture its essence in translation, and familiar to those who visualize a future of the world without wars and other sadistic separations of nations.

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## SOVIET TEXTBOOKS ON LAW

### A REVIEW

By JOHN N. HAZARD

WHILE the armies of Europe were fighting during the years 1939 and 1940, the Soviet Union was rushing the final steps necessary to consolidate its position in anticipation of the beginning of another dark era like that of the last war. Jurisprudence and the teaching of law shared in this final burst of energy no less importantly, although less spectacularly, than the fields of endeavor more closely allied with the military effort.

It was during these crucial years that Soviet law schools expanded in number and in size. The jurists who had believed in the early 1930's that the end of law was already in sight were replaced by a group which took its text from Stalin's statement at the Constitutional Congress in late 1936 to the effect that stability of law was needed more than ever. This new school of jurists took time to recruit its members and an even longer time to formulate its opinions. The years 1937 and 1938 were years in which discussion raged. No commonly accepted approach to the role of the various fields of legal research could be found. The official organs of the Commissariat of Justice, the Office of the Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., and the All-Union Institute of Juridical Sciences published the views of many men, but usually with a footnote to the effect that the views were published for the purpose of discussion and not as the views of the editors.

By 1939 the newly adopted system of granting the degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence began to bear fruit. Theses of men who held prominent teaching positions were submitted and debated in stiff discussions with the entire legal faculties of the Juridical Institutes concerned. These theses were subsequently published as the work of the author alone, or, in some cases, as the joint effort of the author and his critics or collaborators. It is this group of new textbooks on law which will be examined herein. These books have become the standard texts of Soviet law students. They have formulated and will continue to formulate the thinking of an important element in the youthful section of Soviet leadership. As such, they are important to American readers not only because they indicate Soviet pedagogical methods but because they constitute one more element among those of which morale is made.

The most important book in the new series is Volume 1 of a *History of the State and of Law in the U.S.S.R.*,<sup>1</sup> for which Professor S. V. Yushkov accepts responsibility of authorship. To understand this book one should consider its antecedents. The school of Soviet jurists headed by Professor E. B. Pashukanis was approaching its zenith in the early 1930's. This school was distinguished by the fact that it believed that all law was a

<sup>1</sup> *Istoriya Gosudarstva i Prava S.S.S.R.*, Čast 1, Prof. S. V. Yushkov (Moscow, 1940), 596 pp. 10 R. 45 k.

product of the economy of the market place which was thought to be synonymous with bourgeois society. The conclusion was drawn that a new form of economy which was heralded as the economy which would replace bourgeois society would likewise eliminate the base on which law rested. Consequently the realm of law was expected to become gradually less important until it had "withered away." The standard analysis of law used in the law schools during this period was Pashukanis' *Study of the State and of Law*<sup>2</sup> Chapter after chapter of this textbook, which was compulsory reading for every incipient jurist, built up the theory of its author by drawing indiscriminately upon details from those periods of the past which might be thought to illustrate the theory. With the exception of references to the development of Russia under the tsars, nothing was included about the national minority groups in the U.S.S.R.

When Pashukanis and his colleagues were removed from their positions in early 1937, one of the first mandates to issue from the Kremlin was the order that students learn about the peoples who live within the borders of the Soviet Union. Courses were introduced immediately in the law schools to implement the new order, but there were no textbooks in existence which covered more than the early development of the Russian peoples, which form but a part of the population of the Soviet Union. Soviet law professors were faced with the task of beginning research in the history of law among the Armenians, the Georgians, the tribesmen of Central Asia and the little known native peoples of Siberia. Material was scarce and the task difficult, but the courses were introduced in the curriculum, and were soon aided by sketchy texts such as the *History of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.*, published for the use of children in the grades. Not until 1940 did the first official textbook for the new course appear, and even then it appeared only in its first volume which covers the period from ancient times to the February Revolution of 1917. The second volume will cover the development of law by the Soviets.

The new *History of the State and of Law in the U.S.S.R.* takes its readers back to the beginning of organized society among each of the peoples who make up the Soviet Union. Readers are reminded that the history of the state and law of some of the present-day peoples will not appear in the first volume because these peoples acquired a non-tribal form of government only after the Soviet Union came into being. Readers are also reminded that the history of law, like the history of religion, has no development for the Marxist apart from the society in which it appears. Consequently the history of law is thought to require the inclusion of an exposition of the development of productive relationships and an analysis of the changes which take place in the characteristics of the class struggle.

The author of the new history declares that he will avoid the errors of the Pokrovski school of historians, which is thought to have oversimplified history by attempting to reduce it to a common denominator based

<sup>2</sup> *Učenie o Gosudarstve i Prave* (pod red. E. Pašukanisa, Moscow, 1932).

upon economic needs, and which is also thought to have been so general in discussions that concrete details were often sacrificed if they did not implement the theory. The author also states that his book has the general function of developing Soviet patriotism, but he will not permit his readers to confuse this with Russian chauvinism, for he states that patriotism must be based upon a foundation of internationalism, which is to be found in the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The American reader will be struck by the change which has occurred in the manner in which history is being written in the Soviet Union. Professor Yushkov seems to have been able to eliminate the effect given previously by Pashukanis that he was writing up his theory and embellishing it with facts. Yushkov starts with his facts and lets his readers draw their own conclusions, although from time to time he makes the major points by using adjectives or a phrase which points out his moral, i.e., that the state is an apparatus of class repression and law is the hand-maiden of the governing class.

The book begins with 1500 B.C. at the earliest known record of the creation of the first state in what is now Soviet territory, the state of the Urartu principality in the Transcaucasus, in the vicinity of Mt. Ararat. Known facts are few, and the author does not hide his difficulty. He is content to state what he knows without drawing any conclusions. He then plods through the centuries without making undue effort to disclose any pattern. Not until the Kiev Rus is reached does one find the statement of the familiar Soviet thesis on the origin of the state as an instrument of class domination.

In many respects the book is a study in comparative law. The author provides an illuminating, though brief, review of Moslem law in its development in Central Asia in the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, and a review of the Mongolian law of the Khans of the Golden Horde, who influenced the law of Armenia, Azerbaidjan and Georgia.

Beginning with the period of Ivan the Terrible, the author initiates a rather detailed review of the specific laws and codifications, and considers the laws in the light of the class relationships which he finds in the period concerned. The section on the nineteenth century is particularly detailed and embellished by an account of the growth of the workman's movement in Russia between 1870 and the Revolution. The measures taken by the tsars to keep this movement in check are also reviewed.

The book ends without a conclusion, probably because it is the first volume of a two-volume work. Even without the conclusion the foreign reader will probably grasp the conclusion which will be drawn by the average Soviet student. The Soviet youth will be further convinced that he is fighting to preserve a state which is the logical progressive development of milleniums of history and, as such, worth defending against those who would seek to reverse the course of this development.

Andrei Vyshinski, present Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs and

former Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., has published what amounts to a new edition of his standard work on the *Agencies of Law in the U.S.S.R.*<sup>3</sup> With each edition the material has been expanded until the volume has reached sizeable proportions. The book is the key to the basic Soviet law course, which follows the general course on the history of the state and law. The book implements the theory of this development by discussing in detail the function of the courts, the prosecutor's office, the bar and the informal courts conducted by citizens for the purpose of maintaining local discipline.

Vyshinski's present work is of unusual importance because it develops the new court structure established in fulfillment of the mandates of the Constitution adopted in 1936. It begins with an analysis of the court as an implement of government, a tool in the hands of the governing class, and it draws upon the history of Russia and upon the history of the countries in Western Europe to make its point. The American jurist will be interested in the pages devoted to English jurisprudence. The author has found quotations from English writers which indicate in none too complimentary terms that Anglo-American law is not equal for all.

The section on the bar is of particular interest to American readers who often associate the existence of law with the possibilities afforded by a system of jurisprudence for defending one's self against an over-zealous prosecutor. This section analyzes the functions of the lawyer in the Soviet system and takes to task the attitude found up until recent years, by saying, "The careless and even hostile approach to the task of the Soviet defense attorney was one of the favored methods of sabotage in the sphere of our justice. The saboteurs who carried on for some time on the front of our Soviet justice specialized in developing a phobia against the defense attorney: they characterized the institution of the Soviet system of defense attorneys as one of the relics of the bourgeois world; on all sides they discredited the work of the defense attorney, publicly denouncing this institution and proving that the defense attorney is not necessary for a Soviet court, that a Soviet court can better cope with its task without the defense attorney." The author then sets forth the importance of effective defense to a system of law which should rest upon equitable dispensation of justice within the system of Soviet socialism.

One of the most popular courses in the Soviet Law Institutes is criminal law. It is a major course, covering two, and, in some instances, three years of the students' time, being divided into two parts, and augmented by courses in court statistics, court psychiatry, legal medicine and the technique of criminal investigation. New textbooks have been published for the basic course, being divided into two parts. One volume of the new textbook on criminal law covers the basic theoretical principles underlying the administration of criminal law.<sup>4</sup> The other volume<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Sudoustroistvo v S.S.S.R.*, Akademik A. Y. Vyshinski (Moscow, 1940), 344 pp., 6 R 25 k.

<sup>4</sup> *Ugolovnoe Pravo, Obščaya Čast'* (Moscow, 1938), 408 pp. 5 R

<sup>5</sup> *Ugolovnoe Pravo, Osobennaja Čast'* (Izd. 2oe, Moscow, 1939), 527 pp., 7 R. 40 k.



concerns the specific crimes defined in the second half of the criminal code. For the student of criminal law in countries outside the Soviet Union, the first of these two volumes is by far the most interesting.

The first volume opens with a review of the development of the concept of crime after the breakdown of family society and the appearance of class society. The book then jumps to the French Revolution and proceeds through the nineteenth century with a stop at the milestone which is most important to Soviet teachers, i.e., the Paris Commune of 1871. There is a section outlining the development of criminal law in Western Europe after 1918.

A section on the various theories of criminal law follows, with short but intelligible explanations of the various schools of thought on the subject. These schools are hardly treated in a favorable light, although the explanation is not unmindful of the period in which each of them was composed. An historical section traces the various steps in Soviet thinking and the changes which have occurred in the application and definition of criminal law in accordance with the development of the Soviet program of a socialist economy. The reader is asked to note, however, that the basic task of Soviet criminal law has at all times remained the same, the protection and development of socialist society.

The book sets forth the familiar Soviet thesis that crime is for the most part of a class nature. No effort is spared to quash the theory of Pashukanis and his supporters that, with the development of Soviet society and the elimination of economic classes, one should expect a constant lessening of crime in the Soviet Union. It is indicated that the growth of the class struggle in the Soviet Union has clearly shown the counter-revolutionary nature of this theory. Non-Soviet readers may wish for a more complete analysis of the reasons for the growth of the class struggle, but they will not find it, for the authors are content to rely on the fact that crime has continued and say nothing more.

Considerable interest is to be found in the chapter on the application of articles of the code by analogy to acts which are not precisely covered by the law. Some years ago the principle of analogy, incorporated in the 1926 code, which is still in force, was relied upon as sufficient reason to punish a large variety of acts not otherwise defined as crimes. The new book adopts the principle which has been taught vigorously in the law schools since 1937 to the effect that the article of the code permitting definition of an act as a crime because of the analogy it may bear to some other act which is defined in the code as a crime must be applied with great care and only in case of real social danger.

A point of importance to the student of Soviet institutions who wishes to keep pace with the progress of Soviet criminology is the attitude toward punishment. Of most recent years the rigid laws have been couched in terms of "imprisonment," a term which was not used in the codes of early years. "Punishment" has been restored to the code to replace the term, "measure of social defense" which had been used for-

merly The book under review follows this new line of thinking and points out that it is a mistake to think of punishment only in terms of the effect it may have upon the individual who has committed the crime, but the reader is told to consider the effect that the fear of punishment may have upon the person who might otherwise contemplate crime Such a statement would have caused considerable annoyance to such a one as N. V. Krylenko during the period in which he was one of the leaders of thought on criminal law in the Soviet Union.

The second volume, which concerns the particular types of crime, constitutes a second edition of various separate volumes prepared by the leading specialists on each chapter of the Criminal Code in use in the Republics of the Soviet Union This volume is extremely important for the judge or the prosecutor who must administer the law, for it considers the court practice under the various articles of the code and gives the basic theory underlying each type of crime as well as the nature of the action which constitutes a crime within the meaning of one or another article The book is less interesting than the first volume to non-Soviet jurists, for its problem is one of a technical nature which does not concern those who do not have to apply a given law. The method of introducing the various types of crime is of interest to American teachers of law, for the chapters begin with abbreviated accounts of the types of crime to be discussed, insofar as these types of crime can be paralleled in the law of other lands. This comparative method of teaching law is now finding its way into American law schools.

The concept of economic crimes deserves particular attention because of the peculiarity of this classification of crime to a system of economy in which the government is the sole owner of the basic means of production which must be administered by the citizenry. To the American, the production of under-quality goods is usually no more than a reason for expulsion from a factory To the Soviet jurist such activity on the part of a worker faced with the task of keeping up production in a country which was on a war footing for long years before hostilities actually broke out is more. It is not a reason for expulsion alone, but a crime against the state which is weakened and even endangered by a careless attitude towards work. The concept is carried farther to define as a crime the issuance of under-quality goods by a government store. To an American, sloppy salesmanship of this nature could be nothing more than lack of interest which will result in the loss of patronage for the proprietor who should be diligent in seeing that his clerks keep on their toes in supplying customers with good quality goods. To the Soviet government, which is not subject in such large measure to the automatic effect of loss of patronage, due to the fact that there is not yet present the possibility of extensive choice between stores, such sloppy salesmanship constitutes a crime.

The volume entitled *Course in Court Statistics*<sup>6</sup> is written by Professor

<sup>6</sup> *Kurs Sudebnoi Statistiki*, Prof. A. A. Gertsenzon (Moscow, 1939), 272 pp., 4 R. 50 k.

A. A. Gertsenzon, one of the most respected of the younger professors of law in the Moscow Juridical Institute. This volume is a rewriting of earlier volumes which Gertsenzon has published on the same subject. The book explains some of the fundamental principles of statistics and then discusses the method of preserving and interpreting statistics on crime in the Soviet Union. For the outsider the volume is particularly useful as a source of general information on crime among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Examples of various statistical problems concerned are selected from Soviet statistics not otherwise made public to the world. For the Soviet law student the volume is a key to the system of reports which will be expected of him as prosecutor or judge.

Another volume which can be compared to Professor Gertsenzon's book is Professor Kleinman's *Civil Procedure*.<sup>7</sup> This volume is the most recent edition of a long line of volumes on the same subject by the same author, each one being slightly larger than its predecessor. When this reviewer once commented on this fact to the author, he remarked that professors outside the Soviet Union were in an enviable position because they could take time to write a complete book the first time. He said that the Soviet teacher is so busy with outside activities in the Commissariat of Justice or the Prosecutor's Office that he has little time for the writing of the textbooks which are so sorely needed.

Professor Kleinman has taken each stage of the civil trial and described it in detail with reference to the Code of Civil Procedure of the R.S.F.S.R. He has discarded from the current edition the very helpful charts showing jurisdiction of courts, as well as appellate procedure, but he has added a comparative table showing the relationship between the articles of the Codes of Civil Procedure in the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., the White Russian S.S.R., the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., the Georgian S.S.R., the Turkmen S.S.R. and the Uzbek S.S.R. This table has no importance for the foreign reader, but it assists the teacher and study of law in the major juridical institutes, to which students flock from all parts of the Soviet Union. These students always wish to know the relationship of the code of the Republic in which they live to the code being taught in the institute to which they have come. This multiple code system will probably soon be a thing of the past, for the new Constitution of 1936 calls for a single code in each field of law for the entire Union. To date the new system has not been introduced.

Soviet labor law has been one of the major fields of controversy in the debate following the ousting of Professor Pashukanis and his proteges. The role of labor in the Soviet system and the function of law in the system has long been debated, especially in connection with the role of the trade union in a state in which strikes are not a weapon of labor. With the recent tightening of labor discipline, in view of the need for increased production to prepare for war, labor law has become a major

<sup>7</sup> *Graždanski Proces* (pod red. Prof. A. F. Kleinmana, Moscow, 1940), 352 pp., 6 R. 75 k.

weapon in the conduct of the massive industrial effort occasioned by the war

The new volume on *Soviet Labor Law*<sup>8</sup> is the outgrowth of the short course on *Soviet Labor Law*,<sup>9</sup> which was the first volume on the subject to appear after the period of reorientation. One of the declared errors of the previous group of writers and teachers of labor law was that this entire group failed to include in the subject any section on the law of the collective farm. The law concerning the vast number of peasants was taught as a separate discipline. The new book makes a gesture in the new direction by including a short chapter on the charter of the collective farm in which the rights and duties of the members are placed. This step is not much more than a gesture, however, for the extensive body of law concerning the position of the collective farmers is treated separately in a volume on *Collective Farm Law*,<sup>10</sup> published in the same year as the volume on *Soviet Labor Law*. Taken together these two volumes amount to the sum and substance of the law which concerns the conditions under which the Soviet citizen works, whether on the farm or in the city office or factory. They include the problems of payment for service rendered, social insurance, settlement of disputes, the employment contract, and expulsion from a job or a collective farm. In the midst of the discussion now ranging in the United States as to the responsibility of the labor union under an agreement made with the employer, it may be of interest to know that the law states that both employer and labor union are bound by the contract in the Soviet Union. The penalty for violation is not the same, however, for the administration may be subjected to a suit for damages for failure to perform the contract, and the officers of the state enterprise, which is the employer, may be subjected to criminal prosecution if they intentionally violate the terms of the agreement. On the other hand, the labor union is not subject to suit for damages. Its officers are subject to the disciplinary action provided for in the charter of the labor union if they fail to perform the contract on their part.

For some years, under the leadership of Pashukanis and his adherents, collective farm law was the only discipline in which students made a study of the manner in which land is used in the Soviet Union. To be sure, the predominant use of land is by the collective farm, and for that reason the legal relationships between the state, which owns all the land in the Soviet Union, and the collective farm as the principal user of the land, became the study of primary concern in the law schools. It is now felt by Soviet jurists that this approach was a mistake. The result of this point of view is a compact volume entitled *Land Law*<sup>11</sup> which places between one set of covers the legal relationships existing

<sup>8</sup> *Sovetskoe Trudovoe Pravo* (Moscow, 1939), 320 pp., 5 R. 50 k.

<sup>9</sup> *Sovetskoe Trudovoe Pravo, Kratki Učebnik* (Moscow, 1939), 151 pp., 2 R. 25 k.

<sup>10</sup> *Kolchoznoe Pravo* (Moscow, 1939), 376 pp. 5 R. 50 k. Also appeared in a shorter edition for Law Schools of which the authors were Y. P. Mikolenko and A. N. Nikitin (Moscow, 1939), 112 pp., 2 R. 20 k.

<sup>11</sup> *Zemelnoe Pravo* (Moscow, 1940), 256 pp., 5 R.

between the state on the one hand and all types of users on the other. The book opens with a discussion of the importance of state owned land in a system of economy based upon the Marxist principle that the basic means of production must be owned by the state. Thereafter the book takes up the use of land by collective farms, by state enterprises, such as state farms which are like factories operated by the state for the purpose of producing agricultural products, by machine tractor stations, by individual peasants who have not become members of collective farms or state farms, by owners of city dwellings, by railroads, by industry, by agencies of national defense, and by electric stations. The volume also explains the manner in which forests and mines may be exploited and water courses used. In short the volume is the first to appear of recent years on what would be known in American law schools as real property law.

A final chapter in the volume sets forth the steps taken in the areas annexed from former Poland to nationalize the land and effect the major reforms believed essential to the proper functioning of the Soviet system of economy. Although this chapter is now made partially obsolete by the advance of the Germany Army, it is of value in indicating the importance placed upon the land program by the Soviet authorities and in giving a clue to the form in which the land may be held if Soviet influence extends to other parts of Europe without essential change after the war.

To those Americans who think that the introduction of the Soviet system of economy has simplified law, this book will come as a revelation. Although all land is owned by the state, there are numerous ways in which the use of land is distributed. Estates in land which are the essence of Anglo-American law and provide such a stumbling block to the American law student are little less complicated than the manner in which land is used by the Soviet citizen. Terms for years, at will and for ever, or until condemnation of the right to use occurs are but three concepts, the last of which bears comparison with the fee simple of Anglo-American law, although there is reason to support the statement of the jurist to the effect that there is little similarity between American and Soviet concepts of land law, if political complications and not solely legal relationships are taken into account.

The economist who is curious as to how the Soviet state operates its finances will find the book on *Financial Law*<sup>12</sup> extremely helpful. This book combines within its few pages chapters on each of the important phases of Soviet financial law. Separate books can be and have been written on each of the chapters, so the present book is really only a shortened discussion by leading Soviet specialists of matters which really deserve study in greater detail if one is to understand the problem fully. One of the authors of this symposium is the chief legal adviser to the State Bank of the U.S.S.R.

<sup>12</sup> *Finansovoe Pravo* (Moscow, 1940), 212 pp., 4 R.

Soviet financial law is not a subject dealing solely with money used as a medium of exchange. The volume states at the very beginning that Soviet financial law is the body of law which regulates the planned collection and expenditure of the state financial resources for the purpose of constructing a communist society. Money is declared to be a means of planned accounting as well as a means of exchange and saving.

The book explains how the budget is drawn up and put into effect. Chapters deal with the types of taxation in use in the Soviet Union, and they are many, for taxes are placed on the state enterprise as well as on the individual. These taxes reach numerous taxable acts including the receipt of income, inheritance, transfers by gift, the manufacture of goods and the right to inhabit dwellings. A chapter explains in some detail the working of the state system of insurance on lives and on property.

A comparison is made between the percentages of the budget devoted to military uses in the United States, England, France, Italy and Japan and a breakdown of the use of the national income in the Soviet Union. To be sure, this comparison does not give the entire story, due to the fact that the Soviet budget is tantamount to a statement based upon national income, while the budgets of the other countries do not include in such large measures expenditures for the benefit of the national economy.

Of considerable interest to the specialist in planning, this book should be made available in English to every professor of economics, for it is an admirable statement in abbreviated form of the mechanics of the Soviet system of financial control. A study of the book may be aided by an examination of a collection of laws and instructions relating to the subjects discussed in the text book. These have been made available in a volume published by the State Planning Commission's press, which provides a convenient reference work for the texts of the laws concerning banking, taxation and accounting for state enterprises and organizations.<sup>13</sup> It is one of a large number of volumes published from time to time by various organs of government to provide the field worker with texts of laws which concern his work and which he would not otherwise have at his elbow unless he had access to the complete collection of laws and instructions of the Government.

"International Private Law" is the name used commonly in Europe to refer to the subject known to English and American attorneys as the "Conflict of Laws." The Soviet jurists use the European nomenclature and the most recent volume on the subject published in the Soviet Union bears this name.<sup>14</sup> One of its authors is Professor Pereterski, who has for many years been the outstanding authority on the subject in the Soviet Union and who has published earlier volumes.

<sup>13</sup> *Sbornik Vážnějších Rukovodjaščich Materialov po Buchalterskomu Učetu* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1939), 416 pp., 6 R.

<sup>14</sup> *Meždunarodnoe Časnoe Pravo*, I. S. Pereterski and S. B. Krylov (Moscow, 1940), 208 pp., 4 R. 25 k.

After introductory chapters explaining the sources of the law of conflict of laws, the book takes up problems concerning the legal capacity of Soviet citizens abroad and foreigners in the Soviet Union. A chapter deals with questions concerning corporations in the U S S R and abroad. Other chapters deal with rights of property, the rights of authors and inventors, rights under contract, rights to inheritance, and family relationships. A final chapter deals with the effect of foreign court decisions and the procedural rights of foreigners. The Soviet treaties concerning these rights are reviewed. A key to the Soviet approach may be found in the sentence: "The task of Soviet private international law is the protection of the U.S.S.R. from juridical intervention of capitalist countries." No jurist should be led to believe that norms of private international law will be applied without regard to the political considerations involved, but if this be taken into account, as it probably must be at the present time in all countries of the world, the jurist will find that the Soviet conception of the basic principles does not vary in large degree from the commonly accepted principles of civil law countries. These principles are made available to Soviet students in a small volume<sup>15</sup> recently published by Professor Durdenevski, who has long been associated with the preparation of material on the law of non-Soviet states. One will find in this volume translations from the Code Napoleon, the Italian Civil Code of 1865, the Italian Civil Code of 1938, and the German Civil Code. A translation of the Bustamente Code is also included as an example of the most advanced thought on the subject in the Western Hemisphere. The editor ends his introduction with the hope that he will have the opportunity to prepare a second volume with translations of the Hague and Geneva Conventions and of the major Soviet treaties on the subject. In this sentence he gives an indication of the broad scope of the effort which has been planned to aid students in studying the subject.

Students of municipal administration will find the new collection of decrees of the Moscow Soviet (City Council) helpful.<sup>16</sup> It brings up to date a collection which has been a handbook for administrators in the capital. If it is read in connection with the works in English on the administration of a city Soviet and of housing, it will give an indication of how the Soviets handle problems which are common to every large city in the world.

Students of Soviet literature on law will welcome the new series of volumes which have been reviewed, because they fill a gap in libraries on Soviet law. They put into print the revolution in thinking on legal subjects which occurred in the Soviet Union between 1937 and 1939. They give the expert on Soviet law assurance that he is on the right track

<sup>15</sup> *Izbrannnye Istočniki po Meždunarodnomu Častnomu Pravu XIX i XX Vekov*, Vypusk 1 (Sostavil Prof V N Durdenevski, Moscow, 1941)

<sup>16</sup> *Sbornik Objazatelnykh Postanovleni i Rešenii Iсполnitelnogo Komiteta Moskovskogo Gorodskogo Soveta Deputatov Trudjaščichsja* (Moscow, 1941), 515 pp., 12 R. 50 k.

when he attempts to interpret the law on one or another subject. In this way, if in no other, the books should be welcome on this side of the water.

The books are more than a source of information, however, and for the student of Soviet society they provide an important mass of source material. They provide the key to an understanding of the mechanics of the Soviet system which moulds the people who live within it. They also aid in understanding the type of education Soviet youth is receiving in the places where leaders are being trained. They make it possible for non-Soviet readers to peer into the concept of society held by the authors, many of whom hold high positions in the Soviet state.

It is a pity that translations of these books will probably never be made to provide the mass of American teachers and students the opportunity to dig into this source material. The responsibility rests all the more heavily upon American scholars who know the Russian language to interpret this material to their colleagues, for the influence of these books will be felt for long years in the Asiatic and European continent which is the Soviet Union.

WASHINGTON, D. C



## PROBLEMS OF POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

By OSKAR HALECKI

IT WAS certainly a great surprise for the historians of all other countries when, at the International Congresses organized between the two World Wars, the historians of Poland appeared in unexpectedly large numbers, and presented numerous and valuable contributions to the study of universal history. Previously a strong prejudice had existed against Polish historiography and against the cultivation of Polish history. Even in the best books on the writing of history, including those published in the Anglo-Saxon countries,<sup>1</sup> only a few lines were given to the Polish historians, stigmatizing them as "nationalistic," because they devoted themselves exclusively to the history of their own nation — a nation which was supposed to be of very limited importance and interest. Such an attitude was the more regrettable since it contributed to a general failure to understand Polish culture and intellectual life, in which the writing and study of history played a larger part than any other branch of human knowledge.

The neglect of Polish historiography by the outside world cannot be simply explained on the grounds of linguistic difficulties. These difficulties were at least as great in the case of Russian historiography, the results of which were in no wise disregarded by modern science, but were spread widely by numerous translations. On the contrary, Polish contributions to European history scarcely received general attention even when written in Latin. Jan Długosz would certainly be counted among the greatest historians of the fifteenth century if he had not been a Pole, writing on Poland. The unique collection of the *Acta Tomiciana*, which covers the whole first half of the sixteenth century and deals largely with

<sup>1</sup> In the standard work of G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London and New York, 1913, 604 pp.), only nineteen lines deal with Polish historiography, and only two names, Lelewel and Szajnocha, are mentioned. Similar examples could easily be cited. In the well-known American *Guide to Historical Literature* (New York, 1936) the Polish section is very good, thanks to the contributions of R. H. Lord, the author of a most remarkable monograph on *The Second Partition of Poland* (Cambridge, 1915) and of J. S. Orvis, who published in 1916 a *Brief History of Poland*. But even here the information is rather scarce (6 pp., and only 6 titles for the period before the partitions), because the choice had to be limited, with a few exceptions, to publications in the Western European languages, as is also the case with R. J. Kerner's *Slavic Europe* (Cambridge, 1918, pp. 149-188). Polish historians themselves have recently published some outlines of Polish historiography in French, e.g., M. Handelsman, "La Pologne" in *Histoire et historiens depuis cinquante ans* (Bibliothèque de la Revue historique, Paris, 1927, I, 287-303), which discusses the main problems and refers to the author's previous articles, a cooperative pamphlet, *L'historiographie polonaise aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Warsaw, 1933), presented to the International Congress of Historical Sciences, and a very detailed account, "Cinquante ans de travail historique en Pologne," *Revue historique-Bulletins critiques*, 1939, pp. 325-344 and 364-406, which is unfortunately limited to three contributions on political history because of interruption by the war.

international relations, is very rarely used by non-Polish scholars. There has been no serious interest abroad in the progress of Polish historiography under the enlightened rule of Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski, although it resulted in the collection and partly also in the publication of most valuable documents connected with general history.<sup>2</sup>

The main reason for this prejudice, which has led even to the neglect of source materials, is to be discovered in the political situation of the nineteenth century and in the leading part which German historiography played at that time in the development of historical science. This development was dominated and directed by a great nation which not only had no sympathy with Poland, but had recently benefited from her partitions. The more moderate trend of German historical writing merely neglected everything Polish. It can be traced back to Ranke himself, who, beginning with his earliest writings,<sup>3</sup> held to the view that only the Germanic and Romance nations formed a cultural unit and possessed a common history which he considered identical with the history of Europe. This view was accepted by German historiography as a whole, and consequently Poland was the first nation to be virtually excluded from any presentation of the political and cultural development of Europe. And because of the influence of German scholarship, all Europe east of Germany herself, including, of course, Poland, was regularly disregarded even in French or English studies of universal history.

It is true that, since the end of the nineteenth century, German historians have been the first to realize that Eastern Europe possessed an interesting history of its own. But considering it from the viewpoint of the contemporary political situation, they identified it with the history of Russia, treating its earlier centuries separately from the development of the West and introducing only the modern Russian Empire into the organic whole of general history. Here again German scholars were followed by their Western colleagues, while themselves influenced by the opinions of Russian historiography. They adopted these opinions themselves especially in all questions concerning Poland, and there was a complete agreement between the leading Russian scholars and the second trend of German historiography, particularly the so-called Prussian school, which, instead of merely neglecting Poland, treated her with marked hostility.

<sup>2</sup> On the most distinguished Polish historian of that period an excellent dissertation has just been published by Sister M. Neomsia Rutkowska, *Bishop Adam Naruszewicz and his "History of the Polish Nation"* (The Catholic University of America, Washington, D C, 1941, 138 pp.) See the introduction (pp. 1-24) on Polish writing of history before Naruszewicz, and the important paragraph on "The folios of Naruszewicz" (pp. 71-74). i.e., the 230 manuscript volumes of source material which he collected and left to his successors.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1824). See in the English translation by Ashworth (London, 1889), p. 1, and the passage on p. 3 where Ranke makes the following statement concerning the Hungarians and the contiguous Slavs, even those who joined the Roman Church: "It will not be said that those peoples belong also to the unity of our nations; their manners and their constitution have ever severed them from it."

In the countries which had dismembered Poland, the writing of history was naturally inclined to justify the partitions, not only by a one-sided interpretation of political events at the end of the eighteenth century, but still more by presenting the entire course of Polish history as a long series of exceptional faults and shortcomings which, by necessity, and without any responsibility on the part of her neighbors, led up to the final catastrophe. And once more the German or in this case the German-Russian interpretation of history, was generally accepted in the other countries. Their historians were wont to find a few words of compassion for the "poor Poles" when describing at some length the crisis of the partitions, but as far as the eight previous centuries of Polish history were concerned, the periods of her greatness and all her positive achievements were simply passed over in silence, and only the real or alleged causes of Poland's irremediable decline were occasionally pointed out somewhere on the margin of European history.

How did the Poles react against such a distortion of their history, which, by eliminating the role of one of the great European powers — to which Poland undoubtedly belonged from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, — resulted in a partial distortion of the general history of the continent? It was scarcely astonishing if some of them felt inclined to exaggerate in the opposite direction. To the one-sided assertion that in Poland's past practically everything had been exceptionally bad and wrong, they set the vision of an exceptionally perfect nation whose martyrdom was to redeem the wickedness of the others. But that conception was developed and propagated exclusively by poets, whose messianism inspired certain trends in the Polish philosophy of history, but never seriously influenced Polish historiography. The Polish historians, by contributing to the general progress of scholarship in the partitioned country, simply started an objective research work to bring to light the truth concerning their nation's past.

Such was the attitude of the distinguished scholar who died exactly eighty years ago and who has never ceased to be considered the father of modern Polish historiography: Joachim Lelewel.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to his progressive method and to the wide outlook of his investigations, partly published in French during his years of exile in Brussels and Paris, he certainly deserves the honorable place which is usually accorded this one Pole in foreign surveys of European historiography, although his books, outstanding as they were, are necessarily obsolete today. But for that very reason the neglect of almost all his followers and disciples in the next generations of Polish historians can only be explained by a growing prejudice which arose from the anti-Polish tendencies described above.

Lelewel attained a high degree of impartiality, but sometimes he tried

<sup>4</sup> A very valuable biography of Lelewel, written by the late Professor I. Chrzanowski, who died in January 1940 in a German concentration camp, has just been published in *Great Men and Women of Poland* (New York, 1941)

to find in Poland's past, especially in her early origins, the embodiment of his own ideals of democracy and liberalism. After him even this trace of wishful interpretation disappeared almost entirely. Karol Szajnocha, whose ten volumes of historical studies marked a tremendous progress in the knowledge of the national evolution, was rightly enthusiastic when recalling the glorious epoch of Queen Jadwiga and Jagiello, but he did not hesitate to stigmatize the first symptoms of decline when analyzing the situation on the eve of the Cossack insurrection of 1648. And a little later, in 1879, there appeared an outline of Polish history which, although written by a Pole, Michał Bobrzyński, was the strongest possible condemnation of Poland's political development, at least from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It would be wrong to consider this one-sided condemnation a mere echo of foreign critics. Certainly it was dictated by the patriotic feeling of a really great historian. But Bobrzinski's greatness appeared rather in his analytic studies of the later Middle Ages, the period which he knew and appreciated best. His synthesis, treated almost exclusively from the viewpoint of constitutional development, was largely premature and not free from obvious errors. Nevertheless, its influence proved unexpectedly strong even in Poland where Bobrzyński's outline was reprinted several times, with minor corrections and a valuable supplement on contemporary history, but without any fundamental changes. It stimulated historical criticism, but a criticism carried to extremes and hard to counterbalance even when the progress of research had made its exaggerations fully apparent. It could not possibly help to revise the misinterpretation of Polish history by biased foreign scholars, and simply seemed to confirm it.

Bobrzyński used to be considered the representative of a whole group of Polish historians, the so-called Cracow School, which contributed a great deal to the remarkable progress of historical science in the later nineteenth century. But while sharing his cautious attitude, no other member of that school went so far as he in his pessimistic judgments. The conclusions of his outline, especially regarding the sixteenth century, were at once contested by the most eminent member of that school, Josef Szujski, probably the greatest Polish historian, although almost unknown abroad. His synthesis of Polish history, less brilliantly presented but much more elaborate and reliable,<sup>5</sup> has not lost its value even today. The same is true of his long series of monographs in which he discusses almost all leading problems, and first realized, for instance, the importance of the Renaissance and Reformation in Poland. In these he also gave penetrating characterizations of Polish and foreign personalities and initiated a philosophy of history which, based on Christian principles, was equally remote from Messianism and from a deliberate condemnation

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to agree with the remark made in the *Guide to Historical Literature* (1121 a) that Szujski "idealized the old Polish republic." Part of his writings, which fill ten volumes, would deserve even today a translation into English.

of the national past. As Secretary-General of the Polish Academy which, founded in Cracow in 1872, became at once an outstanding center of historical research, Szujski inaugurated the various series of publications of source materials which, continued through almost seventy years, have provided, in around a hundred volumes and in many thousands of documents, an entirely new basis for the objective study of Polish history.

Occupying the same position after Szujski's premature death (1883), another leading representative of the Cracow school, who, like Bobrzyński, lived to see the rebirth of Poland, Stanisław Smolka, fully realized the greatness of her past, successively studying its various periods and problems. Beginning with the intricate and confused century of dynastic divisions after 1138, he was one of the first to elucidate it by discussing its whole social and cultural background, and he found even in that period of a first and temporary decline interesting personalities of remarkable rulers. Turning later to the history of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian territories which, after the union treaty of 1385-86, the universal significance of which was demonstrated in one of Smolka's books, were federated with Poland proper, he considerably enlarged the scope and the outlook of Polish historiography, arousing an ever-increasing interest in these Eastern problems to which he returned at the end of his long career.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime he had contributed to the long-neglected study of the nineteenth century, discovering positive achievements of Polish statesmanship even in the partitioned country.

In all these directions Smolka's activity proved extremely suggestive, even beyond the group of scholars working in Cracow in connection with the Academy and the Jagellonian University, which celebrated in 1900 the five-hundredth anniversary of its renovation. While it would be entirely artificial to oppose to the Cracow School the still less uniform historical "schools" of Lwów and Warsaw, it must be emphasized that before and after 1900 an equally promising development of historical writing was taking place in both of these intellectual centers, in spite of entirely different political conditions — rather favorable in the former, full of impediments in the latter.

In Lwów, Xawery Liske and Ludwik Finkel,<sup>7</sup> educators of two successive generations of Polish historians in that city, were both chiefly interested in the sixteenth century, in the study of Poland's truly European role during her golden age. Both, too, contributed to a better organization of research: Liske, in 1887, founded the Polish Historical Society and its excellent quarterly review; Finkel, ten years later, began his compre-

<sup>6</sup> In 1916 he published an extremely interesting German outline, *Die reussische Welt* (Vienna, 1916, there is also a French edition, *Les Ruthènes et les problèmes religieux du monde russe*) where he discusses some of the most important and controversial problems of Eastern European history.

<sup>7</sup> Both of these published certain articles in German which are sometimes quoted even today, but hardly give an adequate idea of their outstanding contributions not only to Polish, but to general European history.

hensive *Bibliography of Polish History* which proved invaluable and was reedited in independent Poland after the author's death. In addition to modest, indefatigable workers like the archivist Antoni Prochaska, whose numerous publications were devoted chiefly to the fifteenth century, the period of Poland's greatest political power, or the high-school teacher Ludwik Kubala, whose brilliant descriptions of Poland's heroic campaigns in the seventeenth century inspired the famous historical novels of Henryk Sienkiewicz, or Tadeusz Wojciechowski, who treated the most controversial problems of Poland's origin with amazing intuition, there were in the University of Lwów three other eminent professors who gave new impulse to three equally important branches of historical studies, and later promoted their progress in the reborn Republic. Oswald Balzer<sup>8</sup> initiated a systematic investigation of Poland's legal and constitutional evolution, and proceeded from carefully studied details to a synthetic outlook which, to a large extent, was a rehabilitation of the most severely criticized aspect of her history. Władysław Abraham reviewed the history of the Catholic Church in Poland, chiefly in the Middle Ages, and with special regard to its eastern expansion, and utilized for the first time the unedited materials of the Vatican Archives, his outstanding pioneer work was continued with unusual erudition by Monsignor Jan Fijałek. Last, but far from least, Szymon Askenazy has the great distinction of having definitely included the post-partition period in the field of scholarly research work, connecting it closely with the general history of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He was one of the very few Polish historians who, even before the liberation of his country, was known and appreciated abroad, since some of his standard works were translated into foreign languages.<sup>9</sup> His chief personal interest was in the Napoleonic period, but subjects of the greatest possible variety were studied under his direction by a large group of younger scholars.

Askenazy himself came from the Russian part of dismembered Poland — hence his concern with the history of the so-called Congress Kingdom and his close relations with the Warsaw center of Polish historiography, which was a center of reaction against the pessimistic interpretation of Poland's past. In such a spirit Władysław Smolenski, who was much

<sup>8</sup> In addition to his monumental genealogy of the Piast Dynasty (1895), he published in 1919–1920 three volumes on the “Regnum Poloniae” from 1295 to 1370, of basic importance to any understanding of the mediaeval Polish state. In another of his many works, published posthumously in 1934–1935, he discussed the intellectual role of Poland's first national historian, Wincenty Kadłubek (died 1223), and thereby made these two volumes a prime contribution to the origins of Polish civilization and its close connection with the Latin West.

<sup>9</sup> He was the only Polish historian who contributed to the *Cambridge Modern History* (x, 413–474, two chapters on Russia and Poland from 1815 to 1831) and had at least one of his books (*Danzig and Poland*, London, 1921) translated into English. There is a French translation of his brilliant biography, *Prince Joseph Poniatowski* (Paris, 1921) but not of his last three volumes on Napoleon and Poland.

interested himself in the various trends of Polish history-writing, produced a popular outline of national history. The most remarkable representative of the whole Warsaw group, Tadeusz Korzon, made an exhaustive inquiry into Poland's internal development under Stanisław August, proving in six bulky volumes that Poland had been destroyed in the midst of an astonishing national revival.<sup>10</sup> It was in Warsaw during this period and later that the publication of a great geographical dictionary, full of information on the country's past and its historical geography, including statistics, first received due attention. Aleksander Jabłonowski, who, in cooperation with Adolf Pawiński, developed this branch of historical science, studied more particularly the Ruthenian provinces of old Poland, and became the most impartial expert on the controversial problem of the Ukrainian Cossacks.<sup>11</sup> He was also interested in economic and cultural history, as well as in the creation of a historical atlas of Poland. Jan Korwin Kochanowski, chiefly concerned in his own writings with the philosophy of history, was the first editor of another Polish historical review, founded in Warsaw in 1905.

In spite of these and other characteristic features of the writing of history in Lwów and Warsaw, and in spite of promising developments in other centers of Polish intellectual life and historical tradition, like Poznań and Wilno, one must remember that, all artificial political boundaries to the contrary, Polish historiography never ceased to be an inseparable whole, with Cracow maintaining its leading place. On the one hand, many historians, as well as other scholars from all parts of Poland, used to settle there in an atmosphere which was very favorable to historical research, while on the other hand many who later were to work elsewhere started their academic career at the Jagiellonian University. That university remained, first and foremost, the main center of mediaeval studies, with outstanding scholars in this field like Karol Potkański, whose highly original, personal method elucidated so many problems of Poland's earliest centuries, Stanisław Krzyżanowski, who so successfully clarified the troublesome transition period of the thirteenth century and created a model institute for the auxiliary sciences of history, especially paleography;<sup>12</sup> and two professors of the Faculty of Law, Franciszek Piekosiński and Bolesław Ulanowski, both famous for

<sup>10</sup> American readers would be interested to know that he published (in 1894, reedited in 1906) a biography of his favorite hero, Kościuszko, which has retained its basic significance, although more recently Adam Skałkowski, an author of valuable monographs on the same period, is of another opinion.

<sup>11</sup> It would be highly desirable to translate into English some of his studies on the Ukraine, as so many recent publications in the English language consider these problems exclusively from the Russian or Ukrainian viewpoint. Of particular interest is one of Jabłonowski's monographs in which he describes how the University of Kiev originated under Polish rule and became an Orthodox Ukrainian center of Western culture.

<sup>12</sup> Even those who do not read Polish might enjoy his *Monumenta Poloniae Palaeographica* (Cracow, 1907-1910), two series of beautiful plates reproducing the oldest documents written in Poland, all in Latin with commentaries in the same language.

their critical editions of mediaeval documents. Their most distinguished disciple, like them a specialist in church history, Stanisław Zachorowski, died prematurely at the very time of Poland's liberation. Thanks to Anatol Lewicki and to Fryderyk Papée (who after more than fifty years of restless activity was forced to witness the German invasion, and who disappeared only quite recently), the fifteenth century received special attention, which was combined in Cracow, as in Lwów, with an increasing interest in the sixteenth. Wincenty Zakrzewski made splendid contributions to its religious and political history, to a better knowledge of men like Cardinal Hosius<sup>13</sup> and King Stephen Batory; Jan Ptaśnik used the local archives, and many others for research into its brilliant culture, including the life of the cities, especially Cracow itself

Ptaśnik belongs to a group of scholars who, very active even before the first World War, were to be the leaders of Polish historiography in the reborn Republic. Four of them, undoubtedly among the greatest, died during the last few years, and deserve first mention Stanisław Zakrzewski, like many of his predecessors, studied the first origins of Poland's political life, but he did it in an entirely independent spirit which proved stimulating and suggestive even when it led to the erection of a questionable hypothesis. In 1925, on the nine hundredth anniversary of the coronation of the first king of Poland, he published his standard work, a biography of Bolesław Chrobry,<sup>14</sup> and served for several years as one of the most active presidents of the Polish Historical Society. Wacław Sobieski brought to life the history of the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries; in a series of excellent monographs, he treated the great issues of a period which he proved to be still a period of real greatness and of weighty Polish influence on international relations. His optimistic outlook on the whole of Poland's past was embodied in scarcely less remarkable works of synthesis, one of which dealt with the evolution of one of his favorite problems, Poland's access to the Baltic Sea.<sup>15</sup> Wacław Tokarz specialized in the history of the Polish insurrections, from Kościuszko, whose actions he described almost day by day, through the Russian-Polish war of 1830-31, which he treated from the military viewpoint on its hundredth anniversary, up to the revolution of 1863. His work is always distinguished by the utmost solidity of research. But the very symbol of contemporary Polish historiography, and its official representative in international relations, where he earned un-

<sup>13</sup> Zakrzewski's critical edition of the enormous correspondence of Stanisław Hosius, all in Latin (vol. VI and IX of the *Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*), unfortunately interrupted at 1559, is just one example of Polish collections of source materials which are indispensable to students of general European history. The Polish Academy was preparing the continuation of that collection which, owing to the international role of Hosius, is of the utmost importance for the study of the Reformation period.

<sup>14</sup> A detailed summary in German, by A. Latteman, appeared in 1931 in *Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen*, Heft 23.

<sup>15</sup> Published in 1933 in a German edition, *Der Kampf um die Ostsee*.



limited respect and sympathy, was Bronisław Dembiński. Born in Polish Pomerania, he taught before the World War in Cracow and Lwów, later in Warsaw and Poznań. He began by studying chiefly the sixteenth century, but soon turned to the tragic crisis of the Partitions and to the reign of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. His life-work, devoted to the history of that reign, was almost finished<sup>16</sup> when, over eighty years of age, he had to face the tragedy of contemporary Poland. Having worked so long in a spirit of true conciliation, he died under the German occupation, awaiting a ruthless expulsion from his home.

To comprehend the importance of the entire period of Polish historiography which came to an end at the same moment, mention must be made, though with no attempt at completeness, of the chief scholars still alive who had begun their research work before 1914, and cooperated with their seniors in organizing in independent Poland a systematic study of all periods and problems of the national history, hoping to fill the gaps which still remained in spite of all the previous efforts and to solve the numerous questions still under discussion. It appeared that even in the mediaeval field, which seemed to have been most exhaustively investigated, much remained to be done. Without describing here the tremendous progress which, in connection with recent excavations, was being accomplished in the related field of prehistoric archaeology, it might be noted that a whole group of scholars treated once more the various problem of the Piast period. Two of them, Stanisław Kętrzyński and Władysław Semkowicz, both continuing similar researches of their fathers, also made contributions of the highest order. The former was especially interested in diplomacy, the latter in heraldry and genealogy, as well as in historical geography. Two others, Kazimierz Tymieniecki and Roman Grodecki, successfully approached the political evolution of that period on the side of social and economic history. The later Middle Ages, including relations with Hungary, so important in that period, were studied in the solid monographs of Jan Dąbrowski,<sup>17</sup> while the further progress through the whole Jagiellonian period, with special emphasis on the Lithuanian part of the federation, was the field of Ludwik Kolankowski's illuminating publications, which centered in the great figure of King Sigismund Augustus. The seventeenth, and, even more, the eighteenth century, not excepting the period of decline under the Saxon dynasty, appeared in an entirely new light thanks to the exhaus-

<sup>16</sup> A short summary of his work may be found in *The Cambridge History of Poland* (Cambridge, 1941, ch. vi. "The Age of Stanislas Augustus and the National Revival"). Dembiński's earlier (1913) standard work on Polish international relations before the second partition (*Polska na przełomie*) should certainly be translated into English, since it is based on many unpublished documents from British archives and illustrated some important problems of British foreign policy.

<sup>17</sup> A French summary of his book on the Hungarian reign of Władysław III of Poland (1440-1444), very important for the history of central and southeastern Europe, was published in 1930 in the *Revue d'Etudes slaves*, x, p. 37-75.

tive investigation of Władysław Konopczyński, whose numerous books dealt both with diplomatic history (for instance, relations with Sweden and Turkey) and with internal, constitutional problems like that of the famous "Liberum Veto."<sup>18</sup> The times after the partitions, too, received more attention than ever before. Marceł Handelsman was the leading scholar who, before turning to the truly European role of Prince Adam Czartoryski, had chiefly contributed to the history of the Napoleonic period.<sup>19</sup> Specializing in that same period Marian Kukiel studied it from the viewpoint of military history,<sup>20</sup> a branch of historical science which, thanks to him, to Otton Łaskowski and others, came to arouse more and more general interest.

Still more extraordinary was the progress in three other branches, supplementing the political description of Poland's past. After the enormous research work accomplished by Stanisław Kutrzeba, who in 1938 celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his activity and was elected President of the Polish Academy, the old-fashioned and one-sided condemnation of the constitution of Old Poland was proved finally wrong, or at least greatly exaggerated, his handbooks on the constitutional history of Poland, translated into several languages,<sup>21</sup> and on the sources of Polish law, were accompanied by equally valuable editions of the most important documents. Working in analogous directions, Josef Siemieński arrived at striking conclusions of a similar purport.<sup>21a</sup> Two scholars of the first rank, Franciszek Bujak and Jan Rutkowski, traversed the whole of Poland's economic history, the former studying chiefly its origin and its modern development, the later, the transition period of the sixteenth century. Rutkowski also published a general outline, which has been translated into French.<sup>22</sup> The attractive field of the history of national

<sup>18</sup> Only the last named of these books appeared also in a French translation. Americans might be still more interested to know that before publishing, in 1938-1939, two large volumes on the entire history of the Confederation of Bar prepared in twenty years of research, Konopczyński wrote an exhaustive biography of one of its leaders, Casimir Pułaski, including his role in the American Revolution.

<sup>19</sup> Some of his works have been published in French (*Napoléon et la Pologne 1806-1808*; *Les idées françaises et la mentalité politique en Pologne*, etc.) Handelsman was also editor of the Polish section of Professor Shotwell's *Economic and Social History of the World War*, and contributed to the first volume of this section an account of Poland's struggle for independence during the war of 1914-1918.

<sup>20</sup> Just before the present war he published two volumes on Napoleon's Russian campaign of 1812 — by no means limited only to Polish participation, but the most recent and probably the best general description of that decisive moment in European history. Here again a translation would seem urgent.

<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately these translations, e.g., the German version published in 1912, were limited to the first volume (considerably enlarged in subsequent Polish editions) to which Kutrzeba later added a second volume on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and two others on the divided Poland of the nineteenth century.

<sup>21a</sup> According to recent information, Siemieński, after devoting his life to the organization and development of the Principal Archives in Warsaw, died in November 1941 in a German concentration camp.

<sup>22</sup> He also contributed to the recently published *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. I.

civilization, which hitherto had rather been approached from the philological and literary aspect (for instance, in many hundreds of publications by the late Aleksander Brueckner which he eventually condensed into a general handbook of three volumes), was investigated during the last twenty years in practically all its phases under the leadership of Stanisław Kot. In addition to studying, besides educational problems, the period of the Renaissance and Reformation, Kot organized in 1930 a special congress at which this first climax of Polish culture was discussed, and initiated a systematic inquiry into the cultural relations between Poland and the Western countries.<sup>23</sup>

These last remarks lead us from a possibly tedious enumeration of names to a consideration of problems of organization and future progress which Polish historiography faced in the liberated Republic. Even during the first World War it had become apparent that, after a half century mainly devoted to the careful collection of materials and to their critical analysis, the time had come to strive for a new synthesis of Poland's past based on the positive results of all that research. No one except publicists with no pretensions to scholarship had the slightest intention of indulging in any Messianistic idealization of historical Poland. But neither was anyone prepared to accept the hostile verdict of foreign historiography, supported though it was to a certain extent by Bobrzyński. When recently Olgierd Górka, an expert in the study of Polish-Rumanian relations, started a campaign in favor of another "revision" of Polish history, which was to be another condemnation, he provoked interesting discussions which revealed a general opposition to his isolated views. The Polish historians had become fully aware that their country, which for many centuries had occupied an honorable place in the European community, had been like its fellows a country with a normal, continuous development which was to begin anew after the artificial and violent interruption of the partition period — a development which, as elsewhere, had known moments of splendor as well as of decay, and since time immemorial had produced an independent national culture with memorable achievements, although obviously not without serious and regrettable shortcomings.

A first attempt at such a scholarly synthesis was made within the scope of the *Polish Encyclopaedia*, planned by the Polish Academy; soon after the last war, it published two substantial volumes in which a group of historians cooperated to write a political history of Poland from the origins to 1775. Supplemented by other non-political volumes of the *Encyclopaedia*, it certainly was a most valuable achievement, but not sufficiently homogeneous or exhaustive. Therefore a still longer publication in ten volumes was being prepared, not limited to political history, and coming down to the present. In the meantime good handbooks of

<sup>23</sup> His Oxford lectures on *Five Centuries of Polish Learning* have just been published in English (Oxford, 1941)

both mediaeval and modern Polish history — the first a cooperative publication, the second one by Konopczyński — were published, and under the title, *Poland, her History and her Culture*, the publishing house of Trzaska, Evert, and Michalski issued three magnificent illustrated volumes in which many specialists summarized for a broader public the main results of recent research

Although the synthetic trend in the historiography of Free Poland has not yet succeeded in reaching its ultimate aim, new progress was made in collecting and coordinating the basic information for a complete and definite reconstruction of her past evolution. It proved necessary to organize, by national cooperation, vast undertakings of an encyclopedic character, the most important were the preparation of a large-scale historical atlas in connection with a new geographical dictionary of Poland, and the publication of a dictionary of national biography, four volumes of which, from A to D, had appeared before the German invasion. On the other hand, in several fields which before had been to a certain extent the domain of foreign research work, hardly satisfying from the Polish viewpoint, a successful effort was being made to have them systematically studied by Polish scholars. Such was, for instance, the case with the Reformation in Poland, almost the only section of Polish history in which really outstanding contributions had been made by foreigners. In 1921 an excellent review was started in Cracow, entirely devoted to Reformation problems, which were being treated more and more exhaustively by Polish historians. Replacing earlier Russian publications on the former Grand-Duchy of Lithuania, its whole history, including the period before the Polish-Lithuanian Union, was now most carefully investigated by a large group of scholars, working in all the academic centers of the Republic, including of course Wilno, where another special review, dealing with historic Lithuania, came into being.<sup>24</sup> The history of the Western borderlands was studied in a similar way in Poznań, while the Baltic Institute, started at Toruń and then transferred to Gdynia, became an important center of research on Polish Pomerania.<sup>25</sup> Not less remarkable was the progress of historical investigations into the past of Silesia, especially the earlier centuries<sup>26</sup> when that whole province was still a part of Poland.

It certainly appears from all that has been said above that national problems remained the chief concern of Polish historiography. This does

<sup>24</sup> Kazimierz Chodynicki, who had started this review (*Ateneum wileńskie*) in 1923 and was also the author of a comprehensive history of the Orthodox Church in the old Polish Republic (1 vol, until 1632), died under the German occupation.

<sup>25</sup> This Institute issued many of its publications in English, and its review, *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, which contains many contributions on historical subjects, merits special recommendation.

<sup>26</sup> *The History of Silesia until 1400*, edited by the Polish Academy in three large volumes (the last was ready for print at the outbreak of the war in 1939), covered not only political, but also constitutional, social and cultural developments in a treatment much more exhaustive than any German publication on this subject.

not mean that it was a nationalistic historiography. It simply was a necessity — one might even say a duty — for the Polish historians to give to their nation an answer, as clear and definitive as possible, on all questions connected with its own past, since historical tradition had been its strongest comfort under foreign oppression and remained the soundest basis of the restored Republic. Further, they were obliged to reply to foreign conceptions which, profiting by the inadequate or even unfair treatment of her past in general historiography, pretended to consider Poland as a "new nation." But in spite of such an almost unavoidable national limitation of a great part of Polish historical writing, the genuine interest in universal problems, which had always existed, became more and more conspicuous under the favorable conditions of national independence.

Not uninfluenced by an ancient humanistic tradition in a country of truly Latin culture, that interest first materialized in the field of ancient history. It had been stimulated by the great achievements of Polish scholarship in classical philology, by such scholars as the late Kazimierz Morawski, the famous Cracow Latinist, who, in studying the past of his university,<sup>27</sup> had also contributed to the history of the Renaissance in Poland, or Tadeusz Zieliński, the Hellenist of international reputation, who joined the University of Warsaw after the liberation of Poland. Purely historical studies on ancient Greece and Rome were now successfully conducted by Tadeusz Wałek-Czernecki, a specialist on the Hellenistic period, Ludwik Piotrowicz, and an increasing number of younger scholars. When a similar interest arose in the history of Byzantium, one of these scholars, Kazimierz Zakrzewski, turned to that other international field of research and occupied the first chair of Byzantine history, recently created at the University of Warsaw. According to the last news received, he has been shot by the Germans. . . .

As for modern European history, some of the best products of Polish historiography published even before the first World War (to mention only Dembiński's monograph on Rome and Europe before the third session of the Council of Trent, Adam Szelągowski's studies on the Baltic problem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or Sobieski's books dealing with the Huguenots and with the diplomacy of Henry IV of France)<sup>28</sup> proved that even then such Polish contributions to general history deserved much more attention than they received. In independ-

<sup>27</sup> An excellent French translation (by P. Rongier) of his two volumes on the Jagiellonian University in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries appeared in Cracow in 1903-1905 (*Histoire de l'Université de Cracovie*). This outstanding contribution to the history of the Renaissance in Central Europe never received sufficient attention abroad.

<sup>28</sup> None of these books have been translated, and no one seems to have noticed that, for instance, Sobieski's monograph on Henry's mediation between Sweden and Poland in 1602-1610 (Cracow, 1906) contained, in an appendix, one of the best studies of the famous "grand dessein," while in his volume on the relations between French and Polish Calvinists (Cracow, 1910) entirely new material, regarding the religious situation in France after the St. Bartholomew, discovered in the British Museum, was published for the first time.

ent Poland there was a most promising movement to study not only her relations with various foreign countries, but also the history of those countries even when they had little or nothing to do with Poland. To give just one example, Jan Kucharczyński, who had previously written on Russian rule in Poland, now published a series of volumes describing Russia's internal evolution from Tsarism to Bolshevism,<sup>29</sup> covering a whole century in most exhaustive research work. And independently of Franco-Polish relations, interest in French history was strong enough to lead a group of Polish scholars to work on the Merovingians.<sup>30</sup> Finally, taking up the initiative of L. Finkel, Trzaska & Co. succeeded in bringing out, just before the war, the first general history exclusively written by Polish scholars and devoting ten large volumes to all nations and centuries from the Ancient East to the first World War.

The most recent contributions of Polish historiography to the general development of the historical sciences — both by completing the knowledge of Poland's own past and by participating in the progressive study of universal history — were to a large extent the work of a young generation of scholars who had grown up in the restored Republic. Just as elsewhere, the future of historical writing was chiefly a question of educating and training young historians. In this respect the situation before the invasion of 1939 was highly promising, in spite of difficulties resulting from changes in educational methods, especially in secondary schools, and in the examination systems. For various reasons it would be impossible and inadvisable to mention here the numerous historians educated in independent Poland.<sup>31</sup> Almost all the scholars of the previous generation, holding chairs in one of the seven Polish universities, had around them large groups of disciples, some of them already professors or lecturers themselves. The number of highly qualified workers in all fields of history, Polish or foreign, was becoming so considerable that it was more and more difficult to find positions for them even in the libraries and archives, although these centers of historical documentation were developed with special care in the new Poland.

As to this last problem, it is worthwhile mentioning that the new National Library, created in Warsaw mainly from the books and manuscripts restored by Russia after the Treaty of Riga, and the old Jagiellon-

<sup>29</sup> Begun in 1923, this remarkable work was not entirely finished when the war broke out: most of the material collected for the last volume was destroyed during the bombardment of Warsaw, but there is some hope that the author, now in this country, might publish an English summary of the whole outline.

<sup>30</sup> These monographs by M. Handelsman and a group of his students appeared in the series of historical studies edited by the Warsaw Learned Society.

<sup>31</sup> Since almost all of them are in occupied territory, we shall only point out that at least two of them, K. Zmigryder Konopka, a most promising specialist in the field of ancient Roman history, and Kazimierz Tyszkowski, author of important publications on Poland and her relations with Sweden and Russia ca. 1600, died at Lwów during the Soviet occupation. In this sketch only certain well-known scholars of over fifty have been mentioned.

ian Library in Cracow which received a large modern building, were particularly rich in the field of history, as well as the chief private libraries of the Czartoryski, Krasiński, Zamoyski and other families, all of them open to public use. Almost inexhaustible material was to be found in the many archives which were entirely reorganized after the liberation of the country; the Principal Archives in Warsaw were among the most important repositories for historical research, not only in Poland but in Europe. Nothing, however, proved more stimulating in the domain of national organization than the development of the Polish Historical Society which became a comprehensive federation of numerous local branches. In 1937 it celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, and, having assembled large national congresses at Poznań (1925), Warsaw (1930), and Wilno (1935), was prepared for another session at Lwów in 1940, when it hoped to inaugurate the new headquarters of the Society.

The same association represented Polish historiography in the international organization of historical sciences. Before Poland's liberation any participation of Polish scholars in international cooperation had been impossible. After the First World War the association played a leading part in the international Congresses, contributing at Brussels (1923) to the founding of a permanent international Committee and at Oslo (1928) to its definite constitution. It organized very successfully the third of these Congresses, in Warsaw (1933), and invited the last one, held in Zurich (1938), to an exhibition of Polish historical publications in the nearby Polish Museum at Rapperswil. The Polish papers read at these Congresses were regularly published in special volumes,<sup>32</sup> which demonstrate the genuine importance of the contributions offered; at Zurich was presented a volume of studies on Swiss-Polish relations.<sup>33</sup> In addition to the participation in these general Congresses and in the still more frequent meetings of the International Committee, the Polish historians took the initiative of creating in 1927, at another Warsaw assembly, a Federation of the Historical Societies of Eastern Europe. Ten years later they contributed to the success of the first Congress of Baltic Historians, held at Riga, and attended as well all the congresses of Byzantinists.

This international activity was closely connected with the rapid development of cooperation between the historians of Poland and those of various foreign countries. The research institutes of mainly historical character which the Polish Academy maintained in Paris and in Rome transformed the Polish libraries, which had existed there before Poland's liberation, into centers of close contact with French and Italian scholars. In Paris, where a Franco-Polish historical conference was to be held in

<sup>32</sup> *La Pologne au V<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Sciences historiques, Varsovie, 1924; La Pologne au VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès . . . , Varsovie, 1930, La Pologne au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès . . . , 3 vol., Varsovie, 1933-1934*. All edited by the Polish Historical Society.

<sup>33</sup> *Pologne-Suisse, Recueil d'Etudes historiques*, Warsaw 1938.

1939, the study of contemporary problems occupied first place,<sup>34</sup> in Rome, systematic researches in the Vatican Archives accelerated the publication of the *Monumenta Polonae Vaticana*.<sup>35</sup> An entirely new step was the Anglo-Polish historical conference organized in Cambridge in 1935, which resulted in the publication of the *Cambridge History of Poland*<sup>36</sup> by Polish, English and American historians. The relations with smaller countries in Poland's neighborhood, too, were by no means neglected. Cooperation with Czechoslovak historians was initiated by holding joint meetings, notwithstanding political difficulties between the two governments, after the Riga Congress a special conference of Polish and Estonian historians took place in Tartu, and the close contact with Hungarian historiography, which found a practical expression in a joint French publication devoted to King Stephen Batory, was furthered by still another joint conference held at Cracow in 1938.

The situation was entirely different with regard to Poland's two large neighbors: Russia and Germany. There was very little contact with Soviet historiography, since its whole conception of history was quite alien. Historical materialism never had any partisans in Poland. Even the interest in Polish history seemed to disappear among Soviet scholars although some of them came to the Warsaw Congress, as did Russian emigré historians, who also participated in the Federation of Eastern European Historical Societies. Even in the field of the history of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had been an object of stimulating discussions between Russian and Polish scholars, the latter now met rather with their Lithuanian and Ukrainian colleagues. Progress was being made in cooperation with both in quite a friendly spirit, since their views were much less opposed to the Polish ones than the official position of Russian historiography, old or new. At the Ukrainian Research Institute, created in Warsaw, there was even a joint Polish-Ukrainian Committee for Historical Studies, with publications in both languages.

With Germany there were, to be sure, closer relations in the sphere of historiography than with Russia. But instead of contributing to a better mutual understanding, as could have been expected when a strong German delegation attended the Warsaw Congress, these relations were rather a permanent "bellum historicorum," even in the years when the political situation seemed to be improving. There were perhaps fewer

<sup>34</sup> In addition to the series *Problèmes politiques de la Pologne contemporaine*, the Library was preparing an edition of all source materials concerning Franco-Polish relations. A first volume covering the diplomatic negotiations of 1635 appeared just before the war.

<sup>35</sup> Begun before the first World War, this collection was divided into two series: the first containing the Polish material of the mediaeval Papal Registers, the second, the reports of the Papal Nuncios in Poland since the sixteenth century. Six volumes have been published, two others were being printed when the present war broke out.

<sup>36</sup> The second volume, almost completed before the war, has just been published as a separate book: *The Cambridge History of Poland from Augustus II to Pilsudski (1697-1938)*. The first volume, from the origins to Sobieski, is four-fifths complete and might appear next year.



German historians than before who considered Polish history something merely negligible. But among those who began to study it more thoroughly only very few did so in an objective spirit. A publication on German-Polish relations in the past, written by a large group of distinguished German scholars on the occasion of the Warsaw Congress and translated into foreign languages, was typical of what they called a new attitude toward Poland. Whether or not connected with National Socialism, German historiography continued to pass over in silence the periods of Poland's greatness, to justify her partitions, as a natural, unavoidable consequence of her exceptionally faulty development, and, on the whole, to over-emphasize her shortcomings in every period of her history.

Moreover, the German historians consistently questioned not only the Polish claims to this or that frontier region in dispute, but in general Poland's right to independent existence. They even inaugurated a series of monographs on all the plans for the dismemberment of Poland since the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> And more than ever before they denied the existence of any truly Polish culture, and studied Polish history with the main purpose of showing that everything which had proved positive and constructive in Poland's development from the tenth to the twentieth century was merely a result of German influence, if not simply German in its very origin.

Therefore it is no exaggeration to say that German historiography is largely responsible for the systematic action of the present authorities of occupation in their efforts to wipe out everything which refutes this thesis, to destroy every trace of Polish civilization and Polish historical tradition. The destruction of historical monuments, during and after the actual fighting, the transfer to Germany of the most ancient documents, the confiscation of all works of art, the turning of the great Polish libraries into German research centers — all this is nothing but an attempt to make true one of the most unbelievable distortions of history. Polish historiography will never cease to oppose it.<sup>37</sup>

#### POLISH INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN AMERICA

<sup>37</sup> The author of the present article has condensed the main results of his own research, dealing chiefly with the Jagellonian period, in a synthetic volume of the *History of Poland*, recently published in English (London: Dent, 1942, and New York: Roy Slavonic Publications, 1943).

## REVIEWS

### NEW STUDIES IN POLISH HISTORY

W F REDDAWAY, J H PENSON, O HALECKI, and R DYBOSKI, edd., *The Cambridge History of Poland*, Vol II (From Augustus II to Pilsudski, 1697-1935) (Cambridge at the University Press, New York The Macmillan Company, 1941) Pp 630 \$7 50

STEPHEN P MIZWA, ed, *Great Men and Women of Poland* (New York The Macmillan Company, 1941) Pp 397 \$5 00 (Kościuszko Foundation Edition)

R W TIMS, *Germanizing Prussian Poland (The H-K-T Society and the Struggle for the Eastern Marches in the German Empire, 1894-1919)* (New York Columbia University Press, 1941) Pp 312 \$4 25

THE appearance of these three works of outstanding merit dealing with the history of Poland is proof of a growing interest in a field of central and eastern European history hitherto regarded as *terra incognita* by most British and American scholars. The world has indeed shrunk in our time or, better still, our scholars and educators have extended the horizon of their knowledge sufficiently to encompass the whole world as their province "World History" as a subject of study in many a college catalogue will soon cease to be a mere title concealing a provincial interest in Western European and American History.

Not since the pioneer work of Professor Robert H Lord in his exemplary monograph on *The Second Partition of Poland* (Harvard University Press, 1915) more than a quarter-century ago has the history of Poland received such concentrated attention by so many British and American scholars. This renewed interest in Polish history and culture became apparent with the publication in 1935 of Professor William John Rose's brilliant study, *The Drama of Upper Silesia*, which in turn was followed by the three books now under review.

*The Cambridge History of Poland (1697-1935)* edited by two British and two Polish scholars of international reputation and dedicated to the late Professor Harold Temperley, who was chiefly responsible for the initiation of the project, is the second volume of a comprehensive two-volume collaborative history of Poland. The project was started in 1936, and was nearing its completion in 1939 when Poland was again partitioned by her neighbors, rendering impossible continued literary communication with Polish scholars. Since the second volume "has suffered less than the earlier . . . it now receives separate publication."

The general plan of the work has excellent balance and proportion. Of the twenty-five chapters comprising the book nine are reserved for the eighteenth century, nine for the nineteenth century, and seven for the period 1914-1935. While most space is given over to the political narrative, other phases of history are not neglected. There is a good chapter dealing exclusively with the constitutional development before the partitions and six chapters approximately are almost exclusively reserved for a discussion of social life, literature, science, and education.

Little need be said about the twenty-one Polish, British, and American scholars who have collaborated in the work. They are for the most part specialists in the subjects treated and the reason for their choice by the editors is obvious to anyone familiar with the field.

Despite unavoidable differences of emphasis, interpretation, and style inherent in every collaborative work of such a nature, the reviewer thinks that the editors have managed to produce a remarkably coherent synthesis. The only striking difference in emphasis and interpretation that emerges from a reading of the text is a tendency on the part of most of the non-Polish collaborators to stress the internal causes for the decline and fall of the Polish Republic, somewhat after the manner of the Cracow School of historians, while the Polish writers generally emphasized the forces of external aggression.

The only portion of the work which this reviewer regarded as unsatisfactory was the brief introductory note to the whole volume. It was a *tour de force* of condensation and generalization achieved at the expense of accuracy and balanced interpretation. The statement was made that "only in Poland, however, did that class (the Szlachta) monopolize the wealth, the power, and the administration, secular and spiritual, social and political, of the whole countryside." One may be permitted to doubt, in view of the history of Hungary and of Spain and to a less degree the history of other countries, whether a Pole could be as unique as all that. Belief in such exclusive peculiarity on the part of the Pole cannot but color the writer's judgment on the whole history of the country. One need hold no brief for the nobility. The charge against them was largely true but it was not unique in the history of the world. Another generalization that failed to bring conviction was the amazing statement that "the rescue of Vienna from the Turks by Sobieski was the most famous achievement in all Polish history." The present reviewer could understand this statement only if the author had added the qualification that this was true in the estimation of Western European peoples who were saved by the great victory and who knew little else about the achievements of the Piast, Jagellon, and Batory dynasties.

The excellent chapter on the "Struggle for Frontiers, 1919-1923," by Professor Kutrzeba and the brilliant discussion of the "Peace Conference" by Professor Reddaway are of great immediate interest in view of the present world crisis. In speaking of the role of Lloyd George at the Peace Conference, Professor Reddaway declared:

That Lloyd George should speak for the British Empire, in what soon became an omnipotent trio of Clemenceau, Wilson, and himself, was tantamount to a grave reverse for Poland. Public and private considerations alike made him sincerely and implacably her foe. The nonconformist hating Rome, the socialist misguided by a hostile "expert," the politician dreading British votes against costly altruism in far-off lands — in none of these need we seek the prime motive of the new Catherine or Alexander who now dismembered nascent Poland. A conscientious statesman, mindful of British interests, could believe with Mr.

Fisher that a big Poland was a weak Poland or that her novel liberty had intoxicated the Polish spokesmen. He might question both the expediency and the justice of redressing historic wrongs by partitioning Germany, and creating an eastern Alsace-Lorraine. The Allies, he might well contend, had not poured out their blood and treasure to create a new focus of discontent in Europe which might or must give rise to future wars. Since Germany could never compensate all those whom she had injured, those who had overcome her were best entitled to what spoils there were. France, he might sincerely believe, deceived both by her invincible distrust of Germany and by undue confidence in the friendship of smaller nations, wished to violate that sentiment of nationality which had inspired herself through half a century of suffering and, for twice as long, the Poles.

Now, however, leadership in the Conference lay with three statesmen, who conversed endlessly with an interpreter as their only witness. All drew their power from democracy, but none was a Catholic or a Slav and none had ever visited Eastern Europe. Such was the tribunal which refused to give France its strategic necessity, the Rhine, which sent Haller's army through Germany to Poland (instead of through Danzig), which drew the eastern German frontier and which created the Free State of Danzig.

There are three maps and a bibliographical note on literature, learning and art but there is no bibliography. The editors, however, stated that "in the volume dealing with the period before 1697, a political bibliography and a geographical survey covering the whole history will be included." There is no doubt that *The Cambridge History of Poland* is the best book on the subject in the English language. It will satisfy a long felt need and we can but await the appearance of the first volume with genuine impatience.

*Great Men and Women of Poland* is a thoroughly delightful book "manageable in size and intelligible to the average intelligent reader" and, in the words of the editor, "partaking somewhat of the nature of a Polish Plutarch." It consists of thirty biographies of great personages who have played an important role in the development of Polish culture. It is popularization of history in the best sense of the word; a book that can be read with both pleasure and profit by the general reader and even by the scholar.

The editor, Stephen P. Mizwa, Executive Secretary of the Kościuszko Foundation for furthering cultural relations between Poland and America, is to be congratulated on the high quality of his achievement both in the selection of the great names of Polish history and in his choice of authors. The difficulty of selecting an arbitrary number of heroes for any hall of fame is obvious to any intelligent person and there will be many who will question the editor's judgment; yet it cannot be denied that the task was carefully and well done.

The twenty-eight Polish, British, and American authors who collaborated in writing the book had practically completed their contributions before the invasion of Poland in 1939. Not all the contributions are of equal literary or scholarly value, but the average is very high. In

many instances specialists in their respective fields have been chosen and the character and quality of the book as a whole may be judged by the fact that nearly half the contributions were written by authors who contributed to the *Cambridge History of Poland*. Several chapters have been translated from the Polish language with a skill and a feeling for English idiom that is surprising. The reviewer enjoyed particularly the biography of Adam Mickiewicz by Manfred Kridl, translated by Halina Chybowska. It has literary merit of high quality. To read it is to enjoy it.

As an "history of Polish culture presented in biographical form" this book will prove to be a useful manual for the college student as well as the general reader.

The monograph by Dr. Tims is a welcome addition to our understanding of the national, social, political, economic, and religious issues brought forth by the German government and the Prussian Hakatists in their valiant but unsuccessful attempt to Prussianize the Polish population of the Eastern Provinces,—“one of the most dogged struggles between nationalities that Europe had witnessed.” The author has given us a well-documented and objective account of the policies of Bismarck, Caprivi, Von Bulow, and Bethmann-Hollweg with respect to the Polish problem in the Eastern Provinces and has shown the influence of these policies on the domestic and foreign politics of the German Reich. Moreover, his account of the organization and history of the “German Eastern Marches Association” or “H-K-T Society,” as it came to be called from the names of the founders, Hanseemann, Kennemann, Tiedemann, is very well done indeed. There also is an adequate discussion of the school-children’s crusade against Germanization, the struggle for control of the soil, the expropriation projects, and the struggle in the towns as factors in the intensification of the nationality conflict. Emphasis throughout is on German reaction to all these contests, for the author carefully points out that his study “aims, specifically, to describe the German reaction to the contest” and “no pretension is made of systematically describing the opposing phenomenon, the Polish nationalist movement in Germany, which is an interesting and important subject in its own right. The story that follows is primarily about Germans, and the materials used in it were consequently almost entirely German.” No one need bring the author to task for dealing with so narrow a field, for he has done a good piece of work so far as he goes. However, the reviewer must point out that there are a number of generalizations and conclusions which are patently false because they are based on an inadequate knowledge of the “opposing phenomenon.” Statements that “the Upper Silesian masses were indifferent to their change of masters in 1742”; that “only one fact appeared to be unchanging—the great mass of Poles in Germany gave no more evidence than ever of any concern for, or inkling of, nationalist ideals. It was the *Kulturkampf* which gave them their first, possibly their greatest,

awakening" require a knowledge of the "opposing phenomenon" for their correction

In discussing the failure of the Germanizing program the author declares that "the Association's chief interest, the creation of a numerous, prosperous, and patriotic population in the frontier region vital to Germany on military and economic grounds, was reasonable enough" and "it is at least a defensible guess that a dependable peasant population of 'loyal Prussians' could have been built up more rapidly had the program been frankly agrarian, with Poles as well as Germans admitted to its benefits. Keeping the average Pole rural and contented might have sufficed to keep him also sufficiently 'German' . . . And the existence in Posen of a large, prosperous class of small farmers, German and Polish, living side by side, content with Hohenzollern rule, might conceivably have made a difference to the treaty-makers of 1919." This idyllic dream or "defensible guess" results from the author's earlier false premise that the "*Kulturkampf*" gave the Poles their first, perhaps, their greatest awakening." Posen was the cradle of the Polish nation with nearly a thousand years of history behind it. National consciousness was not born with the *Kulturkampf*, but that is another story. Indeed the author is finally driven to the inexorable conclusion of Adolf Hitler. On page 282 he states, "The Hakatists fell between two stools. They rejected compromise, but the forceful measures they supported in 'the struggle for soil' were not ruthless enough to be effective. In the Expropriation Act, Prussia showed the world a fearsome countenance and then refused to bite. Hence odium was reaped, and Polish retaliation, but no positive results. Years later Adolf Hitler poured contempt on these pre-war Eastern Marches statesmen for their half-measures. But the criticism was scarcely fair; utter ruthlessness was not really an available alternative in the Bulow era, even had political parties approved it. To dispossess whole populations a statesman must either annihilate them or have a place to send them; the dissolution of international society is perhaps a prerequisite." This reviewer is still at a loss as to which conclusion the author would have us adopt.

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### A POPULAR ACCOUNT OF THE MONGOLS

MICHAEL PRAWDIN, *The Mongol Empire, Its Rise and Fall*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: the Macmillan Company, 1940) Pp. 581 \$5.00

THIS BOOK is a translation from the German. According to the publishers' statement, the German edition appeared in 1938 under the title, *Tschingis-Chan und sein Erbe*. This was inaccessible to me, but I have at hand a separate edition of the first part of the book entitled *Tschingis-Chan: der Sturm aus Asien* (s.a., copyright, 1934). Mr. Prawdin — the name, I presume, is a pseudonym — is also the author of a "Tatsachenroman" on the fall of Tsarism published in German, under the title, *Eine Welt*

zerbricht, which I have not seen, and of a very readable biography of Queen Joan of Spain (*The Mad Queen of Spain*). His present book on the Mongol Empire is quite readable as well. During these last twenty years a considerable rise of interest in Mongol history has been noticeable, not only on the part of Orientalists, but on that of general readers as well, both in Europe and in this country. It was René Grousset who first popularized the subject in Volume III of his *Histoire de l'Asie* (1922). Mr. Harold Lamb followed suit by contributing several books to the field, and among other books on the subject in English, the late Ralph Fox's biography of Chingis-Khan (*Genghis Khan*, 1936) may be mentioned here. Both R. Fox and Mr. Prawdin have had one advantage over Mr. Lamb in that they have been able to use Russian publications extensively. There can be no doubt that the work of Russian Orientalists is of paramount importance for the study of Mongol history, with regard both to the editing and translation of source materials and to their interpretation. A good half of Mr. Prawdin's book deals with the story of Chingis-Khan (spelt Jengiz Khan in the English edition), Parts Two and Three contain the development of events from Chingis-Khan to Timur ("Tamerlane"), in Part Four the story of Timur is told; there follows a brief survey of the "Heritage" of the Mongols and an even briefer "Epilogue — the Key to Asia" — in which the present-day trends in Mongolia are commented upon in the light of the past. The Bibliography contains no references to works published after 1938, and it may be assumed that it has not been revised since the German edition. That may explain Mr. Prawdin's failure to refer the reader to V. A. Ryasanovskii's *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law* (1937), as well as to some other recent publications, Ryasanovskii's *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes* (1929) might have been mentioned in any case. Likewise, to V. Bartold's works listed in the bibliography his important monograph on *Ulugbek i ego vremya* (1918) should have been added. Since the present edition is a translation from the German some misunderstandings occur at places with regard to the transliteration of certain Mongol and Russian names and terms. To mention but two cases, the Mongolian word for "pig" ("The year of the Pig," p. 23) is, if properly transliterated into English, not "Gach" but "Gakha," and the fur cloak would be rather "dakha" than "dacha" (p. 95).

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### THE KHIVA ARCHIVES

P. P. IVANOV, *Archiv Chivinskikh Chanov XIX v ; Issledovanie i Opisaniye Dokumentov s Istoricheskim Vvedeniem* (Leningrad, Izdanie Gosudarstvennoi Publitsnoi Biblioteki, 1940). 272+14 pages of text, with an introduction by I. Krachkovski.

RUSSIAN orientalists have established an enviable record in quality as well as quantity of publications dealing with the Orient.<sup>1</sup> In the history of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Vitkind, *Bibliografiya Srednei Azii*, Moscow, 1929.

Russian Turkestan the works of V. V. Bartold (1869–1930) are paramount, and his influence may be discerned in the activity of his successors. It is with the training of orientalists, rather than modern historians, that most investigators of the affairs of the Central Asian Khanates have approached their subject. Ample justification for this is found in the fact that the Khanates maintained a closer bond with their Muslim past than with contemporary neighboring states. If one seeks information on the foreign relations of the Khivan Khanate in the present work he will be disappointed, but there is a wealth of source material on the internal social and economic affairs. In this respect the significance of this book is revealed, for the Khivan historians are mainly concerned with wars and raiding expeditions, while European travellers and authors restrict themselves to descriptions of the countryside, or their own amusing experiences.

The present archives were confiscated by General Kaufman at the taking of Khiva by the Russians in 1873. Several notices of the documents appeared in *Turkestanskii Vedomosti* of the same year. However, they remained unknown for a long time. In 1935 Ivanov searched the Uzbek archives in Tashkent, but found no documents relating to the Khivan Khanate. The next year a packet of documents from Khiva was found in the collection of I. A. Bichkov in Leningrad. Most of them belonged to the period 1822–1862. They were written in difficult Khivan Uzbek, i.e. Turkish with a strong Persian admixture. The texts of several documents are printed at the end of the book.

The real founder of the Khivan Khanate was Muhammad Rahim, who ruled from 1806 to 1825. He subdued the tribes and feudal lords to central authority, and sought to gain control of the Turkomans by a series of expeditions into northern Iran. The repetition of an age-old story recurred. After Muhammad had wrested control from the nobility, he distributed confiscated land and titles to his loyal followers and kinsmen. Feudal obligation to a noble was replaced by duty to the khan. Document one, concerning the administrative organization of the state, reveals the importance of the mosque as a local parish. Each mosque had a certain quota of men to supply for military service. Bribery and favoritism exempted many from this service. Document five reveals the various strata in the Khivan nobility. The almost total lack of industry compelled the large body of landless to remain on the land of a noble or khan as serfs.

A large percentage of the documents are concerned with taxation. The ecclesiastics, servants, and relatives of the khan were exempt from taxation. The large amount of *vaqf* land, or land held in trust for a mosque, school, or hospital was also exempt, unless the khan resorted to disreputable methods, which was by no means rare. In addition to various taxes on land, caravans, and trade, there were many feudal obligations such as forced labor repairing canals, dams, or buildings. Several documents, pages 208–32, refer to the special taxation of the nomad Kara Kalpaks, Turkomans, and Kazaks. Here is revealed the picture of a stagnant, feu-



dal kingdom, unwilling to assume any international obligations, and with the social and economic conditions of a medieval Muslim state

Ivanov, who has specialized in the modern history of Russian Turkestan, does not give translations of the documents, but a summary and commentary on each. There are 137 documents divided into twelve categories: statistical information about the Khivan Khanate, landowning and irrigation, tax collecting, grain lists, income and expenses, collection of taxes from caravans and bazaars, *vaqf* and clergy, the nobility (the number of servants to each noble is given), cavalry and armed forces, notes on government officials, Kara Kalpaks and Kazaks, and miscellaneous. The book is admirably indexed with separate indices for names of persons, geographical names, technical terms, and ethnic names. It represents a systematic study of sources, which might well serve as a reference work for further investigation in Khivan history.

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#### NEW LIGHT ON PETER THE GREAT

M. M. BOGOSLOVSKI, *Petr I Materialy dlja Biografii*, ed by V. Lebedev. Moscow. Ogiz-Sotsekgiz. Vol. I (1940): *Detstvo, Iunost, Azovskie pochody* (May 30, 1672–March 6[9], 1697), 436 pp.; Vol. II (1941). *Pervoe zagranichnoe putesthestvie* (March 9, 1697–August 25, 1698). 624 pp. (Both volumes abundantly illustrated)

THE late M. M. Bogoslovski was one of Klyuchevski's ablest pupils. In his major works hitherto known, such as the *Provincial reform of Peter the Great* (1902) and the *Zemstvo Self-Government in the Russian North in the 17th century* (1909–1912), Bogoslovski concentrated his attention on problems of institutional and social history. The last years of his life he devoted, however, to another type of study — that of biography, having set for himself the ambitious goal of writing Peter the Great's biography. When death interrupted his work, he had brought his narrative down to the beginning of the Great Northern War (1700). Of the four volumes which he left in manuscript, two have now been published by the Soviet State press, covering the first twenty-six years of Peter's life. The importance of the work is self-evident, since there has been until now no adequate biography of Peter. Also, the need has long been felt for someone to take upon himself the titanic task of clearing some kind of path through the mass of source material bearing on Peter's life, a great amount of such material being of an anecdotal and unreliable character. Hardly any scholar was and could be better fitted for this task than Bogoslovski, who combined a thorough knowledge of archival and other source material with keen critical abilities and a wide range of outlook. He likewise possessed a literary skill of no inferior rank.

Bogoslovski's ambition has been to follow Peter's life day by day when feasible. His book is, however, much more than a mere chronological guide. The narrative is made as congruous as possible. The contents have been divided into suitable sections and chapters, and from time to time

the narrative is interrupted to give place to masterly pictures of either the international situation of the moment or of the cities and countries Peter was visiting. Bogoslovski's approach to Peter's personality may be called pragmatic, since the emphasis is on Peter's governmental activities and travel rather than on his private life. Little light is thrown in the book on Peter's love affairs, Anna Mons, the belle of the German Suburb, is dealt with but casually (I, 16, 144, 343), and the only other *liaison* of Peter's mentioned is that with the English actress Cross (II, 302). Bogoslovski's method of careful sifting of evidence allows him to deal critically with some of the legends and anecdotes which abound in almost any biography of Peter the Great, especially of the popular brand. For example, there exists a story of a brawl between Peter and Lefort in Pilau, on June 22, 1697. According to the tradition, Peter drew a sword and would have killed Lefort had not the Brandenburg Hofmarshal von Prinz rushed between the two men. It is now obvious that no such dramatic scene took place on that day. There was some argument between Peter and Lefort, which, however, ended peacefully. Von Prinz was not even present (II, 97-98).

The minute description of Peter's activities makes Bogoslovski's book an invaluable store-house of information for every student of Peter the Great's reign. Moreover, Bogoslovski's analysis, in some cases, makes possible a new interpretation of Peter's role. Peter's personal influence on Russian foreign policies at the time of the Grand Embassy (1697-1698) appears to have been much more important than had been previously realized. While busy with shipbuilding and inspection of factories and plants, Peter watched closely the development of diplomatic events in Europe, and kept in constant touch with his envoys, whose activities he in fact directed. In Bogoslovski's opinion, even the choice of the Netherlands as a temporary residence of both Peter and the envoys was the result not only of Peter's interest in shipbuilding, but of his desire to be close to Ryswick, where an important international peace congress was being held at the time (II, 129). Besides his concern with diplomacy, Peter also showed during his first trip abroad a keen interest in church affairs. His meeting with the *Consistorial-Präsident* von Fuchs in Königsberg, May 26, 1697 (II, 81) might have been quite significant. "It is possible" — says Bogoslovski in his cautious manner — "that this acquaintance remained not without influence on the formation of Peter's concept of church administration in the spirit of protestantism" (II, 85).

In the light of Bogoslovski's own revaluation of Peter's role in the Grand Embassy, 1697-1698, it is hard to accept his comment on one important point in the organization of the Embassy, — the official secrecy about Peter's part in it. Following E. F. Shmurlo, Bogoslovski suggests that while Peter did not object to the "incognito" plan, the idea belonged not to him but to his advisers, who were afraid of breaking the Muscovite traditions. In view of the fact that Peter personally supervised the plan of the Grand Embassy with regard to both its general objectives and the

details of the voyage, it seems hardly conceivable that such a cardinal point as his own role in the Embassy would have been only passively admitted by him and not actively insisted upon. Moreover, the "incognito" plan suited Peter's own intentions admirably: it freed him from protocol, while leaving the actual direction of negotiations in his own hands; it made it possible for him to work on ship-yards and to get first-hand information on things in Europe he was interested in without any interference; and it did not prevent him from meeting privately those heads of the government or influential statesmen whom he might be interested in seeing.

In conclusion, two minor suggestions. On page 38 of volume II, the term *alkerik* is mentioned, with a question-mark and without any comment or explanation. In the reviewer's opinion the word is to be derived from the Polish *alkierz*, "closet," — in this case, a kind of alcove. On page 381 of volume II, the Scottish Professor of Mathematics, who was invited to Moscow to start a "School of Mathematics and Navigation" is called Andrei Fergarson. Andrei stands for Henry, and the correct English spelling of the family name is Fargwarson.

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#### A SOVIET STUDY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN LITERATURE

GR. GUKOVSKI, *Očerki po Istorii Russkoi Literatury XVIII Veka* (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo "Chudozhestvennaja Literatura," 1938)

THE importance of Russian literature of the eighteenth century for an understanding of Russian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries cannot be overstated. Only through familiarization with the works of Kantemir, Fonvizin, Derzhavin, Chemnitzer, and Radishchev can one discern the roots which later gave growth to Griboyedov, Gogol', Pushkin, Krylov, and Belinski. Two so-called "enlightened" reigns — that of Peter I at the beginning of the century, and that of Catherine II at its conclusion — marked the development of literature, particularly the satire (including the comedy) and the ode; in satire the rulers found a useful ally against the forces of the old society and in the ode a fitting means of paying tribute to the accomplishments of the new.

Soviet critics, though they have left the literary significance of these two reigns entirely without emphasis, have nevertheless paid, and continue to pay, most serious attention to the literature of the eighteenth century. The present volume by Professor Gukovski represents an attempt to analyze the most important trends in the literature of the second half of the eighteenth century. It is the continuation of a previous (1936) volume on the so-called "noblemen's literature" (*dvorjanskaja literatura*), by the same author, and deals with the "democratic" trends (which, in the Russian context, mean revolutionary trends). In the center of the "noble-

men's" literature Gukovski placed Sumarokov and his entourage; in the center of the "democratic" literature, Radishchev. Both choices are arbitrary, though not haphazard. They serve the design of the author, who seems to be determined to prove that, in the first place, the "noblemen's" literature could not be good literature because of its class stamp, and, secondly, that "democratic" literature was good literature simply because it was enlisted in the service of the revolution.

To an unbiased student of the subject, Sumarokov's chief claim to distinction was his fertility, he was the most prolific of the Russian writers of the eighteenth century. However, he had little talent, and in making him the chief spokesman for the "noblemen's" literature Gukovski set up an easy target to knock down. Radishchev's contribution, on the other hand, was principally in the world of speculative thought, and he himself would have been surprised to discover that he is now being hailed in certain quarters as a foremost literary artist. Without minimizing Radishchev's contribution, one must point out that, enormous though it was, it was not in the field of literature proper but in that of politics, economics, and philosophy. Gukovski loses somewhat his sense of proportion when he insists on canonizing Radishchev as the shining example of all virtues merely because of the latter's "correct" political orientation.

With the perspective thus adjusted, it must be stated that the account given by Gukovski of the whole Radishchev school, as well as of Radishchev himself, is competent and scholarly. The role played by the problem of serfdom in giving direction to Russian thought and literature is properly emphasized. Particularly well handled is the contribution to contemporary thought of men like Yakov Kozel'ski and Desnitski — professor at Moscow University, — both active in Empress Catherine's Commission of 1767–1768, as well as the contribution of Kozel'ski's son, the poet Fedor Kozel'ski, who, with his civic-minded poetry, may be considered a forerunner of Nekrasov. Furthermore, prominent mention is made of the foreign influences upon Radishchev, such as Adam Smith, Helvetius, Holbach, Hume, Gibbon, Priestley and particularly Rousseau, whose impact upon Radishchev of course cannot be overestimated. However, in spite of Gukovski's attempts to present Radishchev as a materialist, the truth remains that he was very largely an idealist, and at times even a sentimentalist.

The book is divided into two unequal parts, the last eighty pages being devoted to "an attempt to formulate the question about the sources of the Russian 'noblemen's sentimentalism'." Apparently, in spite of the fact that the author has little sympathy for the sentimental element in Russian literature and its chief exponent, Karamzin, he cannot ignore him because of his important contribution to the development of young Pushkin. And Pushkin, of course, dominates everything in Russian literature for all Russian critics, including the Bolsheviks. The statement that Karamzin was an "antidote" to the radical ideas of Radishchev, indulged in by those who felt themselves unequal to the task of continuing in the radical movement in the face of changing cir-

cumstances, is one of the author's sweeping assertions which can be neither proved nor disproved. However, another interesting point made by Gukovski deserves consideration, namely, the role played by the Pugachov rebellion of 1773 and the subsequent reaction in bringing to the fore the preoccupation with elegance of style, particularly in poetry. This was enhanced by the reaction which followed the American and particularly the French Revolutions. There seems to be a definite connection between periods of social reaction and stagnation and the parallel development of form in literature, frequently at the expense of content. A glance at the beginning of the Symbolist movement in Russia in the 1880's and 1890's and the rise of the preposterous Igor Severyanin during the reaction of 1906-1917 would seem to confirm the fact of such a trend.

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#### BACKGROUND OF THE PEASANT EMANCIPATION

DR. ROBERT STUPPERICH. *Die Anfänge der Bauernbefreiung in Russland* (Berlin. Junker und Dunhaupt Verlag, 1939) Pp. 214

THE title of this book is quite misleading: it should have been *Juri Samarin und die Bauernbefreiung in Russland*. Yuri Feodorovich Samarin (1819-1876) came of one of the oldest noble families in Russia. His ancestors had served the Empire since the sixteenth century, but Yuri Feodorovich attained prominence chiefly because he was representative of his generation rather than through any originality of his own. In his university days Samarin was active in the famous Stankevich circle of that era of ferment, and participated in the magazine *The Moscow Observer* (*Moskovski Nablyudatel'*) whose editor, for all practical purposes, was the eminent critic, Vissarion Belinski. This circle included some of the most prominent men of that time: Katkov, Constantin Aksakov, Bakunin, Botkin and many others. Samarin's close friendship with Khomyakov is of special interest for their heated discussions concerning nationalism, the Greek Orthodox Church and Autocracy.

Like most of the young men of his class during the 1840's, Samarin too fell under the influence of Hegel, and came to believe that Hegelian philosophy constituted the key to the future rebirth of Russia and the Russian Church. To him the Hegelian teachings were *the* "science" and Hegel *the* philosopher of the nineteenth century. Later, particularly under the influence of Khomyakov, Samarin began to divorce his Hegelianism from religion, and subsequently became an ardent Orthodox Christian and enthusiastic Slavophil, which alienated him from many of his former friends, notably Alexander Herzen.

As a government official Samarin found himself in Latvia, where he came in close contact with peasant problems, an experience which proved to be his most significant school of training and was responsible for his later economic convictions. It was here that he came to the conviction that landless emancipation was disastrous and must be prevented at any cost in Russia proper. The civil strife engendered by the tense class an-

tagonism between the Lettish peasants and the German baronial class left upon him an indelible imprint

Upon his return from Riga, armed with valuable experience and profound convictions, Samarin plunged into activities of both official and private character, but all of them imbued with one single aim — the abolition of serfdom. As early as the Crimean War, he had come to the conclusion that "neither in Vienna, nor in Paris, nor in London, but only within Russia itself" would the nation win an honorable place among the nations of Europe. Neither the amount of gold or silver in the state treasury, nor the numerical strength of the army would shape the destinies of the nation, the future of the Empire must solely depend upon the social solidarity of the Russian people. After the war Samarin gave all his time to publicizing his various projects for the emancipation of the serfs, emphasizing the importance of allotting land grants to the freed peasants. As consultant to the Samara committee and later to the editorial committee in St. Petersburg, he devoted all his zeal and talent to one aim — attainment of his cherished emancipation of the millions of peasants. During this time as well as after the issuance of the Manifesto of February 19, 1861, he had to face bitter opposition not only from both conservatives and liberals but also from the antagonists of the Slavophiles such as Count Zakrevski.

These multiple activities Dr. Stupperich carefully, clearly and in a surprisingly fluent style for scholarly German, describes in a book of four chapters. The sources upon which the author relies are not striking in their originality; most of them are well known and those that one would wish to see used most are, regrettably, referred to least, such as those from the archives of Riga. The social currents leading to the Emancipation Act and the subsequent Great Reforms in Russia still remain to be treated, and require considerable work of synthesis. However, as a pioneering step in that direction, Dr. Stupperich's study is to be welcomed. Strangely enough, the author fails to mention in his bibliography the admirable work of the late Nestor Kotlyarevski, *Kanun Osvobozhdeniya (On the Eve of Emancipation), 1855-1861* (Petrograd, 1916), which might serve as an excellent companion-piece to Dr. Stupperich's monograph.

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### *THE BALKAN CRISIS, 1876-1878*

GEORGE H. RUPP, *A Wavering Friendship. Russia and Austria, 1876-1878* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941). Volume 49 of the Harvard Historical Studies. Cloth. Pp. viii+599. \$5.00.

DR. RUPP, who contributed a very useful article on the Reichstadt agreement to the thirtieth volume of the *American Historical Review* (1925), now presents a bibliographically up-to-date version of the larger work

originally inspired by the late Professor Coolidge. It is yet another addition to the now considerable shelf of studies devoted to various aspects of the portentous Balkan crisis of the 1870's, and, like so many of its predecessors on this shelf, it is a monograph of more interest to other scholars than to the hypothetical layman.

The author has given himself the task, as the title indicates, of following the ups-and-downs of Austro-Russian relations from Reichstadt to the Congress of Berlin, two years later. The theme inescapably presents to the student a difficult problem since the agreements and disagreements between Vienna and St. Petersburg were only a part, however important, of an issue on which were focussed the opinions and actions of numerous other actors. Had the presupposition that went into the League of the Three Emperors been realized, Prince Bismarck would have ratified the decisions arrived at by Count Andrassy and Prince Gorchakov, and Balkan affairs would have been settled accordingly. There turned out to be, however, two vexations not fully anticipated. The first of these was revealed in the periodic importunities and cajoleries addressed to Berlin from Vienna and St. Petersburg when Austrian and Russian authorities fell into discord. The second vexation lay in the unwillingness manifested by other states to have their interests, real or visionary, ignored by the imperial alliance. Into any story of the dealings between Austria-Hungary and Russia must consequently come some discussion of the activity and inactivity of the professed "honest broker" and some attention to the willful independence displayed in London and lesser places. A complete illumination of these complexities would require blending the special theme into an account of the whole crisis. Some course short of that procedure is not at all impossible, although there would be divergence of opinion as to how best it should be followed. Dr. Rupp has been on the alert for these impingements on his theme and has devoted much attention to the roles of Prince Bismarck and the various significant British participants. The non-intensive treatment of ancillary problems has perhaps here been more successful in the case of the one man with a fairly consistent policy than in that of several Englishmen who rang a variety of changes.

Dr. Rupp has been interested in frequently presenting interpretations of motives and objectives of the several important individuals and of the states concerned in the negotiations. One who has snuffled among many of the same sources might wish to cavil at times over small points of fact and conclusion, but it would be difficult to contest the validity of the broad view, already advanced by Mr. B. H. Sumner and others, of a Russian hierarchy belabored by cross-purposes and confusions. Nor can one, so far as I know, challenge Dr. Rupp's picture of a Count Andrassy whose would-be sharpness led to much and tragic bungling. The author makes one aware of the fact that almost any decision augured trouble of some kind for the Habsburg Monarchy and that the foreign minister was not of sufficient stature for his place. He has added his share to the

judgment against Wertheimer's portrayal of the great statesman who triumphed over cunning and wickedness

To accumulate his extensive and valuable bibliography the author has ranged far and wide. He has used materials from the Public Record Office and from the *Staatsarchiv*. He has, moreover, justly claimed virtue for exploiting a treasury of printed Russian sources which are all the more precious because the Russian archives have been inaccessible to western scholars

The organization of such a study is difficult at best and there is undoubtedly much subjectivity in a critic's assessment. It is necessary to say, however, that the author's solution of the problem has not been eminently successful, particularly in the earlier parts of the book. The flow of the narrative is hampered, it seems to me, by these difficulties of organization and by the concern for interpretation which has led to noticeable repetitions. The style of writing is clear and undoubtedly it is only the barnacled conservative who will take exception to an occasional resort to slang. There is now and then a careless usage which betrays a distraction. I hope it will not be deemed unfair to quote from page 433 the book's least felicitous sentence: "The military situation of Russia was, vis-à-vis Austria, far from rosy, for it was mid-winter and her army in the Balkans was parted by the Balkan Mountains, which could be crossed only through snow-filled, impassable paths."

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### CHURCH AND STATE IN RUSSIA

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS, *Church and State in Russia. The Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940) Cloth Pp. 442 \$4 00

WHETHER or not the author intended it, this book throws much light on three important aspects of early twentieth-century Russian history. It gives a descriptive and analytical picture of the Russian Orthodox Church as an institution. It traces the history of the more important religious developments of the last years of the Empire. And it gives an account of the role played by the Church in the stirring events which preceded the outbreak of the Revolution.

Generally speaking, the story brought out is a sorry one. Despite almost excessive fairness of the part of the author, the Church, or at least the articulate part of the Church, is shown to have sunk to a distressingly low level during the last years of its existence. From the institutional standpoint, it occupied a position little different from that of the ever-damned civil service. From the standpoint of internal development, it lacked even a shadow of vitality and strength. A reform movement which was more or less thrust upon it by the revolutionary fermentation of the years 1905-1907 proved so feeble that it produced no immediate, much less permanent, effect. From the standpoint of its part in the general



history of the period, it shared responsibility, negative if not positive, for the tragic failure of the Russian Imperial system.

This last point, though never deliberately stated by the author, stands out more clearly than any other developed in the book. Through page after page and chapter after chapter, there is presented an unending stream of evidence which shows a clergy either working hand in glove with, or submitting virtually unprotesting to, the tottering government of Nicholas II. Even the nefarious activities of Rasputin, which more directly affected the Church than any other institution, did not cause Orthodoxy to waver in its support of Autocracy. More than the nobility, more than the civil service, more even than the army, the Church proved itself the dependable staff of the Tsar.

The strong case which the author builds up against the Church runs counter to the views of many students of Russian Church history. According to these, the clergy was not nearly as deserving of condemnation as it appeared to be on the surface. Omitting the small group of higher officials, who were directly dependent on the civil administration, the great body of churchmen was as liberal and progressive as any comparable group in Russian society. To this reviewer, however, it appears that Dr. Curtiss' position is far more tenable than that of those who differ with him.

The reason for this is the superb quality of Dr. Curtiss' research. Through a very thorough, if not exhaustive, investigation of sources both in this country and in the Leningrad Division of the Central Historical Archives, Dr. Curtiss accumulated a staggering number of documented facts. He then let these facts tell their own story. The result is an almost conclusive case against the Church.

All this is not by way of saying that this is a perfect book. In several particulars it leaves at least something to be desired. Its distribution of space is frequently very uneven; some of its chapter headings are confusing; it sometimes wanders around rather aimlessly; and it places far too much emphasis on the career of Rasputin. This last is especially unfortunate, because it tends to create the impression that the accident of Rasputin's being in power, rather than the underlying factors stressed in the early chapters, was largely responsible for the failures of the Church.

Despite these shortcomings, however, the book is beyond doubt an excellent one. As a matter of fact, it deserves to be ranked among the few important American contributions to the study of Russian history.

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### MEMOIRS OF AN OLD BOLSHEVIK

F. N. SAMOILOV, *Po sledam minuvšego*. Predislovie Akademika Em. Jaroslavskogo (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo političeskoj literatury, 1940). \$1.00

THE Old Bolshevik F. N. Samoilov has much information to offer on the numerous and crucial roles which he played during the two decades pre-

ceding the October Revolution. He recounts in detail his experiences as a revolutionary worker and strike leader at Ivanovo-Voznesensk during the great "upsurge" in 1905, as deputy in the Fourth Duma from Vladimir Province, as Lenin's liaison man with the party at the outbreak of the war, and as a Siberian exile. The result is a clear account of the manner in which the Social-Democratic movement developed both in the provinces and at the center from 1903 to 1915. Like much of recent Soviet writing, this autobiography hews close to the Stalinist line. And historical justification is supplied by appropriate and copious quotations from official literature. But aside from its obvious coloration much of Samoilov's material has the value of an eye-witness account.

To begin with, the author's description of his boyhood, particularly of his father, and their gradual removal to Ivanovo-Voznesensk, vividly portrays the semi-peasant character of the Russian industrial worker. The young textile worker's conversion to Marxism was apparently rapid and complete. And within a few years, in 1905, Samoilov stood at the head of one of the most effective strike movements of the period. For almost two months the Social-Democratic leaders (who, if we are to believe the author, were Bolsheviks all) were able to paralyze the greatest textile center in Russia. Facing starvation, pogroms, and Cossack beatings and shootings, the workers followed their leadership in the local soviet and trade unions. And the feeble economic gains achieved were regarded as naught by the Bolsheviks in comparison with the political awakening of the workers. Yet, as Samoilov himself notes, the workers were interested almost exclusively in economic aims and met cries of "down with tsarism" with cold hostility. The author makes an interesting reference to what he calls an "Italian" strike at one of the Ivanovo factories. From his descriptions he is obviously referring to an early instance of a "sit-down" strike. As a union leader he presents a realistic account of the difficulties the workers had to overcome in creating legal trade unions, and of their precarious position, once established.

Throughout the entire Duma period (1906-1917) the partisans of the Bolshevik wing were thoroughly imbued with the notion that the Duma was to be used exclusively as a platform for Social-Democratic propaganda. The Mensheviks were continually assailed for giving it an inherent "legislative" significance. The situation became intolerable for the Bolsheviks in the Fourth Duma. For the seven Menshevik deputies, representing but a minority of the workers in the country, controlled the six Bolsheviks in the fraction and restrained their anti-parliamentary proclivities. As a result the Bolsheviks demanded complete equality in making decisions, and, on receiving a categorical refusal, formed a separate fraction in October 1913. Deputy-provocateur Malinovski, Samoilov informs us, was responsible for numerous confiscations of Bolshevik publications. And he charges him with a conscious misreading of the fraction's program in the Duma.

Of particular interest is the part which Samoilov played as bearer of

Lenin's theses on war demanding an anti-patriotic stand and the defeat of tsarism. Lenin (shortly after their first meeting in Cracow) found Samoilov in Switzerland in 1914 under treatment for tuberculosis, and regarded him as a convenient messenger to the party. On Samoilov's return to Russia a meeting of Bolshevik deputies and local party chiefs was held in great secrecy on November 2, 1914, to discuss the theses. But a former Social-Democratic deputy to the Third Duma, Shurkanov, kept the police fully informed. The meeting was raided, the compromising theses were found, and despite the Duma statute requiring the previous permission of the Duma for the arrest of its members, the Bolshevik deputies were incarcerated and finally exiled to the remote Enisei region, where the February Revolution found them. But even here, in the lost depths of the Siberian *taiga*, these impotent exiles carried on their partisan, if not political, activity. Hardly had they arrived at their "place of transportation" in July 1915, when they met with Sverdlov and Stalin, who had also been exiled to the same locality, to report on their trial, to decide that it had helped to mobilize the masses, to condemn Kamenev for his attempt to show himself opposed to the Leninist position, and to send a report of this meeting to Lenin and all Bolshevik organizations.

Numerous party proclamations concerning local work at Ivanovo-Voznesensk and national policy are reprinted and scattered throughout the text, and a statement on the organization of the Bolshevik fraction in the Fourth Duma and portions of the text of the indictment against it are appended. Unfortunately the biography contains no index.

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### CHANGING SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

*Protiv Istoricheskoj Konceptii M N Pokrovskogo (Against M N Pokrovski's concept of history)*. A collection of articles Part I (Moscow-Leningrad Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorn, 1940) Pp 518 10 rubles

THIS VOLUME, published by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., comprises thirteen papers, of uneven scholarship and interest, directed against the historical views of M. N. Pokrovski. The foreword, prepared by the Institute of History, states that the editors of the volume hoped that the work would help the Soviet historians to overcome the harmful anti-historic views of Pokrovski and his school, and that they would serve as a stimulus for the further development of Marxist-Leninist historical science, and also help to raise the level of the teaching of history in the U.S.S.R.

In the comparatively short span of time which elapsed between the drafting of that preface and the appearance of the article on Pokrovski in the *Small Soviet Encyclopaedia* in 1930, a great deal of water had flowed under the bridges of Moscow. The *Encyclopaedia* acclaimed Pokrovski as the most important Marxist historian, not only in the U.S.S.R.,

but in the entire world. It asserted that in his writings Pokrovski was the first to interpret the entire history of Russia in the light of Marxism. Thus, in nine years the reputation of Pokrovski in Soviet Russia had swung from greatness to ignominy.

Well-trained as a historian at Moscow University, a pupil of such masters as V. Klyuchevski and P. Vinogradov, Pokrovski had become a Marxist and a member of the Social-Democratic Party at the time when his philosophical and historical views were already, to a considerable degree, formed.

Pokrovski's association with Bogdanov and the "heretical" party schools at Capri and Bologna set him apart from the body of Lenin's faithful followers among the émigrés of those days. It is characteristic of the Pokrovski of that period that the only reference to Lenin in the fourth volume of his *History of Russia* consisted of a statement that Martov had over-valued Lenin and that the latter was unable to foresee "that Russian actuality had made . . . the wealthy industrial bourgeoisie the most faithful supporters of political reaction."

This lack of respect for Lenin's views on Russian history did not result in any active enmity of the former to Pokrovski upon the latter's return to the party fold after the October Revolution. That does not mean that Lenin did not express critical views regarding Pokrovski's historiographical method — on the contrary. Nevertheless, at the time of Lenin and his epigoni, Pokrovski had become the Lord Paramount in the field of Russian historiography and had extended his power also within some of the kindred fields of social studies, the re-organization of the archives and the administration of the teaching of history in schools and universities.

In his life-time, Pokrovski, a well-educated historian and an independent thinker, towered over the other historians then regarded as Marxist. His efforts to conform to new official Soviet views on historiography in the latter part of his life were not very far-reaching. His main works bear the mark of his own thought rather than reproducing the official view of the Leninist, or, later, of the Stalinist group on history.

In the volume under review, criticism is directed at Pokrovski from several distinct standpoints. He is attacked from that of the Marxian philosophy, or rather, from the angle of the Leninist-Stalinist trend in it. Other barbs are thrown from the vantage point of the relevant texts of the Marxist "Founding Fathers," as well as Lenin's and Stalin's, applicable to the historic period or problem examined. The struggle within the party, between the adherents of the "general party line" and the followers of Trotski, also furnished Pokrovski's critics with javelins with which to attack him. The official view on Russian historiography, which came into existence after the publication of the joint resolution of the Soviet of the Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party on the teaching of civic history in the schools of the country, dated May 16, 1934, and the later

resolutions of the same bodies of January 26, 1936, and November 14, 1938, furnished additional weapons with which to smite Pokrovski. But—what is probably even more significant—some of the critics take their departure from documentary historical evidence and arraign his views before the court of objective historic analysis.

Some of the papers were written by Pokrovski's pupils and are, apparently, acts of atonement on their part, of *samokritika*, this peculiar feature of "self-criticism" so prominent in many phases of Soviet life. In repudiating their own sins of omission and commission, these pupils showed themselves to be orthodox adherents of the historic views favored by the party, by attacking the historic heritage of their erstwhile master.

The first of the volume's papers, by A. Pankratova, on the development of the historic views of Pokrovski, dissects his philosophy and proves him to have been a follower of Mach and Avenarius and, by this token, an opponent of Lenin's philosophical views, as expressed in the famous study of *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*. As is well known, Lenin did not admit any insuperable line between absolute and relative knowledge, and believed that each step in the development of science added to the stock of absolute knowledge. Pokrovski, on the other hand, was the follower of A. A. Bogdanov, one of the most important Russian exponents of Mach's philosophy, and denied, accordingly, the objectivity of historical science. To him, history became politics "turned back into the past." This had led him to the conclusion that history should serve the immediate problems of current political struggle.

The next in sequence, the paper by Academician B. Grekov, on the Kiev period of Russian history and the problem of the origin of Russian feudalism as formulated by Pokrovski, is probably the most important of the volume. Grekov attacks Pokrovski's concept of the Kiev period as that of the sway of "urban government" and "urban law," as opposed to the next period — of Tartar and Moscow domination — in which "rural influence" and "rural law" became supreme. He points out that Pokrovski followed Klyuchevski's theories in this respect and that documentary historic evidence, as well as that of archaeology, disproves emphatically Pokrovski's contentions. In the reviewer's opinion, Grekov makes a convincing case against Pokrovski.

S. Bakhrushin's contribution on Pokrovski's concept of the feudal order is not of the same calibre as the preceding one, it accuses Pokrovski of following the theories advanced by N. P. Pavlov-Silvanski and of overlooking the fact that the method of production had remained unchanged during the period. The invention by Pokrovski of the trading-capitalist formation and the tracing of the origin of the Moscow state to events extraneous to Russian society, is also held against him. "Not under cover of the Golden Horde, but in the struggle with it, had the Russian state grown and become strong," Bakhrushin asserts in opposition to Pokrovski's views. This reviewer has no quarrel with that theory. Unfortunately, the arguments marshalled by Bakhrushin do not seem

to be founded on new documentary evidence, and seek support rather in the writings of Lenin, Stalin and Engels than in such evidence.

K. Bazilevich's offering deals with one of the most important theories of Pokrovski — the role of trading-capital in the genesis of the Moscow autocracy. According to Pokrovski, trading-capital was the factor which determined the process of growth of the Moscow state from its very inception up to the time of Alexander I. Bazilevich maintains that Pokrovski's historical works, instead of presenting a concrete history of the process of growth, gave merely a theoretical scheme, which stands in contradiction to the basic requirements of Marxist historical science. He also asserts that Pokrovski exaggerated the development of trading-monetary relations in the first part of the sixteenth century. A very interesting analysis is made of the views of Pokrovski on the relative importance of the foreign trade monopolies of the Moscow Tsars and his tendency to minimize the importance of private trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The counter-thesis advanced by Bazilevich, that the Moscow state remained in the seventeenth century a monarchy expressing first of all the interests of the land-owning class, is well developed and convincing.

A. Savich's paper on Pokrovski's concept of the Polish intervention in the beginning of the seventeenth century is one of several dealing with Pokrovski's tendency to depreciate important events in Russian history, his readiness to give the least favorable explanation to such events. Bazilevich also pointed out that Pokrovski, without sufficient grounds, made fun of the fighting qualities of the Russian armed forces and compared them unfavorably with those of the Livonian knights and of the Polish troops. In discussing the events of the Time of Troubles Pokrovski advanced the hypothesis that the success of the so-called second militia of the land in 1612 was based on the support of trading-capital, which needed a strong government able to discipline the lower classes. The confiscation of lands from the *dvoryane* landowners by the Polish interventionists had thrown the mass of the former into opposition to the Poles. Thus noble land-ownership and trading-capital achieved a victory in the guise of Minin and Pozharski. Savich sharply disagrees with that view. He holds that it was the Russian people who, clearly realizing who was the principal enemy of the Moscow state, rose in defense of their fatherland and for the liberation of Moscow from the Poles, and succeeded in freeing the land.

M. Nechkina deals with Pokrovski's characterization of the peasant rebellions of Razin and Pugachev. The center of the criticism lies in Stalin's theory that mass movements without proletarian leadership are doomed to failure. Pokrovski's neglect of this "principal cause" of the defeat of the peasant movements is regarded as his gravest mistake. Another error chalked up against him is that of defining these rebellions as Cossack-peasant, instead of peasant, movements. He is also said to have exaggerated the role of the serf-workers of the Urals in the Pugachev

revolt. Nechkina is a competent historian. Nevertheless, the whole argument seems to be based at least to the same extent on Stalin's pronouncements regarding these rebellions as on historical evidence. One is left wondering whether the desire of the former pupil of Pokrovski to show her complete allegiance to the party line has not carried her to the other extreme — the underestimating of the Cossack and worker element in that rebellion, the failure of which is held up to contemporary Russian peasantry as an object-lesson to prove that peasant movements without the leadership of the proletariat are doomed to failure.

V. Picheta's essay on Pokrovski's studies of the Napoleonic campaign of 1812 in Russia is the outstanding example of the present neo-patriotic attitude in Soviet historiography. It reflects the views of the political leaders of the U.S.S.R., that Pokrovski's conclusions on Russia's wars are not in accord with the effort of the authorities to re-inflate the Russians' pride in their military past, to build up confidence in their ability to meet the onslaught of the Fascist world in the same way as their fathers met Napoleon's armies or the German knights in the days of Alexander Nevski. Pokrovski is condemned for having declared the Russian nobility the sole culprit, the prime mover in starting the war, as well as for his omission of all reference, in spite of historic evidence to the contrary, to the active participation of the broad masses of the "toiling people" in the struggle with foreign invaders for the national liberation of their country. His propensity to show the Russian military leaders in the most unfavorable light is condemned.

This essay ends on a solemn note: "The peoples of the Soviet Union well remember their heroic past, their struggle with the interventionists and oppressors. In case of an attack of the Fascist barbarians on the U.S.S.R. the toilers of our land will rise as one man for the defense of their socialist fatherland, their freedom and independence."

Another monograph by M. Nechkina, dealing with Pokrovski's views on the Decembrist rebellion of 1825 is, in part, an act of expiation for the author's past errors in the treatment of that same event. As she says: "Only in 1935 . . . did I begin to abandon the above-mentioned errors. The study of the utterances of Lenin about the Decembrists and the decision of the government and the party about the text-book of history made it possible for me to understand all the falsity of Pokrovski's concept." These certainly are amply sufficient reasons for a Soviet historian to change his historical views. Just the same, as Pokrovski's own writings on the Decembrists are in such obvious divergence with the documentary evidence, M. Nechkina is able to muster an imposing array of arguments against her former teacher's conclusions.

N. Druzhinin's paper on Pokrovski's delineation of the decay of the feudal serf-owning system argues against the latter's theory of the interdependence of the prices of grain and the problem of the liberation of the serfs. The extreme economic determinism of Pokrovski was shown at its worst in that theory, and Druzhinin marshals ample evidence to disprove it.

E. Morokhovets' essay dealing with a narrower subject within the same framework — Pokrovski's concept of the peasant reform of 1861 — is carefully written and well documented. It points to Pokrovski's lack of understanding of the peasants' own struggle for liberation, also his inability to differentiate between the proletarianization of the peasantry and its pauperization. Pokrovski's thesis that land grants made available to peasants after the emancipation were obstacles to the development of monetary economy in the village, and the fallacy of Pokrovski's theory that the emancipation of the peasant did not promote the development of capitalism in Russia, are exposed.

One of the least valuable contributions is that of D. Bayevski, dealing with Pokrovski's approach to the problem of the populist (*narodnichestvo*) movement. The method of dealing with the subject matter by opposing to Pokrovski's exposition Lenin's *obiter dicta* is not convincing to those who do not share the author's apparent faith in the latter's infallibility. The temper of the approach may be seen from the following: "How monstrous are the attempts of those, who, like Pokrovski, endeavor to trace kinship between populism and Marxism, to hide the fact that all populists take their stand on the ground of the *preservation* and 'improvement' of capitalism."

A. Sidorov's article on the errors committed by Pokrovski in the evaluation of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 is one of the least interesting in the series. Its significance lies mainly in the part which places the blame for the beginning of the war at the door of the Japanese government and in the note of solemn warning to the Japanese government not to dare to attack the land of the Soviets, on which it ends.

A. Yerusalimski's paper on the views of Pokrovski on the origins of the war of 1914–1918 would have presented a definite interest were it not for the practically simultaneous appearance of the much more detailed and better documented monograph by F. Notovich in another volume published by the Academy, in 1939, in *Protiv fašistskoi falsifikacii istorii* (*Against Fascist falsification of history*) which turned the tables on the "war guilt" views previously held officially in Soviet Russia.

The volume under review seems to confirm Frederick J. Teggart's conclusion that ancient as well as modern historians have uniformly found the writings of their predecessors devoid of critical insight. Also that what the writer sets down is dictated not merely by his private judgment but by that of the community of which he forms a part.

It is possible to maintain, however, that the extreme position taken by Pokrovski with respect to the historian's inability to see things "objectively" led Russian historical studies and the teaching of history into a morass, turning historiography into a self-confessed adjunct of political propaganda. As this was accompanied by a ferocious persecution of historians holding views differing from those of the Pokrovski school, as well as by the elimination of history as a subject in the secondary schools, the present generation of Soviet citizens has grown up in an atmosphere



of anti-historicism, unable to draw inspiration from the past of their country. True enough, the fall of Pokrovski's school did not set other historians entirely free, but at least in fields of study more remote from immediate political concerns of the Soviet state scholars seem to be able to go on with objective research and to publish work based on that research.

As Teggart holds, historical narrative is bound up with recollections of national achievement in the past, and with hopes and aspirations for national greatness in the future. Pokrovski's brand of historiography, dedicated to the "debunking" of the historians who had preceded him, was void of emotional content to a generation that had not taken any part in the demolition of the old régime. The sharp scalpel of Pokrovski's mind cut the ties of sympathetic interest in the efforts of one's ancestors. What happens now in the field of Russian historiography is the re-endowment of Russian history with a new emotional content, suited to the aspirations of that new generation. And this is no mean task.

Pokrovski's historical writings were a powerful ram that most effectively battered many false fronts on the building of Russian historiography. As Morris R. Cohen has written in his *Reason and Nature*, the essence of scientific genius (whether in the natural or the social sciences) is the ability to discover points of view from which new arrangements of facts are visible and under which order and system can be introduced into what has hitherto appeared as hopeless chaos. That Pokrovski possessed that ability is beyond doubt. But his work of demolition of the inheritance of his predecessors began to shatter the columns of the very temple of Clio in Russia.

When his useful (from the Soviet viewpoint) role as wrecker of the old historical concepts was over, it was found by those in charge of the guidance of the Soviet ship of state that the engine of demolition was not a useful tool for the construction of the new façade of the edifice of Russian historiography.

It would seem, at this stage, that the rejection of the tenets of Pokrovski's school opened new avenues for the further development and growth of Russian historiography which holds promise for the future. Whether this growth will be freed of the tenacious control of the Soviet state and will develop a healthy diversity of views remains to be seen.

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### A YUGOSLAV JOURNEY

REBECCA WEST, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon, A Journey through Yugoslavia* (New York: Viking Press, 1941). Vol I, 1-629, Vol II, 633-1181. Endpaper maps and photographs. \$7.50.

THE imposing appearance of this book is enhanced by the publisher's statement on the jacket that it is unique in the whole of literature. It is in fact a tremendous work whose contents are not revealed by the modest

sub-title. The *magnum opus* of a prominent creative writer, it has been reviewed mostly from the literary standpoint. However, it is among other things a narrative of Serbian and Balkan history, supported by a bibliography in the western languages, and equipped with an index. Hence it deserves to be regarded as a work of history and to be reviewed for a scholarly journal on that basis.

The immediate subject of the book is a journey through Yugoslavia made by the author and her husband in 1937. They visited Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and most of Serbia proper. There are magnificent descriptions of countrysides, buildings and people which would make the book valuable if it contained nothing else. But the travelogue portions are plainly the least important to the author. More important to her are the thoughts, emotions and conversations which accompanied her travels or were inspired by them. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* is actually the revelation of a brilliant woman's search for a political and social philosophy.

The fundamental thesis of the book, built up leisurely through the two long volumes, far transcends the announced subject. Miss West finds in Serbia, which she loves, symbols to explain history, particularly modern history. The black lamb symbolizes the doctrine of atonement by sacrifice, which she considers pernicious. The grey falcon, which, according to a Serbian ballad, brought to Tsar Lazar from God the choice between earthly and spiritual victory before the battle on Kosovo Field, symbolizes for her the equally pernicious doctrine that virtue must expect and even prefer annihilation in this world. Kosovo Field itself represents a supreme example of such a defeat. Miss West believes that virtue should endeavor to triumph on earth by force of arms if necessary. It is no surprise to learn that she opposed the policy of appeasing dictators. The impression is unavoidable that Miss West regarded the Munich agreement as another Kosovo.

Clashing aspirations within Yugoslavia, local traditions and stories, are incarnated in, and pour out of, numerous characters encountered by the author during her journey. Chief among these is a poet and government official who accompanies the author and her husband throughout most of the trip. He represents the Yugoslav idea. Other individuals are made to utter all shades of political opinion, including Croatian separatism. The Yugoslavian poet's wife is a caricature of a Nazi drawn without delicacy or credibility. Miss West's husband, when allowed to speak, displays a learned interest in the Balkans and a fund of information which would be remarkable in a Balkan scholar, let alone in a London banker. Miss West would have us believe that the characters are real and that she noted down their conversations *verbatim*. If this was not quite the case, there is still no cause for criticism. So excellent a novelist as Miss West, if she desired to create characters in order to put set speeches into their mouths, could be depended upon to make them interesting.

The author retells much of Serbian and Balkan history, which she

derives from a standard bibliography. She is particularly insistent upon the effect of Byzantine influence in the peninsula. She brings the story down to Yugoslavia's treaty of friendship with the Axis in March, 1941, the subsequent revolution, and the Nazi conquest of the country in April, 1941.

The defects of the book, in this reviewer's opinion, are primarily the consequence of the author's attempt to grasp, synthesize, and interpret a staggering mass of historical data in a short time. They also result from an overly subjective and creative approach to history. Miss West's habit of treating Balkan history as symbolic and allegoric often loads events with more significance than they can properly carry. In many instances her analyses of character seem to be derived more from her imagination than from source material. Her evaluation of historical figures, western as well as Balkan, frequently varies markedly from the usual. She praises Elizabeth of Austria as having brought about the Compromise of 1867 and asserts that she might have solved the South Slav question had she not been murdered. Conrad von Hotzendorf is dismissed as a "creature without sense or bowels." Peter I of Serbia, on the other hand, is praised as "the finest liberal statesman in Europe," and as "a magnificent soldier." Elsewhere Miss West calls Martin Luther a hog attributes to Shakespeare "a nostalgia for infantile nastiness," and hails Brigham Young as one of the greatest statemen of the nineteenth century.

Misstatements of various kinds are frequent, including factual errors. It is interesting that Miss West accepts the story of the Konopischt meeting between the German emperor and Francis Ferdinand shortly before the assassination at Sarajevo. She acquits the Serbian government of any guilt in regard to the crime, on the basis of the alleged warning conveyed by Jovan Jovanović, the Serbian minister in Vienna, which she says the Serbian government instructed him to deliver. Mr. Jovanović denied publicly in print, and in conversation with this reviewer, that he received any such instructions. Miss West dismisses Ljuba Jovanović's famous article with the familiar argument of Professor Seton-Watson that Jovanović was seeking notoriety. There are errors involving all periods of Serbian history down to the Concordat of 1937, whose text Miss West says was purposely made difficult to obtain, whereas it was freely published in the Belgrade press.

*Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* records the thoughts which were aroused in an acutely responsive mind by contemplation of the panorama of the Balkans. Anyone interested in man's past and future should benefit by reading the book. The historian should derive profit from it whatever his field. The vitality of the writing is a challenge to the standardized mediocrity of much historiography. The breadth and scope of the author's conclusions and judgments should be a challenge even to the specialist in Balkan history to reexamine his material, reconsider his verdicts, and perhaps revise viewpoints long maintained as immutable.

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## AMERICA AND RUSSIA

MENO LOVENSTEIN. *American Opinion of Soviet Russia*. Introduction by Broadus Mitchell (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941). Pp 210 \$2 75

A STUDY of public opinion presents many difficulties not only as to the choice of material but also as to its evaluation. Anyone who relied for information on our press in the summer and fall of 1940 would have come to the logical conclusion that Mr. Willkie was to be our next president. Yet his rejection by the electorate proves that often the press is no true reflection of public opinion. Because of this it is essential to take into consideration the expression and the strength of political, patriotic, professional and other organizations in addition to the periodical press. Only then can one even approximate a true representation of public opinion.

To Mr. Lovenstein, however, the task was very simple, as he states in his preface (p. 2). He proceeded to rely for his information essentially on the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, camouflaging it (perhaps in order to appear scholarly) with surveys of a few "conservative" publications and of one hundred books arbitrarily chosen. As he set for himself the task not only of recording opinion but also judging it as good or bad (apparently, according to the standards of the above-mentioned weeklies), it is difficult to agree with Professor Mitchell, who states that this work is lacking in bias.

The book is divided into four parts: 1. War and Its Aftermath (1917-1921); 2. American Expansion and Russia's New Economic Policy (1921-1929); 3. The Depression in the United States and the First Five-Year Plan in Russia (1929-1933); 4. The Present and the Future. Each of the first three parts is subdivided as follows: Labor Organs, Business and Financial Magazines, Trade Periodicals, Economic Magazines, Learned Journals, General Magazines, Books, Newspapers, Governmental Documents, Summary. The treatment is that of an economist who is "deeply interested in Russia's planned economy" (p. 1). It has very little historical value and is full of misconceptions as well as omissions. It lacks a bibliography and an index. It calls Colonel Robins, head of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia, "for a long while unofficial American ambassador" (p. 36); when referring to the political relations between America and Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution (p. 46), it fails to indicate the literature on the subject, omitting for instance this reviewer's study (*The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia, 1918*); and it is full not only of misprints (which is a sign of careless proofreading) but also of misspellings, as a result of which Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J. becomes E. A. Walsh, Jr. (pp. 80 and 186).

There is no doubt that a study of American opinion on Soviet Russia is still to be written.

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## THE NEW RUSSIAN EMPIRE

ANDREW EFRON, *The New Russian Empire* (New Haven The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., 1941) Pp iv+130 \$2 00

HAVING declared that there is no theory of the new Soviet state, the author of this little book finds himself confronted with the ambitious task of formulating one in terms of the dynamic interpretation of law. Arming himself with the rather obscure notion that the New Russian Empire is "a peculiar crossing" of at least two overlapping traditions, he invites the reader to understand this concept in terms of "totum," "dual law," and "Soviet democracy." To this end, the "phenomenological" source of the "totum" is to be sought in such phenomena of our social formations as "intentionalization," "biologization," and "dynamization" of life. The belief must be discarded that law is static and a change something abnormal and, therefore, undesirable. Instead, the law is dual and its static and dynamic aspects must be always borne in mind, as must also be the fact that the "correct solution of the problem of dual law may be found in the so-called 'planning' which should not be restricted to economic planning only." Cautiously omitting any suggestion of a calendar time-table for such a planning of law in advance, he proceeds to project the Soviet factual data against the Communist, National-Socialist and our own theories, and emphasizes the fact that, when applied to the Soviets, not coercion as such, but the purpose of the applied force determines the legal character of law. In other words proletarian law is not only a regulative principle but a plan as well, even if during the period of transition all measures are "no more legal than the education of a dog by his master's club." It is not clear, however, whether this transition period means the period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat or the "transitory aspect of law (its dynamic element)" which, according to Mr. Efron, the Soviet theorists alone were able to feel, even if they did go to the other extreme, and, revolutionaries as they were, neglected the static element of law.

Whatever the convincing power of such an intricate verbal cascade, his analysis of Soviet democracy in the light of the Constitution of 1936 is much more to the point. Viewing it as indicative of a "break with the planological conception of law," the author does not hesitate to inform his readers that, paradoxically enough, this most democratic of constitutions actually legalized the collapse of democracy in the U.S.S.R. With only the ashes of Leninism remaining, new Russia has become a Eurasian version of a "Führer-state." Having recovered its historical countenance, Russia is imperialistic once again, although the author leaves open to challenge his conclusion that the imperial idea, now re-emerging in the Soviet Union, is to be found in the Kremlin's policy of isolation. According to him, this policy is reflected in two basic characteristics of Soviet foreign relations. These are peace and self-defense, both purporting to serve as a road to the New Russian Eurasian Empire, an empire utterly

self-sufficient, truly representative of Russian culture, and "completely void of Marxism and of the entire Leninist planology "

The section on the Eurasian movement is interesting and ably written.

The author's obvious over-emphasis of theory, his excessive indulgence in frequently obscure terminology, and the scope of the task to be accomplished in a limited space, readily account for the difficulty in reading which this book presents. Much less understandable are his assertions that, since the final state of Marxian social existence is itself devoid of "strictly legal characteristics," the way leading to it is equally devoid of law, and that Stalin's slogan "socialism in one country" was the first break with the internationalist tradition. As a matter of fact, despite Lenin's dictum that under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat authority rests upon violence, Soviet legal thought and practice both admit that in this transition period law is not to be placed at once "in the museum of antiquities," but withers away *pari passu* with the realization of socialism. In other words, even the ruling proletariat must for some time resort to law in its own interest, as only by so doing can law allegedly be forced to exhaust itself. Then, too, how can the above-mentioned slogan of Stalin indicate a break with the internationalist tradition when Marxism itself teaches that socialism cannot become victorious simultaneously in every country and that the paramount duty of a country enjoying socialism is to serve as the vanguard of world revolution, the establishment of socialism being itself considered merely as the first step toward the final communist victory? Today, the penetration of law into the social reconstruction of the community in the U.S.S.R. is deeper and more elaborate than ever before, and the pre-war "isolationist" policy of the communist Kremlin, whether cloaked in the suddenly resurrected Great-Russian nationalism or in the guise of persistent litanies of peace which culminated in the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, is not to be taken *sine grano*.

Be this as it may, however, there is no explanation for the author's error in stating that Stalin's assumption of the Presidency of the Council of Peoples' Commissars in May, 1941, was an unprecedented fact in that the actual leader of the Soviets assumed "the position of official head of the executive department," while Lenin was "satisfied with the rôle of General Secretary of the Communist Party." Quite the contrary: Lenin was Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars and never General Secretary of the Party. It was Stalin who was elected to that all-important post in 1922.

The dynamics of dual law having been lost to the reader in the author's nebulous vision of a Russian Eurasian Empire, and the laws of Bolshevik dynamics in his theoretical mirage of vanishing communism, the concluding lines of this study invite the United States to become the tutor of this red "problem-child" and to develop in him an acceptable social presence.

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## AN ENGLISH LIFE OF BOHDAN KHMELNITSKI

GEORGE VERNADSKY, *Bohdan, Hetman of Ukraine* (New Haven Yale University Press, London Milford, Oxford, 1941) Pp vii+150 \$2 50

THE story of the Ukrainian revolution of 1648 and of the career of Bohdan Khmel'nitski is one of the most dramatic episodes in history, and perhaps it would be an adequate comment merely to say that in his new book Professor Vernadsky has been fully equal to the inspiration of his theme. From the Kozak revolt of 1637 to his death at a moment of new uncertainty in the relations of the Ukraine to Poland and to Muscovy, Bohdan's varied career in the political struggles of Eastern Europe has here been traced with a sure familiarity with the sources and a fine sense of the picturesque. Bohdan's negotiations of 1646 with the helpless King of Poland, the intermingling of personal, social and national grievances in the uprising against Polish and gentry rule, the campaign of 1648, the negotiations of Zborov and Bila Tserkva with Poland, and those of Pereyaslav with Moscow, Bohdan's new hesitations and doubts at the close of his life, form the main thread of a story well told. The author has prefaced his account with a succinct but adequate analysis of the origins and history of the Ukrainian people and of the Kozaks down to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. As a postscript, he has added some thought-provoking reflections on the subsequent "missed opportunities" for solving the Ukrainian problem in conjunction with the revolts of Razin and Bulavin, in the first and third generations after Khmel'nitski. The appendices include a funeral panegyric of Bohdan attributed to Samiilo Zorka, and the provisions of the Tsar's protectorate of 1654 over the Ukraine, together with the Charter of the Zaporozhie Host, of the same year. Reproductions of seven contemporary illustrations add a great deal to the interest of the book.

It is perhaps superfluous to point out that the absence of the customary scientific apparatus, aside from a selected bibliography of thirteen items, makes it difficult for the student to refer back to the sources and authorities relied upon for any given episode, as it was obviously not the author's intention to supplant the detailed studies available in Slavic languages. At some of the points at which rather long speeches are cited, or very detailed incidents related (e.g., p. 28, 30, 44, and elsewhere), the reader may be uncertain as to whether the quotation or the account is "historical" or "literary" in character. The comparison of Bohdan with Mazarin, Cromwell, and Wallenstein (p. 118) seems somewhat overdrawn, in the light of Bohdan's inability to find a rationale for the problem of the internal structure of the Kozak-Ukrainian state, or to surmount more constructively the dilemma of its relationship to Poland and to Muscovy. The author's own preceding account makes it impossible to accept the claim (p. 121) that Khmel'nitski succeeded in "creating a national Ukrainian government," for, bound as he was by Kozak realities and Kozak aspirations, he was unable to rise to a truly national act of

state-building. Incidentally, Sochava (p. 96 ff), which is more familiar to western readers as "Suceava," is in Moldavia (in that part later known as Bukovina), rather than in "the Transylvania mountains."

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### AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLISH HISTORIAN

SISTER M. NEOMISIA RUTKOWSKA, C.S.F.N., *Bishop Adam Naruszewicz and his "History of the Polish Nation", a critical study* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1941). Pp. 138. \$2.00.

IN 1915 a distinguished American historian, Professor (now Father) R. H. Lord, in his standard work on *The Second Partition of Poland*, described admirably the political situation of the Rzecz Pospolita under its last king, Stanisław August Poniatowski. Now, an American of Polish descent, Sister M. N. Rutkowska, has published a very remarkable contribution to the study of another side of the same problem: to the history of Poland's cultural progress just before her partition. A short synthesis of the "national revival" in the age of Poniatowski has been brilliantly outlined by the late Professor Bronisław Dembiński and published recently in the *Cambridge History of Poland*; and among "the most enlightened men" surrounding the King, Dembiński has not failed to mention Bishop Adam Naruszewicz, the leading historian, whose further achievements in the field of poetry have been characterized briefly in the same volume by Professor Waław Borowy. But in the light of their own remarks it was apparent how badly we needed a comprehensive scholarly biography of a writer who, in spite of some earlier studies of his life and works, still remained inadequately known.

Sister Rutkowska says in her preface that she did "not propose to write an exhaustive biography of Naruszewicz." But one of her longest chapters is certainly the best summary of the Bishop's life which has ever been written, based, as is the entire book, on a thorough study of the whole source material, including many manuscripts full of important information even on the political events of the period, to mention only the letter written to Naruszewicz by the King from the fateful Diet of 1793. The author discovered this unpublished material prior to the present war in nine archives and libraries of Cracow, Warsaw, Poznań, Lublin and Sucha; and reviewing her book today, one cannot help thinking how much of these priceless collections has since been destroyed, or looted and carried off to Germany.

Giving much more than is promised in the title of her book, Sister Rutkowska devotes an introductory chapter to "Polish history-writing up to the times of Naruszewicz." It is of course only an abstract of a story entirely unknown abroad, and some additions to it could easily be suggested. But as it is, this sketch is an excellent guide to the serious contribution made by Poland since the Middle Ages to European historiography. The largest part of the book, however, deals with the genesis of



Naruszewicz's *History of the Polish Nation*, which he carried down to 1386, in six large volumes, and with his concept of history and his method.

A biographer is usually inclined to overrate both the character and the accomplishments of his hero. Realizing that Naruszewicz, although "an honest leader of the day," had nothing heroic about him, but simply "was human," Sister Rutkowska carefully avoided such a mistake, and rather too modestly evaluated his part in the progress of history-writing; Professor Dembiński, himself a great historian, proved more affirmative, and did not hesitate to say that "Naruszewicz raised history to the heights of scholarly research." But for that very reason Sister Rutkowska's critical investigations are of the highest possible value. Concentrating on Naruszewicz's chief work, she discusses only briefly his biography of J. K. Chodkiewicz,<sup>1</sup> a great military leader of the time of King Sigismund III, practically the whole of whose reign is included in that book, which indicates that the Bishop did not limit himself to the study of the Middle Ages. In compensation the author gives us an extremely important paragraph on what was certainly Naruszewicz's most lasting contribution to historical science: on his famous *Folios*, i.e., more than two hundred and fifty volumes containing copies of documents relating to the whole course of Polish history, gathered together under his personal supervision. Most of the *Folios* are unedited even today, especially insofar as the modern period, since the sixteenth century, is concerned, and there is hardly any Polish historian who has not used this unique collection and has not remained deeply indebted to the eighteenth century Bishop and to his royal patron.

The reader of this first scientific biography of Naruszewicz will remain equally grateful to its author, who has published it, as a doctoral dissertation, amid the greatest crisis which Polish historiography has ever had to face.

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### RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON, *Estonia* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd; Macmillan, New York, 1941). Pp 248.

PAUL OLBORG, *Tragedin Balticum* (Stockholm: Bokforlaget Natur och Kultur, 1941). Pp 104.

FROM 1919, when the Red Army had to withdraw under the pressure of the new national armies of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the shores of the Baltic were free of Russian soldiers until the autumn of

<sup>1</sup> This biography was to be a part of a collection of lives of famous Poles, as planned by the King himself, but never completed. Such a "Polish Plutarch," on a more modest scale, has been published quite recently in this country, under the editorship of Professor S. P. Mizwa (Macmillan, 1941). There are, however, so many "great men and women of Poland," that neither Chodkiewicz nor Naruszewicz (replaced by another, undoubtedly greater, historian, Joachim Lelewel) found a place among these thirty biographies.

1939. The true significance of the Russo-German Treaty, signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939, was quickly disclosed: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania had to sign treaties of "mutual assistance" with the Kremlin, while Finland, more recalcitrant, bore the brunt of the first Russian aggression. Hardly had the peace of March 12, 1940 been concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Finland when Moscow began picking quarrels with the governments of the Baltic states. In June, 1940, under the futile pretext that Estonia and Latvia had striven to include Lithuania in their treaty of alliance, the three countries were occupied by Russian troops, their national governments were removed and their members jailed, the incorporation of all three states into the Soviet Union being decided by means of "plebiscites." But on June 22, 1941 Reichsführer Hitler sent his troops against the U.S.S.R. A few days later Lithuania was cleared of Russian divisions, on July 1 Riga fell into German hands, and it was only in Estonia, more particularly in the Estonian islands, that the Russians were able to hold out until the end of September. The Russo-Finnish war started up anew on June 26, and the Russian defeat was marked this time by the Finnish recovery of Hanko, on December 4.

By the time these lines are printed, the Russian armies, which are driving the Germans from before Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, and Rostov, may again be on the Baltic frontiers, if not yet in Tallinn, Riga, and Kaunas. But the fight will not then be over. Peace will reign over the Baltic only when right will triumph over might and when the shores of the Baltic will again be inhabited by free peoples. Such seem to be the conclusions of the authors whose books we have before us.

Hampden Jackson's book is one of the most interesting ever written about Estonia in English. It provides the reader with a substantial survey of the history of the Estonian people, its renaissance and struggle for independence, and especially of its rapid cultural and economic evolution during the last hundred years. The book illustrates fully the author's personal acquaintance with both country and people, and is animated by a feeling of sympathy for the Estonian people. The author considers Tallinn the most beautiful seaport in the world, and the University of Tartu (Dorpat) the finest in Eastern Europe. "Oxford has a better Faculty of Philosophy, Cambridge goes further in Mathematics and Natural Science, though neither can compete with Tartu in Veterinary Science and Agriculture."

Hampden Jackson thinks that there is no better way of studying the phenomenon of nationalism than by examining it in the Estonian microcosm. "Here can be seen the workings of a bacillus which was strong enough to survive seven centuries of domination by an alien race; strong enough to outlive German landlords and Russian governors; strong enough to withstand at the end of the first World War, first a Bolshevik invasion, then a German invasion, then Bolshevik invasion again; and strong enough to establish a Republic and to maintain it through the trials of the last twenty-two years."

The book begins with the "Last Year," 1939-1940, when the Estonians were faced with a horrible predicament: all of them were as if condemned to death. It ends with a study of the student corporations and associations of Tartu. There is a note of sane optimism in that reversed order. The reader of Mr. Jackson's book is won over by the attractive qualities of the Estonian people, so keenly experienced by the author, and remains convinced that a people with so much "tenacity and flexibility, energy and fatalism, stoicism and wit" will not perish.

While Mrs. Marion Foster Washburne, in her charming book,<sup>1</sup> draws a rather idyllic picture of a Baltic country which was still in full enjoyment of its spiritual and material forces, Mr. Olberg analyzes the events of the last two years of Baltic independence. These two years represent one of the most tragic episodes in the long drama, in the course of which the type of the Baltic man ("baltisk manniska") developed — sturdy and laborious, with a generous dose of romantic blood in his veins. The Baltic peoples have preserved all their originality, despite the many foreign influences, particularly Germanic and Slav. They have not assimilated either with the Germans, who isolated themselves socially, or with the Russians, who are too different from the Baltic peoples anthropologically, with a different language, religion and psychology.

The author devotes an important part of his book to the "Pacts of Mutual Assistance" of 1939 and quotes the assurances with which the leaders of the U.S.S.R. were so prodigal toward the Baltic nations. He tries to find an explanation for the occupation of the Baltic states in June 1940, from the viewpoint of the interests of the U.S.S.R. — and he fails to find one. The Pacts of Assistance, however, could have become the basis for a Russian-Baltic system of security. As sovereign nations, the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians would certainly have defended their boundaries against German aggression. The author believes that the Baltic peoples, while having no sympathy for either Hitler's Germany or Bolshevik Russia, would still have preferred cooperation with Russia — for the better defense of their independence. From the military point of view, Russia gained nothing by violating her own solemn engagements in the treaties of peace and of mutual assistance. On the other hand, by demolishing the Baltic wall which separated her from Germany, Russia rendered herself even more vulnerable to eventual attack.

Mr. Olberg completed his book at the beginning of 1941. His predictions came true in June.

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#### A STUDY OF HUS

MATTHEW SPINKA, *John Hus and Czech Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941). Pp. 81. \$1.50.

SPINKA'S BOOK on John Hus summarizes the results of a long controversy concerning Hus' dependence upon John Wyclif, his association with the

<sup>1</sup> Marion F. Washburne, *A search for a happy country* (Washington, 1940).

Czech reform movement of the fourteenth century, and his contribution to the Protestant Reformation. Almost sixty years ago a significant change began to take place in the interpretation of Hus' religious movement and in the evaluation of his writings. For several centuries he had been characterized as one of the foremost precursors of Luther and of Calvin. Scholars confidently discovered in his theological works all the classic Protestant doctrines regarding the Bible, Christian faith, and the Church. To be sure, his dependence upon Wyclif was admitted, but for a long time Wyclif was known rather "through the mediation of Hus," as Spinka puts it, and the priority of the native reform movement in the development of Hus' ideas had also come to be emphasized.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the emphasis changed. First, Johannes Loserth's book on Hus and Wyclif, published in 1884, denied to Hus all originality, and charged him with "plagiarism," i.e., with the mechanical, verbal appropriation of Wyclif's doctrines. Then, a score of Czech historians began to associate Hus with the spirit and the religious atmosphere of the Middle Ages rather than with the Reformation, thus trying to alter and to correct Masaryk's philosophy of Czech history. The controversy between these two schools of thought (Masaryk — J. Pekař) is most characteristic of the differentiation of Czech intellectual life which was taking place prior to World War I.

Simultaneously, some of the leading Czech scholars (V. Novotný, J. Sedlák, F. M. Bartoš and others) reexamined Loserth's historical method and approach to the problem of Hus-Wyclif, and questioned thoroughly the adequacy and correctness of his interpretation. Hus' indebtedness to his English teacher could not be disputed; Loserth's charges, however, were partly rejected as gross exaggeration, in part were greatly modified in view of the general habit among mediaeval scholars of borrowing long passages from other writers, frequently even without mentioning their names.

Matthew Spinka presents in his latest book, written on the basis of a first-hand knowledge of modern Czech historical literature, a masterly survey of all the main issues of Hus' relation to John Wyclif. Hus, in Spinka's opinion, differed from Wyclif on all main theological points, modifying all along the line the latter's radical views concerning the sacraments, the authority of Scripture, tradition, the papacy, and so forth. "His essential characteristics are not of the Wyclifite, but of the native reform movement" (initiated by Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Matthew of Janov). Like his Czech precursors, Hus was more interested in moral and ethical conduct than he was in doctrine; his religious character was far more practical and active than speculative and mystical. He stressed doctrinal reconstruction always in connection with some effort towards moral and religious awakening, even in doing that he was of a more moderate and conservative temper than Wyclif. The core of the Czech religious movements was always quality of life rather than abstract thought, conscience rather than intellect.

Stressing Hus' moral and practical character, Spinka nevertheless has not failed to point out the inescapable theological and dogmatic implications of his devoted search for truth, of his zeal for reform, of his insistence upon the authority of the Bible and upon personal responsibility in matters of religion. Spinka's well-documented judgment and his concise summing up of a half-century of discussion render a valuable service to students of Slavonic religious history and literature.

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### GERMANS AND CZECHS

HANS RAUPACH, *Der tschechische Fruhnationalismus Ein Beitrag zur Gesellschafts- und Ideengeschichte des Vormarz in Bohmen* (Essen. Essener Verlagsanstalt, 1939) Pp 156

HANS LADES, *Die Tschechen und die deutsche Frage* (Erlanger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte) Neue Folge, Bd 1 (Erlangen, 1938) Pp 324

HERMANN AUBIN, "Deutsche und Tschechen, die geschichtlichen Grundlagen ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehungen," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXV, (1939), 457-479

THE disruption of Czechoslovakia and her occupation by the Germans was not prepared by such an extensive literary campaign as was the invasion of Poland. During the Weimar Republic German scholars paid little attention to Czechoslovakia. Works from the pre-war period continued to serve as a source of information. Few attempts were made at a positive evaluation of the factors which had led, in 1918, to the liberation of the Czechs and Slovaks, to their reunion, and to the establishment of a democratic republic on the southeastern frontier of the Reich. The interest of German scholars in the activities of professors of the German university in Prague and of local scientific organizations began to grow in the late 'twenties. Their books and articles satisfied the small demand for information concerning public life in Czechoslovakia and its historical background so that no need was felt for organizing Czechoslovak studies in the Reich on a large scale. The average German had no insight into the intricacies of Czechoslovak politics or economics. In school he learned that the neighboring country had for centuries been under the influence of the German *Kultur*. The daily press inoculated him with an undefined dislike for the "creation of Versailles" from which good news hardly ever appeared on the pages of his newspaper. Even for a liberal German it was difficult to penetrate the volley of misinterpretations and to see the constructive work of the Slav neighbor. Some notable exceptions confirm the rule.

After the advent of Hitler to power and the inauguration of an aggressive policy against the surrounding countries, the interest in Czechoslovakia increased. A crop of books and pamphlets was the result of the new orientation. Several politicians and journalists who had been active previously in the German-speaking districts of Czechoslovakia espoused Hitler's cause openly and from their new homes in Germany opened a

systematic campaign against Prague. They struck the keynote of a large number of publications both for the German people and for propaganda abroad. Two books from this category should be mentioned at least because they found their way into American libraries and parade on their shelves alongside scholarly works: Hans Krebs' *Kampf in Böhmen* and Rudolf Jung's *Die Tschechen. Tausend Jahre deutsch-tschechischer Kampf*. The latter was listed in the official bibliography of the N. S. Party and ran in 1938 into a third edition. At the end of that year it was followed by a sketch of relations between Bohemia and Germany, *Bohmen und das Reich*, from the pen of the same author.

The books by Krebs, Jung *et cons.* belong to the Nazi armory. As such they were given favorable, though somewhat restrained reviews in German scientific periodicals. The authors made no effort to conceal the bias and the militant character of their compilations. In the margin of this campaign grew two books in which the historical method was applied and which may be classified as products of National Socialist scholarship. Their authors, Raupach and Lades, belong to the post-war generation which, after a period of *Sturm und Drang*, found a snug harbor in Hitler's party and swallowed, though not without a shudder, its ideology. They both had held exchange scholarships in Prague. They had acquired an adequate knowledge of Czech and were able to approach the subject directly. They worked with keen interest, stimulated by the desire to penetrate to the core of the Czech national tradition. Their books had been conceived in the period of transition from protests against the "Diktat" of Versailles to action and appeared during the critical months between Munich and the invasion of Czechoslovakia. *Habent sua fata libelli*. . . .

As far as form and organization are concerned, Raupach's analysis of the origin and rise of Czech nationalism does not differ much from the standard type of German doctoral dissertation. However, he treats the subject in his specific manner. He connects the literary renaissance of the Czechs — leaving the Slovaks out of the picture — more closely with changes in the social structure of the people than had been done before. Two-thirds of his book are devoted to social and economic problems of Bohemia at the end of the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth centuries. The author has studied the social differentiation of the people, the position of the nobility, the rise of the middle class, the early industrialization of Bohemia, the lot of the peasantry and of the workers, so as to ascertain from what ground Czech political ideology grew during the early constitutional era in the Habsburg Monarchy. He has not focussed his attention on the works of scholars and writers from the early phase of the national renaissance but on the political program of Palacký and Havlíček who, in 1848, assumed the leadership of the nation. The author's comments and conclusions are the outcome of his effort to reconcile the results of his own research with the traditional German interpretation of Czech history according to which every step forward, every

achievement, must be traced back to its German source. He was largely successful in the presentation of Palacký's ideas, but Havlíček's realistic program passed his comprehension. It was possible, though not without violence, to stretch the conservative Palacký on the bed of Procrustes, but Havlíček yielded to no such experiment. For his ideas had grown from the domestic tradition and could neither be ascribed to German influences nor branded as Panslavic.

Lades' book bears all earmarks of a dissertation on a specific problem or a limited period which has been furnished with some introductory chapters, expanded here and there, and thus made ready for the press. The subject of his detailed study was the Czech policy between 1848-1866. He analyzed its relation to the centralist tendencies of the Vienna court and traced the growing concern of the Czech political leaders about the advancing unification of Germany. The attitude of the Czechs toward the "German War" in 1866 — the conflict between Austria and Prussia — has been particularly scrutinized. The relevant passages of the book have been based on unprinted documents in Prague archives to which the author had been granted free access. Those passages correspond to Raupach's monograph, *Bismarck und die Tschechen*. The result of the painstaking research into the period of the "German War" has been meagre; apart from a group of implacable foes of the House of Habsburg, Bismarck's unofficial wooing had but faint echo among the Czechs, mistrustful of the Prussian "protector."

Lades' book covers partly the same period which has been treated by Raupach's analysis of early Czech nationalism. Whereas in the latter the interest in social problems predominates, Lades' work gravitates toward political struggles. It is difficult to say in what form was compiled the original draft which the author mentions in the preface as the "Ausgangspunkt." While shaping it into the final version, he was undoubtedly influenced by the rising tide of political propaganda. His effort to grasp the meaning of the pivotal facts in the network of Czecho-German relations was impaired by the infiltration of the totalitarian ideology. More than Raupach, Lades has yielded to the slogans and watchwords of the movement. The preface, written in November 1938, opens with a commendation of the Munich pact and of the destruction of the last bulwark of the Versailles system.

The lecture by Herrmann Aubin has been conceived as an approval not only of Munich but also of the destruction of Czechoslovakia in March 1939. Its calm tone differs from the official fanfares by which the establishment of the "protectorate" was announced to the world. It has, however, been inspired by the same idea, as the official interpretation of Hitler's design. The geographical position of their homeland — thus argues Aubin — grants the Czechs only short periods of independence. Their incorporation into the German sphere of influence becomes inevitable as soon as Germany overcomes its internal weakness or disintegration.

In books and articles as well as in speeches by which the German attack on Czechoslovakia has been justified, the word "Schicksal" occurs almost in every paragraph. Destiny has drawn the course of Czecho-German relations in past centuries. Destiny has doomed Czechoslovakia to failure. Destiny leads German armies into the neighboring countries. The same fatalistic philosophy transpires from the final chapter of Lades' book and permeates Aubin's lecture.

Destiny too — we substitute this flexible word for the subservience of scholarship to the Nazi ideology — has transferred the studies of Lades and Aubin from the scientific sphere into the category of political pamphlets. They may be reliable in some facts but their conclusions are misleading and disputable.

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### A LIFE OF DVOŘÁK

PAUL STEPHAN, *The Life and Work of Anton Dvořák*, translated from the German by Y. W. Vance (New York: The Greystone Press, 1941) Pp 336.

THE Greystone Press should be congratulated on bringing to the attention of the American public the English translation of Paul Stefan's valuable monograph. The growing ranks of musically minded Americans could well afford to learn more about the Czech composer whose Symphony in E minor, "From the New World," has for decades been on the programs of American orchestral concerts, and whose familiar tonal phrases of wide appeal rarely fail to resound with new freshness of melody. The Fifth Symphony, written in 1893, and published by Simrock the following year, started Dvořák's American harvest. Unimposing though they might appear to be in numbers in comparison with Dvořák's total output, the "American" compositions marked a distinct phase in the composer's creation. The extent of the influence on Dvořák of the American musical climate was for several years a subject of some controversy. He was suspected by his critics of having "borrowed" original American melodies for his work. The New World Symphony was somewhat hastily referred to by one of his critics as "a lot of Indian music." Mr. Stefan rightly points out that the frequent repetition of tonic and dominant, together with the plagal cadence and peculiar drum rhythms, suggested a strong Amerindian music, yet the controversy, at one time rather tedious, has long been settled. Dvořák himself remarked that he had only composed in the spirit of American national melodies — a view that has become generally accepted as correct.

Dvořák has often been compared with Brahms, with whom he shared the tradition of the older period of romanticism. Both by the popular elements in his work and by the scope and the variety of his compositions, however, Dvořák approached his great contemporary, though he seldom attained Brahms' consistency of style. Dvořák, however, wrote a music that is rich in content, lively, and elementally natural. His long list of



compositions includes one hundred and fifteen annotated works created over the period from 1865 to 1904, the year of the composer's death, also thirty works without opus numbers, and fourteen unpublished pieces. In both fertility and spontaneity Dvořák ranks among the great of his era, and among the Czech composers he is the most productive and next to Smetana the most remarkable. The nine symphonies (sometimes only five are listed in an order which does not correspond with the dates of their origin), three concertos, twelve program compositions (the three Slavonic rhapsodies, four overtures, and five symphonic poems), the chamber music, songs and choral pieces, and works for piano attained a recognition and a success that was denied to his eleven operas, a field to which Dvořák was continually attracted and at which he repeatedly tried his hand. Due to the non-literary nature of his personality, and to the directness of his musical mind, Dvořák somehow failed to attain the place in operatic creation to which he undoubtedly aspired.

Mr. Stephan has written here a distinct work of love. His knowledge of the subject is beyond reproach, and his interpretation of the principal works against the background of Dvořák's reasonably happy life imparts to the biography a touch of intimacy which should appeal to both the initiated and the layman. He lays stress on Dvořák's straightforwardness and daring constructions, his beauty of melody and innate sensibility, his proverbial Slav lyricism, and the never decadent search for new paths and fresh points of departure. With all this those who know Dvořák will agree. In the concluding chapter the biographer also contributes to the once lively discussion of the relative merits of Dvořák as compared with those of Smetana. If Smetana was a thinker, the interpreter of his age to his own people, and a musician spiritualized by fighting and suffering, Dvořák was the favored child of fortune "enjoying the blessings that came to him." He was above all "the elemental artist free from artifice."

If a slight criticism were to be made, the too frequently repeated adjective "Czechish" should in any future edition be replaced by the English word "Czech." "Czechish" is a German form, and there is no justifiable excuse for using it in an English book.

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### *THE SPIRIT OF THE CZECHS*

ZDENKA and JAN MUNZER, *We Were and We Shall Be: The Czechoslovak Spirit through the Centuries*, with an introduction by Eduard Beneš (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1941) Pp. 206.

THIS volume bears the imprint of the time. Edited by a Czech journalist and his literary wife, both in exile in the United States, and prefaced by the head of the Czechoslovak government in London, it includes timely examples from Czech literature detecting the indomitable spirit of the Czech people throughout their history of twelve hundred years. In his introduction Dr. Beneš points out that the democratic and humane ideal

as expressed and defended by Czech thinkers and statesmen of all times is the essential element of Czechoslovak tradition. The definition is supported by a score of documents, translated into a succinct English, all of which are to show that the spirit of democratic belief persisted throughout the vicissitudes of the people's checkered history.

The series starts with an extract from an old legend describing the activities of the Slav missionaries of Christianity, Cyril and Methodius, in the ninth century. In the appeal dated 1278, the Czech king Premysl Otakar II asks the Polish nation for aid against Rudolph of Habsburg — a timely commentary on present-day conditions. There is a powerful expression of faith by Jan Hus, and Žižka's call to the men of Bohemia of the fifteenth century to fight the enemies of Jesus Christ. Peter Chelčický's philosophical "voice in the wilderness" and the exhortation of Karel Žerotín, the "unsuccessful appeaser" between the Czech Reformation and the Habsburgs, bear a remarkable resemblance to our own troubled years. There is the "unum necessarium" of Jan Amos Comenius, "man's own self", Havlíček's journalistic pen sharpened into sword, Jungmann's denial of life without dignity; Palacký's stand against Vienna's Germanizing policies; Rieger's political testament; Stanek's demands on behalf of the Czechs of the right of self-determination in 1917; Masaryk's interpretation of the meaning of Czech history as "a continued striving for humanity," and several other appropriately chosen examples of literary rendition of the Czech political ideals. The poet Březina, Karel Čapek, the critic F. X. Salda, Arne Novák, and others complete an impressive picture of unity of thought through the adversity of centuries. The Washington declaration of 1918, containing the principles on which the future Czechoslovak state was to rest, and the text of the 1918 constitution of the country serve to illustrate the close relationship between Czech literary inspiration and the political struggle.

JOSEPH HANČ,

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

### MASARYK'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

W. PRESTON WARREN, *Masaryk's Democracy* (Chapel Hill, N. C. University of North Carolina Press, 1941). Cloth. Pp. 238. \$2.50

BIOGRAPHIES and studies of the achievements of most of the world's leaders of a generation ago seem as out-of-date as descriptions of the diplomacy and strategy of the First World War. All except Masaryk. That sage in the role of liberator and teacher of nations saw national problems, international relations, politics, literature, and personal life *sub specie aeternitatis*, and the principles he worked out, taught and followed are as true today as they were in Plato's time, in the nineteenth century, or in 1918.

Professor Warren states his purpose: "It is time that Masaryk's whole viewpoint and philosophy were known in their totality at least to the democratic world, that open constructive diplomacy were given scientific

formulation on a soundly philosophical basis, that politics were grounded in a full philosophy of culture. This is the motif of Masaryk."

For the benefit of the non-philosophical reader, the author gives, first, a rapid sketch of the President's life, largely in the words of Masaryk's own statement when applying for the Ph.D. degree in Vienna at the age of twenty-five. This autobiographical sketch (published here for the first time) is an unassuming picture of insatiable curiosity about geography, the natural sciences, literature, languages (English, French, Russian, Latin and Greek), about the philosophy of the ancients and the mainsprings of modern life. Here appears T. G. Masaryk's life motto: "Nothing is great which is not true"

This theme runs through all that Masaryk does, through the young professor-editor's duels with the myths and prejudices of his own people, with the clergy over Professor Wahrmond, with the Habsburg régime over forgeries in Zagreb treason trials.

Masaryk's championing of democracy in practical politics thus came long before the western world heard of him. His own people and their Austrian rulers, however, knew him from the day in 1882 when he founded the *Athenaeum*, a journal devoted to the scientifically cultural education of the Czechs. "Democracy works by scientific method," wrote Masaryk. "It is the rule of men in the light of the best knowledge available — in contrast to dictatorship and absolute authority. Democracy is more than a social point of view or system. It is a whole philosophy, a complete outlook on the world and on life."

He called his political principles "Realism" and insisted that scientific government requires knowledge of all the facts — the interests and requirements of the governed, the facts of human values and relations, not the cynical disregard of the human factor shown by *Realpolitik*. He later called his political and philosophical doctrine "Humanity," which Professor Warren describes as mutuality.

In the chapter on "Democracy: Its Philosophy and Practice," the application of this Humanity in practical government is analyzed. The requirement of enlightened and fully responsible leaders, the paradox of industrialism in an individualistic culture, nationalism and internationalism, education and the press is effectively restated.

One of the most revealing instances of Masaryk's philosophical basis of democracy is found in his visits to and debates with Tolstoi in 1887 and later. "I held," writes Masaryk, "that we must resist evil always, and maintained against him (Tolstoi) that the true humanitarian aim is to be ever on the alert, to overcome the old ideals of violence, heroic deeds and martyrdom. . . . In extreme cases violence and assault must be met with steel and beaten off so as to defend others against violence." From this Warren analyzes Masaryk's insistence on the democratic necessity of self-defense and his strong advocacy of collective security in practical international affairs.

In the purely philosophical part of the volume the author finds Mas-

aryk most influenced by Brentano and Goethe, by the Czech awakeners Palacký and Havlíček, by Tolstoi and Dostoyevski. "Masaryk himself would certainly add, by his wife, Charlotte Garrigue Masaryk" — an American with a keen and sensitive mind, whose unflinching character had the deepest effect upon him

The author follows Masaryk through his publications covering wide fields of sociology, philosophical criticism, and the philosophical study of literature, culture and public life of nations like Russia, England and the United States. His critical evaluation of Plato, Hume, Kant, Comte and a score of others soon built up his own Humanitarian philosophy. His first work, *Suicide as a Social Problem of Modern Civilization* (1881), stirred Europe. His *Czech Question* (1895) challenged the Habsburg Empire. His *Philosophical and Sociological Bases of Marxism* (1899), *Critical Logic* (1887), *Modern Man and Religion* (1897), *Ideals of Humanity* (1902) were purely philosophical. His *Spirit of Russia* (1913) marked Masaryk as the most profound student of Russian thought before the World War.

Masaryk's own religious faith and his studies of religious thought are tremendously revealing. He was also deeply swayed by art, and lectured on Art in Life, even on Poetry and Politics — another proof of his versatility and his zeal in examining all phases of man's life.

T. G. Masaryk's genius was his brilliant understanding and evaluation of the ideas which lead mankind and his application of them in freeing a nation and building a young republic. It was in this practical application that he differed from most philosophers, and Dr. Warren's study of both the democratic philosophy and its application fills a long-felt need.

BRACKETT LEWIS,  
New York City.

### A CZECH STUDY OF ECONOMIC WAR

ANTONÍN BASCH, *The New Economic Warfare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941). Pp. xvi+190. \$1.75.

THIS BOOK, based on a series of lectures delivered at Columbia University in the summer of 1941, is a compact and stimulating analysis of the economic impact and significance of the present European war. Its title is somewhat misleading. To the present reviewer, economic warfare connotes the offensive measures which one state directs at the economy of another, or, *per contra*, the protective devices utilized as insulation against the economic assaults directed against it. Dr. Basch does give some attention to this aspect of his general problem. The first chapter, for example, describes in broad outline the subtle and ingenious means whereby Germany attempted to detach the economies of the Balkan and Danubian states from the world market and to attach them to her own. Such forms of economic warfare proper antedate the outbreak of military hostilities. They go back at least to 1933, and Dr. Basch quite properly

places them in the setting of economic disequilibrium created by the last war and exacerbated by the world depression

But the author's main concern is a larger one within which the former is included. The book really analyzes the new economics of war, by which is meant the technique of economic mobilization, the redirection of national energies and resources from peacetime to wartime purposes, and the progressive impact of total war upon a national economy. In this respect, the peculiar interest of the book lies not so much in the general outline of war economics, with which most economists are familiar, as in the wealth of detail from German and central European sources, in the differences of approach and emphasis discernible in the war economies of the various powers, and in the novelty of technique and objective characteristic of the present war

The world has moved far from the summer of 1914 when Imperial Germany counted the treasure at Spandau as part of its *potentiel de guerre*, and economists and statesmen were convinced of the financial impossibility of a long war. What was stored before the outbreak of the Hitlerian war was not "treasure," but commodities; and, if anything has become clear by now, it is the wholly subservient character of mere financial considerations. The ultimate extreme of the new economics of war is very simple: the payment of individual incomes more or less regardless of work performed; the direction of individual services into necessary activities regardless of remuneration; and the strictest control over the distribution of goods. The fact that no nation has reached this extreme does not conceal its essentially totalitarian character. The instinctive recognition of this is usually alleged as the reason for democratic dilatoriness in meeting the German threat. The tantalizingly brief description (pp. 27-28) of Czechoslovakian defense measures from as far back as 1936 suggests that a democracy need not necessarily extinguish itself in self-defense. Dr. Basch does no more than skirt the point, but his discussion does imply that inertia and myopia rather than organic comparative inefficiency explain the delay in democratic counter-mobilization. The Germans talk in terms of *Wehrwirtschaft*; Anglo-Saxons, following the French, are still prone to place their faith in *potentiel de guerre*, as if some alchemy of events would suffice to quicken the potential with life.

The book closes with a chapter on the transition from war back to peace. An exposure of the implications of the *New Order* is followed by an interesting discussion of the possibilities of democratic reconstruction. It is unfair to expect more extended treatment of a topic beyond the scope of the author's general subject, but the suggestiveness of the final chapter leads the reviewer to hope that sometime Dr. Basch will expand the outline here sketched out.

The book is well-arranged and well-documented; and for so compact and meaty an essay, it is exceptionally readable.

GEORGE P. ADAMS, JR.,  
Cornell University.

## A MAGYAR STUDY OF TRANSYLVANIA

*Siebenburgen* (Published by the Hungarian Historical Society, Budapest). [Budapest], 1940. Pp 310, maps, plates.

THIS handsome volume, issued simultaneously in Hungarian, German, and Italian editions, preceded by just one month the Vienna award which returned to Hungary the northern portion of Transylvania. Prepared doubtless in anticipation of territorial changes, it is both an apologia and a summation of the Hungarian revisionist viewpoint. This statement is not intended to minimize the solid value of the work, but rather to place it in its proper historical setting. It represents a culmination of the revisionist writing of twenty years, and it necessarily recognizes the fact that the overthrow of the Trianon settlement is to be accomplished not by the friendly interest of the Rothermeres and Bandholtzes and their fellow-nationals, but by sharp oscillations of the Axis. A sentence in the preface to this volume clearly indicates the tack pursued by Hungarian publicists since the rise of Germany to dominance on the continent: "Wir übergeben die Reihe dieser Studien mit ruhigem Gewissen und stolzem Bewusstsein den Söhnen des befreundeten deutschen Volkes, die Ungarn in seinen Schicksalsstunden so warmes Verständnis entgegenbringen." The chaotic condition of Rumania, caught between commitments to the Little Entente and German pressure internal and external, was probably the final incentive to publication of this revisionist *chef d'oeuvre*.

The contents of the volume fall into seven categories, not the least important being the maps and illustrations; they show comprehensively the historical and ethnographic matters dealt with in the text. There are numerous reproductions of engravings and lithographs from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, and representative paintings by Transylvanian artists. The essays deal with the geographical unity of the land, the history of Transylvania in ancient times and its settlement by the three nationalities, the development of social and political life in the Hungarian province, a survey of the arts, and a concluding section on the two decades of Rumanian domination. With the exception of the last, the prefatory statement, "Gelehrte, die dieses Werk geschaffen haben, verstehen sich nicht auf Propaganda," is remarkably well borne out.

Perhaps the most distinguished contributors to the volume are Count Pál Teleki, and Professors Bálint Hóman, Elemér Mályusz, Imre Lukinich, and Lajos Tamás. Count Teleki has an essay on the position of Transylvania in Hungary and in Europe — the last article written before his untimely death. The essays by Professor Tamás on the Rumanians and the beginnings of their literary culture are particularly praiseworthy; they bring to mind the service performed by Transylvanian Rumanians in offsetting the blight of Fanariot rule in Wallachia and Moldavia. Objectivity undergoes a slight decline in the articles dealing

with Transylvania in the post-war period, especially in András Rónai's comparison of the nationality policies of Hungary and Rumania. It is to be regretted that no treatment of the political and social history of Transylvania during the period of dualism appears in the book.

All in all, this volume is the most interesting and illuminating survey of the history of Transylvania yet produced. Despite its publication in a time of bitterness and distrust, it should engage attention because of its comprehensiveness and the unusually fine list of collaborating authors.

HENRY MILLER MADDEN,  
Stanford University

### NEREJ

H. H. STAHL AND OTHERS, *Nerej, un Village d'une Région Archaïque* (Bucharest. Institut de Sciences Sociales de Roumanie, 1939) 3 vols, pp xxiii, 405, 322, 402

FROM 1925 through 1938 the Rumanian Institute of Social Sciences, under the leadership of Professor Dimitrie Gusti, devoted each summer to the study of a Rumanian village. A typical field-group included not only sociologists and students of musical, artistic, and literary folklore, but historians, economists, political scientists, farm experts, and others, all working together, with a unified approach and through the constant interchange of materials assembled in a common fund, to build up a total picture of the village, a picture not attainable by the efforts of any one specialist alone.<sup>1</sup> Over a period of fourteen years the Gusti group succeeded in investigating the most diverse types of Rumanian villages, in many regions of the country. Partial results of these researches have appeared from time to time in *Arhiva pentru știința socială* and in *Sociologie românească*. Just as the war broke out, the Institute had begun the publication of a series of complete monographs of individual villages, one of which was devoted to the village of Nerej.

The region of Vrancea, in which Nerej is located, has long attracted the attention of historians, for it represented, until 1840, an isolated peasant republic of mountaineers, who had fought off the attempts of boyars to subject it to their control and to the institutions of serfdom. The collectivity of the Vrancea was the proprietor of the soil until 1818, when its territory was divided out among groups of villages inhabiting its several valleys; still more recently attempts have been made to assign separate holdings to the individual villages, including that of Nerej. Parallel to this series of changes, the process of the displacement of the customary-law concept of the precarious leasehold and the penetration of the Roman-law concept of full individual property can be traced in detail. Thus great interest attaches to Vrancea's having been preserved

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed account of the methods of the Rumanian school of sociology see "The Sociological School of Dimitrie Gusti," *Sociological Review*, xxviii (1936), 149-165, and "A New Rumanian Journal of Rural Sociology," *Rural Sociology*, ii (1937), 457-465.

until recently as a kind of "social fossil," and in the late penetration of the modern state and of capitalism into its society.

Even in the decades prior to the emancipation of the boyars' serfs under Cuza, about one-third of the Rumanian peasants had managed to preserve their traditional freedom; these "răzeși" and "moșneni" have continued to live in "genealogical" villages. The hereditary free peasants commonly possess the plowland and the village site in accordance with the reckoning of inheritance from one or more founders of the village, similarly, they share, in accordance with their inheritance portions, in the product of the undivided parts of the village lands, principally meadows, pastures and forests. This peasant theory of the "founding fathers" has hitherto been accepted as an historical fact adequate to explain the present status and structure of these free villages, rather than being treated as a rather belated and purposeful social creation. The great merit of the present study of Nerej, which has been directed by H. H. Stahl and executed by him and by numerous collaborating specialists, is that it traces the structure and operation of a peasant community which has never been based on the principle of the genealogical village. Only in recent times was an attempt made at Nerej to introduce some concepts typical of the village of "răzeși," and this attempt failed when it ran up against the communal but non-genealogical traditions of the Vrancea. In place of the traditional conception of the genealogical village, Mr. Stahl outlines a most interesting hypothesis of his own to explain more realistically the genesis of the villages of "răzeși" and "moșneni." His hypothesis deserves to be examined more fully than is possible here, in the light of the studies of the *zadruga* type of village, found in many parts of the Balkans, and of the "family-hamlet," typical of the Russian village prior to the development of the *mir*.

In stressing the importance to historians of this pioneer study in "social archaeology," the reviewer is in danger of omitting all mention of other aspects of the life of Nerej, among them, the geographical setting and the changing impact on it of the village economy as Nerej has shifted from a pastoral way of life to the exploitation of its forests; the composition of the population, its housing and diet; the school and the church; popular cosmography and medicine, the sociological study of folk music and folk literature; the exploitation of the plowland, meadows, pastures and forests; commerce and handicrafts, the juridical and administrative life of Nerej; the evolution of the family; the struggle for private *vs.* communal control of the pastures and forests. Through this objective investigation of a village at once archaic and backward, the study of Nerej is a distinct contribution to the literature of village sociology and of social history; its appearance is a real tribute to the achievements of the Gusti school of social research.

PHILIP E. MOSELY,  
Cornell University.



## HUNGARIAN DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS

*Papers and Documents Relating to the Foreign Relations of Hungary* Published by the Royal Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs Collected and Edited by Professor Francis Deák, Columbia University, New York, and Dezso Ujváry, Secretary of Legation, Budapest. Volume I, 1919-1920 Budapest, Royal Hungarian University Press, New York, Columbia University Press, American Agent, 1939 Pp. xxii, 1079 \$5 00 With a preface by Count Stephen Csáky, Minister for Foreign Affairs

ACCORDING to Count Csáky's preface, these documents were made available in order "to facilitate the objective study of international law and relations," and "to indicate a new path which scholars everywhere may pursue in their study of the complex problems of a comparatively little known, though much discussed, area of the European continent." In all there are some 895 documents, which begin with August 1919 and close with December 31, 1920, covering the period of the downfall of Béla Kun's Soviet regime in Hungary and the beginning of "constitutional government" to the era immediately following the ratification of the Treaty of Trianon.

The Hungarian documents are especially interesting for the light they throw on the negotiations for the Treaty of Trianon and on the development of French policy in Central and Eastern Europe, under Maurice Paléologue, then Secretary-General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Magyar delegates felt the terms of the Treaty of Trianon to be so severe that they resigned rather than advise signature, despite Allied pressure, and the Hungarian parliament approved signature only on June 4, 1920 and ratification was completed only on November 15 following.

But more interesting, because hitherto unknown, were the private conversations and negotiations of the Hungarian agents in Paris, M. Halmos and Praznovszky, with MM. Paléologue and Sauveur, the latter a director of Schneider-Creusot. Paléologue intended to base the French Central and Eastern European policy on the stability of the Hungarian Kingdom rather than on the new succession communities of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia or Rumania, and there were hints of a possible economic federation in the Danube region under some sort of French and Magyar leadership. In return for French economic control (Schneider-Creusot) over Magyar railways and other interests, Paléologue was to secure concessions in the treaty for Hungary. But these negotiations finally fell through when Paléologue was replaced as Secretary-General at the Quai d'Orsay by M. Berthelot in the latter part of September 1920. Meanwhile, the foundations of the Little Entente, to which Paléologue was opposed, were being firmly laid. It is interesting to note that, if the Paléologue interlude meant anything at all, it effectively disposes of the old myth that the Little Entente in origin was a mere tool of French foreign policy for the control and domination of Central Europe. Students of the problem will now be able to compare these docu-

ments with the Czechoslovak White Books dealing with the origins of the Little Entente

The documents relate to a whole host of miscellaneous subjects—the problem of minorities, the persecution of Magyars in the succession states, the division of state properties, the trend of Austrian policy, soldiers and war prisoners, atrocities, etc. Aside from the basic documents there are three appendices. Appendix I contains excerpts from *The Political Diary of the Hungarian Peace Delegation*, which was kept upon Count Apponyi's instructions by Count Stephen Csáky, then Secretary of the Royal Hungarian Peace Delegation. Appendix II embodies the *Statutes Enacted by the National Assembly* (1920), on the return to constitutional government. Appendix III contains *Excerpts from Debates in the National Assembly* (1920), which are especially valuable for the pronouncements of Count Teleki on foreign policy during this critical period.

There can be no doubt of the tremendous value of this volume, and no question as to the new and indispensable light which it throws on the complicated problems of Hungary and Central Europe in the period immediately following the World War of 1914–1918. The volume is excellently edited, though it might have been well to have arranged the documents in a topical manner, somewhat after the fashion of the U. S. *Foreign Relations* series. There are two splendid and full indices, one of personal and geographical names, the other a subject index. There is also a brief but very useful Chronology of Events Affecting the Period Covered by This Volume, October 30, 1918–November 15, 1920. Since the documents which originally were in the Magyar language have been translated into English, the volume contains materials in English, French and German.

HARRY N. HOWARD,  
Miami University,  
Oxford, Ohio.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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The Managing Editor of the SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW (American Series) regrets to announce the death, in line of duty, of Mr. Harold R. Weinstein, Harvard 1927, the author of a well-documented article on "Language and Education in the Soviet Ukraine," which appeared in our first American issue. Mr. Weinstein left his teaching post at Brooklyn College to enter the service of the U. S. War Shipping Board, and met his death in an air attack on the convoy with which he was proceeding to Archangel in May, 1942. Mr. Weinstein was a promising student of minorities in the U S S.R.

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The Managing Editor of the SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW (American Series) regrets to announce the unexpected death, on January 18, 1943, of Professor Samuel Northrup Harper, of the University of Chicago. Professor Harper's distinguished services on behalf of Slavic studies, and particularly in the dissemination, throughout the United States, of a sympathetic knowledge of the Russian people, their institutions, and their language, are familiar to every scholar in the field, both in this country and abroad. An appreciation of Professor Harper by Sir Bernard Pares is printed below.

### PROFESSOR SAMUEL NORTHRUP HARPER

I write under the first but indelible impression of the loss of an essential piece out of my own life. It is ill that, at this moment of all others, American scholarship can spare the work of Samuel N. Harper, but he goes at a time when that work has received its most solid justification.

President Harper, builder of Chicago University, must have been a man of very rare insight. Going to Russia with Mr. Charles R. Crane well before that country had caught the limelight, he decided that here was the best field for his son's scholarly labors, and in his last illness he wrote to Samuel that the one thing he wanted was that

they should continue without interruption. From his Mother, a lady of great character and judgment, he always received the same active encouragement, and they lived together till her death not long ago.

Harper began his special Russian apprenticeship at Maxim Kovalevski's Higher School in Paris. He was early the American adapter of the substantial *Russian Reader* of Boyer and Speransky, and this, like all that came from him, was a sound piece of work. He got a short taste of the mother university of Russia, that of Moscow, and, like myself, came straight in 1906 to the first Russian Duma of which we attended practically all the sittings. We were students of history, not newspaper correspondents, and I suggested that we should live and work together for a week. This close partnership, in one form or another, continued up to now. I have received several invaluable letters from him since I came over here this time, and next Sunday we were to have played a duet on the Chicago radio.

We worked out a curious procedure of our own. Together we approached everyone who seemed to be taking an important part in the public life of that stirring time, not as interviewers but as students of history. This appealed to Russians, and they told us without reserve what they stood for and what part they had played. Milyukov, I remember, gave us ten sittings. We were really capturing their memoirs before they were written, with the great advantage of cross-examining the future writers, which was never resented. We were both rigorously non-party, we kept all their confidences, and I am sure they spoke to us with a freedom which they could hardly have used with those who were participators in their battle. We even received cards from the most various leaders to tell their friends that we could be trusted. Every conversation we copied out in *précis* before we went to bed, each of us serving as recorder of the other's work. In the more important cases we made our visits together, so that we could correct each other's impressions. When we wrote, we claimed to speak only on our own authority. As may be imagined, by the time we met say, the fifth participant in an important conference, it was possible to suggest corrections which were accepted. Maurice Baring of England and Harold Williams of New Zealand also worked closely with us, and there were occasions of crisis when we invited the regular correspondents for a pooling of our common knowledge.

Harper and I also travelled extensively together in the country.

We were always happiest when we had turned our backs on the swamp of St. Petersburg and were voyaging casually through some county by cart with our queer luggage, seeing everyone in it who could have any interest for us — squire, priest, doctor, school-mistress, or peasant elders. Apart from his fresh and boyish enjoyment of all the things we saw and all the people we met, he was in every way the ideal travelling companion and the most practical of partners. At Saratov on the Lower Volga I had reason to think I was in for the endemic cholera — it was really my first attack of appendicitis. Harper found a doctor, and his travelling medicine chest did the rest.

We shared plenty of amusing experiences. There was the time when Milyukov brought us the secret political record of the professional associations, which were the first Trade Unions in Russia: we put off all other work till the expected moment when we were called upon to give it back at once. Harper was particularly strong in the preservation of records, and after the forcible dissolution of the Second Duma we put on our best clothes and as "historical investigators" visited in turn the various party-headquarters to take over what might otherwise have been destroyed before the inevitable visit of the police. Together we studied on the spot the anti-Jewish pogroms and the agrarian riots and beginnings of independent self-government in the chaos of 1905. Sometimes, in our objective evening recordings, we stopped to smile at the fantastic experiences through which, as observers, we could not help passing. Anyhow, our school for the understanding of Russia was life itself.

For a time, Harper came and worked with me in Liverpool University during the period of its exceptional bloom, the days of John Macdonald Mackay, Charles Sherrington, Kuno Meyer, Oliver Elton and Charles Reilly — all great builders in their prime. "Harper carries guns" was what one of them said of him. He was lecturer in Russian legal and institutional history. Later, he returned to Chicago as professor of Russian language and institutions. He built up a sound department with the highest standard of thoroughness and accuracy. He never himself attempted anything which he could not do really well. Of the language, though he was not a philologist, he had a complete knowledge, and spoke Russian with the same ease as English. He did not travel far into Russian literature; that he left to others. In the institutions he was entirely at home; of Russian economics

his knowledge was more than competent; his understanding of Russian history and of the Russian people was exceptional. In all his many activities — for his advice was constantly sought — he was the true and faithful servant of two great peoples, the Russian and his own. He may be said to have signally realized the ideal best defined by another American scholar, Professor Theodore Collyer, of “bringing a remote and unknown subject under the best standards worked out for the known ones.” All his work will last, and his students could not fail to be scholars. He was not a copious writer. His sketch of the second Russian electoral law (of 1907) was a complete monograph. He also analyzed the all too extensive system of “exceptional laws” which superseded the practice of the Statute Book. Later, his *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*, though a little overloaded, is a standard work. His *Making Bolsheviks* is lighter and more suggestive.

Ordinarily Harper was very cautious; and this was all the wiser in view of the bewildering changes through which the Russia of our time was passing. Nearly all the chief figures of Russian politics disappeared from public life with the Revolution, and Harper rendered a genuine public service by his continued visits to the country and his patient and thorough investigations of the new regime and its working. It was these that enabled him to sense so well in advance those developments which to less-equipped students have come as a surprise — in particular the reversion to a healthy patriotism with the defeat of Trotsky by Stalin and the magnificent resistance of the Red Army in the last 18 months. Harper could see these things coming because, while always maintaining his freedom from parties and prejudices, he was a devoted but intelligent friend of the Russian people.

Harper was from the first a contributing editor of this REVIEW, then published in London. It was that teacher of teachers, Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, who designated him for this role.

BERNARD PARES

Montreal,  
January 24, 1943.

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# THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

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## THE SHORNIKOVA AFFAIR

By ALFRED LEVIN

THE INTENSE development of the Russian revolutionary movement in the first years of the present century created something akin to a war psychology in governmental and revolutionary circles. However concerned, or unconcerned, the popular masses may have been in this struggle, the groups at the extreme left and the bureaucracy sought more or less to exterminate each other. And neither side was particularly squeamish about the means employed to attain its ends. On the one side, the mildest weapon was calumny; assassination the worst. And the government ran the whole gamut from police surveillance to overhasty courts-martial. The conscientious citizenry, shocked, stormed at both elements for threatening the "state order" with anarchy. But because of its demoralizing influence in both governmental and revolutionary circles, moderate elements regarded the employment of the police informer and provocateur as especially reprehensible.

With the intensification of revolutionary and terroristic activities which marked the Revolution of 1905, the police spy system was developed with corresponding energy. As a result of that rebellion, the government had also to contend with the constitutional movement which had won no little success in wresting the promise of civil liberties and representative government on a national scale from the autocracy. The "highest spheres," those nearest the throne, opposed all concessions. And when the tsar yielded to the practical Witte they strove to regain what they might as the popular movement abated. They had little difficulty in dissolving the unparliamentary and chaotic First Duma, especially since the leftist extremists boycotted it. But the more representative Second Duma was elected by all shades

of political opinion, had wider popular support, and, for a time, its existence seemed secure as Premier Stolypin attempted to conciliate it and consequently protected it. But the differences between the population and the administration on social and political reform were so great that cooperation seemed impossible. The activities of the extreme Left also helped to support this view. Therefore, yielding to pressure from above, to a fear that even his limited constitutional views might be discarded, and to a concern for his political position, Stolypin sought to dissolve the Second Duma and legally or otherwise to "rig" the election laws in order to insure the election of a moderate, pliable parliament.

In the immediate offensive against both revolutionary and parliamentary movements Okhrana agent Ekaterina Shornikova played an important part; so significant in fact, that her very existence was to vex both revolutionary and high administrative circles for almost a decade. Her career strikingly illustrated the pitfalls of the police "information" system for all concerned: agent, revolutionary, and government. Police floundered about in confusion, cabinets showed remarkable concern for the fate of a minor official, and Duma oppositions flung charges at the government and clamored for vengeance.<sup>1</sup>

In 1905, at the age of twenty-two, Shornikova was an active member of the Kazan Social-Democratic organization. But by 1906, apparently yearning for a more stable existence, she betook herself to St. Petersburg to study law. Her past record remained, however, to plague her. For she was soon arrested by the capital police, at the request of the Kazan Provincial Gendarme Administration, for an incendiary contribution to a Social Revolutionary newspaper. Her weak character quickly revealed itself, for after some questioning and coaxing at police and Okhrana headquarters she was prevailed upon to enter that branch of the secret service which dealt with the activities of the Social-Democratic party.<sup>2</sup>

Shornikova was soon in the heart of affairs and proved a most valuable source of information for the government. She moved among revolutionary groups and, with the consent of the Okhrana, joined the local Social-Democratic Party, took up propaganda work among the soldiers and, apparently having had some experience as a sten-

<sup>1</sup> The writer has already presented that part of Shornikova's career which is connected with the dissolution of the Second Duma in *The Second Duma* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 311-314. Shornikova's story is to be found in her testimony to the St. Petersburg police on June 25, 1913. See *Padenie tsarskogo režima* (cited hereafter as *Padenie*), Leningrad and Moscow, 1924-1927, v, 94-98; *Krasny Arkhiv*, xvi, 94-97. Summaries of her activities are also to be found in *Padenie*, iii, 426-427, 456-457.

<sup>2</sup> *Padenie*, v, 94-95; *ibid.*, iii, 4, 5.

ographer, became secretary of the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic Military Organization. Thus she found it a simple matter to supply the Okhrana with a complete list of the branches of the Military Organization, the leaders of the St. Petersburg group and its complete archives.<sup>3</sup>

But her crowning contribution was the "instruction" of the Military Organization to the Social-Democratic deputies of the Second Duma. This had been drawn up as a result of a secret meeting of the organization on April 29, 1907, attended by Social-Democratic deputy L. F. Gerus, with the aim of establishing closer relations between the Marxist fraction and the St. Petersburg garrison. Written by a student, V. S. Voitinski, on May 3, it urged the Social-Democratic deputies to win the support of these strategically located army units by raising questions in the Duma concerning their personal needs and sufferings, and by establishing direct relations with the army in order to learn more of its grievances. On their side the "army divisions" promised to support the fraction should the government try to drive it out for these activities.<sup>4</sup>

A delegation was appointed to present this instruction at fraction headquarters on May 5, and to render it less suspicious, Shornikova was chosen to direct it. She kept the government well informed on all of these matters. When she presented the police with a copy of the instruction, the government was prepared to take steps to precipitate the dissolution of the Second Duma. It planned to apprehend the delegation at the fraction's headquarters, charge the Social-Democrats with participation in a criminal society, demand that the Duma surrender them for trial, and on receiving the expected refusal, to dissolve parliament.<sup>5</sup>

Having ascertained the time of the projected visit from Shornikova, the Okhrana ordered a raid on the fraction's headquarters on the Nevski Prospekt. But nothing seemed to proceed according to the plans evolved by the police department. For when the soldiers' delegation arrived and presented the instruction, the suspicious and nervous deputies immediately concealed it in a portfolio, promised to

<sup>3</sup> These archives were in the government's hands a month before the Organization was "liquidated," *ibid*, v, 94-95; *ibid*, iii, 156; *Byloe*, No. 14, 1912, 164.

<sup>4</sup> *Padenie*, iii, 456; *ibid*, v, 95; *Krasny Arkhiv*, xvi, 78-80, 84-85; V. S. Voitinski, *Gody pobed i porazhenii*, Berlin, 1924, ii, 201-204; *Byloe*, No. 14, 1912, 161-162.

<sup>5</sup> Voitinski, *Gody pobed i porazhenii* ii, 204; *Krasny Arkhiv*, xvi, 85; *ibid*, xliii, 59, *Padenie*, iii, 4, 95-96, 405, 406, 428, 456; *Byloe*, No. 14, 1912, 141, 144, 135; *Gosudarstvennaja Duma, II Sozvy, stenograficheskie otcety*, ii, 1487-1488 (hereafter cited as *Sten. ot.*), V. N. Kokovtsov, *Out of My Past* (Palo Alto, 1935), p. 184. According to Article 16 of the Duma Statute, no deputy might be arrested without the consent of the Duma. See *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiskoi Imperii, Sobranie tretje*, xxvi, No. 27424.

consider it, and ushered the group out at once. Therefore, when the police arrived, there were neither soldiers nor instructions in evidence. After a night-long debate with the fraction involving the prosecutor of the St. Petersburg Supreme Court and a flying visit to the Minister of Justice, the police were forced to withdraw without having searched the premises because of the parliamentary immunity of the deputies. A raid on May 8 yielded much documentary material compiled and received by the party, but not the all-important "instruction."<sup>6</sup> Thus, it was on the basis of the copy presented by Shornikova that the government accused the Social-Democrats in the Duma on May 31, of having conspired with a military group to organize a mutiny in the army. And on the basis of this accusation and of charges that the Social-Democratic Party sought to overthrow the government and to establish a democratic republic, the Ministry of Justice demanded that the Duma quickly consent to the arrest of the fraction.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, when the committee selected by the Duma to sift the charges did not report on the following day, Stolypin dissolved the Second Duma and drastically changed the electoral law, in violation of the constitution, to rid the Duma of a preponderance of liberal and revolutionary elements. A wholesale roundup and arrest of the Social-Democratic deputies and members of the Military Organization was simultaneously carried out. These were tried in November and, with a few exceptions, were sent to prison and Siberia.<sup>8</sup> Parliamentary government and Social-Democracy both suffered severe setbacks.

But having substantially aided the government, Shornikova soon found herself involved in grave difficulties. On the day following the visit to the deputies, Colonel Elenski, Shornikova's superior in the Okhrana, hurriedly summoned her to a "conspirative" apartment and informed her that one of the military group, the sailor Arkhipov, had been taken to police headquarters in an inebriated state after a brawl at the navy yard. Believing that he had been summoned for his

<sup>6</sup> *Padenie*, III, 4, 152; *ibid.*, v, 96; *Krasny Arkhiv*, XVI, 80-81, *ibid.*, XLIII, 81-83; A. Zurabov, *Vtoraja gosudarstvennaja дума*, p. 84; *Byloe*, No. 14, 154-155, 156. *Sten. ot.*, II, 203-207, 212-213, 1490; V. Mandel'berg, *Iz perežitogo*, pp. 141-143; *Tovarišč*, May 9, 1907, p. 7; *ibid.*, May 6, 1907, p. 2; *Reč*, May 6, 1907, p. 3, *ibid.*, May 9, 1907, pp. 2, 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Padenie*, III, 5, *Krasny Arkhiv*, XLIII, 59; *Sten. ot.*, II, 1481, 1482-1575. The charges concerning the plot to establish a democratic republic were based on party programs, brochures, and manuscripts found in the fraction's headquarters. See the "Order" for the arrest of the deputies, *ibid.*, 1482-1575.

<sup>8</sup> *Krasny Arkhiv*, XLIII, 72-89; *ibid.*, v, 113-114; Kokovtsov, *Out of My Past*, p. 185; *Sten. ot.*, II, 1606, 1609-1610; *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoi Imperii*, XXXVII, Nos. 29241, 29242; *Reč*, June 5, 1907, p. 3; *Tovarišč*, June 5, 1907, pp. 3, 4; *ibid.*, June 6, 1907, p. 3; *ibid.*, June 9, 1907, p. 3. See government communique on the trial, *Reč*, December 2, 1907, p. 3, and communications in *Reč* and *Tovarišč* on the trial from November 23, to December 2, 1907, inclusive.

political activities he had revealed the personnel of the delegation. Elenski warned her that she now faced search and arrest.<sup>9</sup> The fact was that the St. Petersburg judicial authorities of the Ministry of Justice, whose duty it was to arrest her, did not know that Shornikova was a government agent. The Okhrana (of the Ministry of the Interior) did not find it necessary or advisable to inform them. But Elenski promised her that she should have ample time to escape. And having solicited a paltry thirty-five rubles from him, Shornikova returned to her native Kazan.<sup>10</sup>

When faced with this sort of problem, the Okhrana reasoned quite logically that it would never be able to enlist agents should it expose them to arrest when their tasks were done. This practice could not be justified from a legal viewpoint, but it was eminently practical. And Stolypin's circular of 1907, embodying a guiding executive principle valid to the end of the Old Régime, informed the various police agencies that, without agents who participated in criminal societies, political investigation would be impossible. And they had, above all, to keep the security of the existing order foremost in mind.<sup>11</sup>

For Shornikova, life during the following six years became a veritable nightmare of insecurity. In constant fear of arrest on the one hand, and of the revolutionaries on the other, she wandered up and down the great valley between the Volga and the Urals. But nowhere could she remain for long. The government continued its dual policy of preferring charges against her while protecting and, at times, supporting her. When, on August 3, 1907, the St. Petersburg judicial inspector learned of Shornikova's presence in Kazan, he ordered the local gendarmerie to arrest her. Elenski warned her, and on September 21 she sought out the head of the Provincial Gendarme Administration, Kalinin, to explain her plight. Kalinin, perplexed, informed both the St. Petersburg headquarters of the gendarmerie and the Okhrana of her appearance, relayed the story she had given him of her activities in the capital earlier in the year, and asked for verification of her statement. He added that she now sought certification of her "political trustworthiness" in order to retain a position she had obtained with the Red Cross. The police department considered the matter at its leisure and finally, on November 20, 1907, informed Kalinin that she might be so recommended.<sup>12</sup>

But Shornikova's security was short-lived. Apparently finding her position in Kazan untenable, she applied for an appointment as a

<sup>9</sup> *Padenie*, III, 456, *ibid.*, v, 96.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 7-8; 153, 222-223, 455, 456; *ibid.*, v, 96.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 7, 117-118, 154-155, 222.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 224, 225-226; *ibid.*, v, 90-92.

secret agent, and on March 19, 1908, she was told to prepare for a journey to Vladivostok. Yet the police issued no further instructions, and a visit by Shornikova to St. Petersburg produced no tangible results. Then her chances of obtaining a post in the Far East were completely destroyed when the police department suddenly issued a circular on August 2, 1908, ordering her arrest for participating in the delegation of May 5, 1907, to the Social-Democratic fraction. For Shornikova was, with one exception (Kutyrev), the only member of the Military Organization to escape arrest. In order to allay the suspicions of her sometime revolutionary colleagues, the government felt that it had to make some show of prosecuting her. But whatever the motives behind its measures, they were none the less official and valid, and placed both the government and its agent in a most awkward position.<sup>13</sup>

Since there was little to hope for from St. Petersburg, Shornikova moved down the Volga valley to Samara. But receiving little more than sympathy from the local gendarme department, she proceeded eastward to Ufa for a longer sojourn. Here she was accepted as a police agent. But when it became apparent that Ufa was a hotbed of revolutionaries, she resumed her travels, and November, 1910, found her, ill from anxiety, applying to police headquarters at St. Petersburg for three hundred rubles, on the basis of her Okhrana service. This, she explained, was needed as a pledge for a post in a government wine-shop. The police again confirmed her statement, and the sum was forthcoming. But Shornikova seems never to have occupied her new post. For some months later she found employment as secretary to a local lawyer. And to conceal her identity she had married a machinist, one Yudkevich.<sup>14</sup>

Shornikova seemed well along the road toward assuming a normal, settled existence when larger events, quite beyond her control, precipitated a storm which broke over her hapless head. In August, 1911, one Boleslav Brodski, an Okhrana agent who had deserted his post at Harbin and gone abroad in the previous year, began a strenuous campaign for his reinstatement in the secret service. He pointed out that revolutionary circles abroad who knew his past were pressing him to make sensational revelations and implied that he might be forced to heed their importunities should the government not come to his aid. He approached the foreign offices of the police department and his former director in the Okhrana for a chance to interview high police officials. And finally, he turned directly to the

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 227; *ibid.*, v, 92-93, 96-97; *Býloe*, No. 14, 1912, 164.

<sup>14</sup> *Pudenie*, III, 227, 454-456; *ibid.*, v, 97.



Ministry of the Interior, pointing out his past service and the danger he ran of assassination by revolutionaries. But the administration remained unmoved. It was suspicious of his connection with the revolutionaries and regarded his petitions as something of an attempt at blackmail. Therefore it left them unanswered.<sup>15</sup> Brodski then made good his threats. In the Social-Revolutionary periodical *Budushci* (1911, No. 4), published in Paris by V. L. Burtsev, Brodski made public a letter which he had written to the Ministry of Justice on September 15, 1911. Here he maintained that, as a member of the bureau of the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic Military Organization, he had been commissioned in 1907 by Director of the St. Petersburg Okhrana, Gerasimov, to establish an "artificial" connection between the Social-Democratic fraction and the party military organizations by "planting" documents in the fraction headquarters. The Okhrana, he revealed, was well informed of the intentions of the military group, and contended that Gerasimov saw the original copy of the "instruction." He identified himself as the leader of the delegation and now requested a judicial review of all political affairs which he had "artificially" created, including that of the Social-Democrats of the Second Duma.<sup>16</sup>

Public opinion was astounded. Everyone associated the arrest of the Social-Democrats with the dissolution of the Second Duma and the electoral law of June 3, 1907. And it was easy to recall that at the time liberal and revolutionary deputies had seriously doubted that the charges against the deputies had any factual basis. The Social-Democratic fraction in the Third Duma took advantage of the popular uproar to present an urgent interpellation to the Ministers of the Interior and of Justice on November 15, 1911. They reviewed the events revolving around the dissolution of the Second Duma, the arrest of the deputies, their trial and incarceration. They maintained that the entire matter had been engineered by the St. Petersburg

<sup>15</sup> *Krasny Arkhiv*, xvi, 77, 98-99.

<sup>16</sup> *Krasny Arkhiv*, xvi, 77-78, 99-100; *Free Russia*, January, 1912, 7-8. It may be noted that Brodski implies that he played approximately the same role in the affair of the Social-Democratic fraction that Shornikova claimed. However, as noted below, in the text, Gerasimov and Elenski denied that Brodski played any significant part in the affair. Moreover, Shornikova's story is corroborated in whole and in part by Gerasimov's report to the judicial inspector on May 16, 1907, *Krasny Arkhiv*, xvi, 85; by the police report on an interpellation presented to the Fourth Duma, *ibid.*, xvi, 106, 108, 109; by Gerasimov's testimony before the Extraordinary Investigating Committee of the Provisional Government, *Padenie*, III, 4-7; by police advice to Kalinin in Kazan in a telegram dated November 20, 1907, *ibid.*, v, 91-92; by the police report of May 18, 1907 on the Military Organization, *ibid.*, v, 92-93; and by Feldman's testimony as repeated in the indictment of the Social-Democratic deputies, *Byloe*, No. 14, 1912, 144.

Okhrana, as revealed in Brodski's petition to the Ministers of Interior and of Justice of August 18, 1911. And they charged that all of these acts were but a preparation for the government's chief aim, the dissolution of the Duma, which they termed a "government revolution" and an application of "crude force" to the electors of the people. This, the Social-Democrats declared, was only one example of the system of provocation which played an important part in all government activity. They asked the government if it knew the facts and what it was going to do about arresting the guilty and doing justice in the affair of the Social-Democratic fraction.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, in a moment, the whole questionable affair of the dissolution of the Second Duma threatened to become a matter for the widest public discussion and analysis. The supporters of the parliamentary system established by the law of June 3, 1907, alarmed at the prospect, closed ranks. And they exerted every effort to soften the tone of the interpellation and to keep its contents a secret within the Duma until such time as they might refute its charges through the Committee on Interpellations. Accordingly, the Social-Democrats were forced to present their interpellation three times on November 15 and 16 in modified and condensed form. For each time that it was offered, the President of the Duma, Rodzyanko, would allow the interpellation to be read and considered only in a secret session because of its contents. In taking this action, he had the backing of the conservative majority of the Duma. On each occasion the Social-Democrats, with the avowed aim of giving as much publicity as possible to those contents, rejected the demand for a secret session and withdrew their statement.<sup>18</sup> But when, on November 18, a fourth, condensed version was presented, the Octobrist majority, claiming that the Social-Democrats wanted only a political demonstration, decided to put an end to the matter. They still demanded a closed session, and the Social-Democrats removed their statement for the fourth time. But the majority spokesman pointed out that the interpellation could yet be considered further at the express desire of thirty or more deputies to that effect. Thereupon the entire opposition, including the Progressives, Kadets, Trudoviki, and Social-Democrats, inveighed against this violation of the important right of publicity for interpellations, and left the session hall in a body. The conservative majority which

<sup>17</sup> *Gosudarstvennaja Duma. Tretji Sozvo. Stenografičeskie oščety, sessija pjataja* (cited hereafter as *III Sten. ot.*), I, 1915-1919.

<sup>18</sup> *Priloženie k stenografičeskim oščetam gosudarstvennoi dumy. Tretji Sozvo, sessija pjataja*, Nos. 102 and 103 including interpellations Nos. 163, 164, 165, 166; *III Sten. ot.*, I, 1915-1920, 2053-2056; *Ukazatel' k stenografičeskim oščetam (časť I-IV). Tretji Sozvo, sessija V, 1911-1912 gg.*, p. 654.

remained quickly rejected the urgency of the interpellation and sent it on to the Committee on Interpellations to consider the form in which it was to be presented to the administration.<sup>19</sup>

When the committee prepared to report toward the end of the session of May 31, 1912, the Octobrists accepted a Social-Democratic proposal to devote a special session to the interpellation because of its significance. They declared that they wished to eradicate the impression that they feared an open debate on the statement. For they wanted to prove beyond a doubt that the Social-Democratic deputies of the Second Duma had been justly punished.<sup>20</sup>

The government had, in the meantime, turned to Gerasimov and Elenski for information. Both denied categorically that Brodski had any important part in the "liquidation" of the Social-Democratic fraction in 1907, or that any provocation had taken place. Gerasimov held that he had never seen the fellow, much less ordered him to carry out some "provocative" mischief; that most of the information concerning the "instruction" had come from another source; and that Brodski's activities in St. Petersburg had been necessarily limited because his relations with the police in Warsaw were too widely known among the revolutionaries. And Elenski maintained that Brodski's connections with the Social-Democratic affair consisted in giving general information on the meeting of the Military Organization with Deputy Gerus on April 29, 1907, and in procuring a copy of the "instruction" after May 5.<sup>21</sup> Armed with these statements and the materials used to indict the Social-Democratic fraction and the soldiers' group, the administration faced the Committee on Interpellations and succeeded, apparently without too much difficulty, in convincing it of the guilt of the Social-Democratic fraction and in persuading it that the Okhrana had taken no initiative in writing the instruction or in sending it to the deputies.<sup>22</sup>

This conviction the committee duly imparted to the Duma in its report on June 5, 1912. It pointed out the questionable nature of Brodski's confession, the indubitable guilt of the Social-Democratic deputies as revealed in the materials gathered by the police and investigated by the court which tried them. These materials, it held, clearly revealed the subordination of the fraction to the Central Committee of the Party, the close connection between the fraction and the Military Organizations all over Russia, and the "criminal" relations with the St. Petersburg organization. Accordingly, the com-

<sup>19</sup> *III Sten. ot.*, I, 2082-2096, 2186-2202; *Gosudarstvennaja Duma. IV Sozyv.*, I (cited hereafter as *IV. Sten. ot.*), 463-464, 607.

<sup>20</sup> *III Sten. ot.*, II, 2811, 3120-3126.

<sup>21</sup> *Krasny Arkhiv*, XVI, 89-93.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 103, 116-117; *Padenie*, III, 414-415, 424.

mittee decided that it could place no faith in Brodski's statement and that there were no grounds for ascribing the arrest and trial of the Social-Democratic fraction to "provocation." And since the fraction had engaged in illegal activities, the Duma was asked to disregard the interpellation.<sup>23</sup>

In reply, the Social-Democrats read the statement which the accused fraction had presented to the court and supported the arguments therein. The receipt of instructions from any source, they held, was not illegal and the Social-Democratic fraction was no conspirative organization. It was not connected with, or responsible for, the activities of any other branch of the Party. They pointed out that even those who denied Brodski's part in the affair held that some provocation was involved. And as final proof that the government resorted to provocation they noted that it had confessed to the Second Duma committee, sitting on the fate of the Social-Democratic fraction, that it did not have the original manuscript of the "instruction" but a copy of it. With this statement, discussion on the matter ended in the Third Duma; for that body took no further action on the committee's report.<sup>24</sup>

With the events connected with the dissolution of the Second Duma in the public mind and with the revolutionary groups deeply agitated by the recent "revelations," Shornikova's position again became particularly precarious. Her first troubles were domestic. For from some unknown source her past was revealed to her husband, who thereupon became estranged from her. Then Captain Borodin, chief of the local railroad police, was apprised of her record and set out after her, but, thanks to a sympathetic janitor, she was able to make off quickly. The distracted woman turned again to the Okhrana and was advised to return to Samara. But here too she was quickly recognized and forced to flee. And on learning that one of her former superiors in the St. Petersburg Okhrana, Komissarov, was now in Saratov she quickly betook herself thence.<sup>25</sup> To the Saratov Okhrana chief she appeared late in August, 1912, as one on the verge of a nervous collapse. Finding her intensely afraid of all humanity, and alone in the world, he sympathetically took her under his wing, or rather that of the Okhrana. Her only salvation, she told him, was to escape

<sup>23</sup> *III Sten. ot.*, IV, 3711-3725.

<sup>24</sup> The statement of the Social-Democratic deputies of the Second Duma was not published by the court, which refused to hear it, and it therefore appeared abroad some months later. See *Ternii bez roz.*, pp. 146, 147-152; *III Sten. ot.*, IV, 3725-3750; *Ukazatel' k stenograficheskim otčétam (čast' I-IV)*, *III Sozryv, 1911-1912 gg.*, pp. 654-655.

<sup>25</sup> *Padenie*, V, 97.

to South America, far from the murderous reach of the revolutionaries. She must have funds from the department.<sup>26</sup>

But Komissarov's numerous telegraphic appeals in her behalf to the St. Petersburg Okhrana remained unanswered. For the reappearance of Shornikova after the successful disposal of the Social-Democratic interpellation in the Duma was at best an annoyance to the police authorities. At the worst it was fraught with grave danger, not only for the department, but for the entire administration. Consequently, the police department was faced with the necessity of informing the Ministry of Justice that it had been hiding Shornikova while justice officials sought her arrest. Moreover, the police tried desperately to shift the responsibility for her fate to the Ministry of Justice which was as unwilling to accept it.<sup>27</sup>

In the matter of informing the Ministry of Justice, the police department found its hand forced. For in mid-November, 1912, Boleslav Brodski had again directed a communication to Minister of Justice Shčeglovitov asking why Shornikova was being hidden in Saratov by the police while judicial authorities wanted her. Shčeglovitov, surprised, turned to the police department for information. A report was drawn up, and, because of the seriousness of the matter, was presented in April, 1913, by both the Assistant Minister of the Interior, Dzhunkovski, and the Minister of the Interior, Maklakov, to add their personal explanations. Shčeglovitov would have no part of the affair, and Maklakov fearing to take the responsibility for a decision, suggested that a cabinet meeting be called.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile the police department was subjected to a continuous bombardment of telegrams from the Samara and Saratov gendarme departments, informing the central authorities of Shornikova's past-services and of her ill-treatment by the ungrateful police department, and requesting that she be given some position. In March, 1913, Komissarov added a new, more alarming note. He repeated her request to be sent to South America since she felt that she could not live safely in Europe, and informed the department that she was considering a visit to St. Petersburg to present her demands. Komissarov added that he was deeply impressed by her bedraggled condition. He felt that she might "do great harm" in strange hands because of her hatred for the department, which she blamed for her present circumstances, and also because of articles about her which were appearing in current issues of Burtsev's *Budushči*.<sup>29</sup>

But the police department turned a deaf ear to these pleas, and

<sup>26</sup> *Padenie*, III, 422.      <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 423.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 121, 414, 419, 421, 422-423.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 419-422.

Director Beletski refused all intercession in her behalf. He decided not to touch the case. Thus far she was almost completely unknown to the public. Moreover, Beletski felt that matters concerning secret agents should be decided by central or regional heads of the Okhrana enjoying influence which the police headquarters did not have. He was forced to take up her case only when he learned that she was actually coming to St. Petersburg.<sup>30</sup>

For on June 9, 1913, Komissarov wired that Shornikova was greatly perturbed by the appearance in the *Russkoe Slovo* of information hinting that Ozol, Social-Democratic deputy to the Second Duma, was a government agent.<sup>31</sup> She feared that she might figure in the press as one of the most important persons involved in the "Social-Democratic affair," and since she got no reply from the police she made up her mind to go to St. Petersburg no later than June 11 to secure an audience with Dzhunkovski. On June 12, Komissarov informed headquarters that she had indeed departed.<sup>32</sup>

Shornikova's arrival in St. Petersburg found most high police and government officials enjoying vacations in remote corners of the Russian plain. In Dzhunkovski's absence, the Okhrana felt constrained to support her financially, and on his arrival he discussed her case with Beletski. Dzhunkovski was fully aware of the potentialities arising from her presence in St. Petersburg, but felt strongly that, if the Ministry of Justice sought her, she should be arrested. Beletski, on the other hand, emphasized that, since she had once been a government agent, her arrest would serve only to arouse the Duma and the revolutionaries. Therefore, he explained, the police department had decided to protect her.<sup>33</sup> But he also felt that the matter was too serious to allow for an immediate decision and placed it before the Minister of the Interior, Maklakov, who was then residing near Moscow. And on June 17 he was ordered to report the affair to Premier Kokovtsov.<sup>34</sup>

On the following day the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Kokovtsov, returned wearily to his office from a session of the Imperial Council to hear for the first time the strange and intricate tale of Okhrana agent Shornikova — an "empty sound" to the premier. Beletski advised him that the whole matter might be simplified by sending her to South America. But Kokovtsov, taken aback by the

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 420-421, 423.

<sup>31</sup> Ozol was not a government agent, but the government took no steps to clear him when rumors arose to the effect that he was a provocateur. See Beletski's testimony, *ibid.*, p. 424.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 94, 97.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 412, 413, 423; *ibid.*, v, 87, 97-98.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 413, 426, 428.

information that the Okhrana had been concealing her, would have no hand in the affair. He felt that it should be given to Shčeglovitov and the Ministry of Justice. And in order to hear a report from that ministry and to hold a general discussion of the case, the ministers were summoned to St. Petersburg from their various retreats for a meeting of the entire cabinet.<sup>35</sup>

On June 24, then, an oppressively hot day, the Council of Ministers, together with Beletski, Dzhunkovski, and Korsak, Prosecutor of the St. Petersburg Supreme Court, assembled on the verandah of Kokovtsov's villa on Elagin Island. The significance of the matter at hand was apparent to all. The fate of an insignificant former agent hardly merited a cabinet session. But her case involved the possibility of a public trial which might arouse a number of sleeping dogs. Public opinion might again begin to question the motives behind the dissolution of the Second Duma, the arrest of the Social-Democratic fraction, and the promulgation of the Electoral Law of June 3, 1907, the most significant constitutional act since the creation of the Duma. Consequently, discussion at this curious and informal cabinet meeting revolved around the question of bringing Shornikova to trial.<sup>36</sup>

Prosecutor Korsak presented Shornikova's position. He informed the cabinet of her services, and stressed the fact that she had undertaken no illegal provocation. A part of the cabinet, including Maklakov and Beletski, felt that, although a circular for her arrest had been issued, it would be wiser not to bring her to trial for fear of creating a "scandal." Public opinion would, without doubt, react most sharply. They held that, although she had acted as secretary for the Social-Democratic group, it had occurred with the Okhrana's knowledge and while she was in their pay. Beletski, having considered her case with the police department, concluded that the problem might best be solved by issuing her a passport under an alias, allowing her several thousand rubles, and sending her abroad to some locality where there were no émigré colonies, including revolutionaries who might recognize her.<sup>37</sup>

But the others present, especially Shcheglovitov, Krivoshein, and Sazonov, agreed with Dzhunkovski that, although Shornikova was a victim of the Okhrana's policy, and that it would be an injustice to punish her for a loyal service, yet the matter could not easily be laid aside. They would follow the letter of the law, thus settling the matter

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 413, 425, 428; *ibid.*, VII, 108, 412-413.

<sup>36</sup> Those present were Kokovtsov, Maklakov, Shcheglovitov, Sazonov, Krivoshein, Timashev, Dzhunkovski, Beletski, Korsak, Sent-Ippolit. See *ibid.*, III, 121, 413; *ibid.*, VII, 109.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 115, 119, 120, 413, 414, 415; *ibid.*, V, 88, *ibid.*, VII, 109-110.

for all time. But they would so arrange the procedure that no one's interests would be injured. Shčeglovitov did not "see any danger in the matter. But for my part I will take all measures so that the trial will proceed in the most desirable spirit, in order that it may not arouse public opinion."<sup>38</sup> He felt, moreover, that the trial should take place immediately, while the Duma was not in session.<sup>39</sup>

Premier Kokovtsov was ultimately influenced by the former group. Their arguments convinced him that a scandal would result from prosecuting her and that no good would come of it. The outcome of her trial would in no way affect the sentences meted out to the Social-Democratic deputies. But the President of the Council of Ministers also felt that the matter was of the highest importance, that it concerned the whole government, including the Tsar, and he would not presume to make a final decision. The cabinet thereupon decided to send a delegation to Nicholas II to ascertain his opinion on the matter. If he should agree with Beletski that a trial would be too dangerous, Shornikova was to be sent to a safe haven abroad. If, on the other hand, the Tsar decided that she be put on trial, her case was to be settled quickly, as Shčeglovitov had suggested, without attracting public notice. Only government officials would be called as witnesses. Accordingly, a delegation, including Kokovtsov and Maklakov, received an audience with the Tsar and found that he chose to have the legal course followed. Shornikova was to be tried.<sup>40</sup>

The cabinet and Shornikova, meanwhile, nervously awaited the return of the delegation. In order to have complete information for any eventuality, Dzhunkovski questioned Shornikova in Beletski's presence on June 25 and elicited from her a complete recapitulation of her unfortunate career. She added, moreover, that she could not hope to live peacefully in Russia, and that she was ill and therefore needed at least two thousand rubles for expenses. Had she known how badly the Okhrana treated its agents, she ruefully observed, she never would have entered its service. And she warned that there would be a great "to do" if she ever fell into the hands of the Social-Democrats.<sup>41</sup>

On the return of Kokovtsov and his colleagues, a second meeting of the cabinet was held on July 1, which decided unanimously to bring Shornikova to trial. She was to be informed by the prosecutor that she had nothing to fear from the procedure and that she would then receive the documents she desired.<sup>42</sup> The police department

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 416.      <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 88, 99.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 415, 416-417; *ibid.*, v, 89; *ibid.*, VII, 109, 110, 111. The Tsar was, at the moment, apparently cruising along the Finnish coast after the Romanov Jubilee celebration. See *ibid.*, III, 413.      <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 426-427, 428; *ibid.*, v, 94, 98.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 417-418, 426; *ibid.*, VII, 111, 113.



then took her under its wing, furnished her with a room and funds, and warned her to avoid its offices. On July 3, she was officially placed under arrest, and on July 26 she was tried. The Okhrana chief alone was called as a witness. His testimony was considered so trustworthy that no further evidence was required. The Senate then deliberated and decided that Shornikova was clearly innocent, for she had joined the Military Organization only to destroy it. Vasiliev, Chief of the Police Department, heaving an official sigh of relief, wired Beletski that "the bitterness has disappeared. . . . The affair came off well."<sup>43</sup> Finally, the police department, in recognition of her past services, granted Shornikova 1800 rubles for travel, for medical purposes, and for "setting her affairs in order." She left St. Petersburg on September 4, 1913, and was officially reported for the last time in Bulgaria.<sup>44</sup>

But the government had not even now heard the last of Shornikova. For her trial had not passed unnoticed, and opposition parties had investigated the matter. Accordingly, on October 25, 1913, the Social-Democratic fraction in the Fourth Duma presented urgent interpellation No. 77 on "the illegal activity of the St. Petersburg Okhrana Department in the matter of arresting the Social-Democratic fraction of the Second Duma."<sup>45</sup> The Octobrist Benningsen, with the events of the Third Duma in mind, immediately asked for a delay of five days before considering the statement because the end of the daily session was near at hand.<sup>46</sup> A stormy debate ensued.

The opposition, liberal and Leftist alike, maintained that the Octobrist proposal would violate the Duma rules. They noted that Article 103 required that, if an urgent interpellation be presented, the Duma had at once to consider whether it was actually of an urgent nature. There was no need, they held, to pore over the statement. It was brief, clear, and based on official documents.<sup>47</sup> Benningsen explained that the Right had asked for postponement because the interpellation was too long to grasp at one reading and to be acted on at once. He noted, moreover, that Article 103 had been invalid since the end of the Second Duma. With the Kadets, Trudoviki and Social-Democrats abstaining, the Rightist majority voted to postpone debate until October 30, 1913.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 121, 123, 414, 417, 429, 430; *Prilozhenie k stenograficheskim otchetam vtoroi dumy. Četverty Sozyv, sessija vtoraja 1913–1914 gg.*, Vypusk v, No. 542, pp. 3–4.

<sup>44</sup> *Pademe*, III, 430.

<sup>45</sup> *IV Sten. ot.*, I, 305; Gosudarstvennaja Duma. *Ukazatel' k stenograficheskim otchetam (Časti I–IV). Četverty Sozyv, sessija II. 1913–1914 gg.* Petrograd 1914, p. 698.

<sup>46</sup> *IV Sten. ot.*, I, 305–306.

<sup>47</sup> *IV Sten. ot.*, I, 306–307, 309–310, 464.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 310–312. The president had to make certain that a quorum had voted. Eighty-two failed to vote, 158 cast ballots, and of these four opposed the proposal.

When, however, the moment arrived for discussing the interpellation, President Rodzyanko announced that he had found sharp and "impermissible" remarks in the interpellation. And since the Social-Democrats refused to make any changes he felt that it was not possible to publish the statement in the Duma.<sup>49</sup>

The entire opposition was thoroughly aroused, and in the heated exchange which followed the President was forced to halt three of the orators. The Social-Democrats reminded the deputies that the identical matter had been buried in the Third Duma and charged that Rodzyanko was afraid to make the contents of their statement public. Čkheidze warned that the Marxists would bring up the subject repeatedly regardless of how often the government tried to avoid it. The Kadets, Adzhemov and Milyukov, in particular, held that the President was establishing a preliminary censorship, that he was permitted only to stop orators for making sharp statements. But the question of publication — of insulting remarks — could be decided by the Duma alone.<sup>50</sup>

Rodzyanko, in reply, took all responsibility for refusing publication. The changes he wanted would destroy neither the sense nor the meaning of the interpellation. Should the authors agree to them he would publish the statement at once. He felt constrained, in accordance with the rules, to withhold an interpellation of an insulting nature. And he concluded the debate by quoting Article 2187 of the Duma Rules, which stated that the Duma Conference settled all difficulties not foreseen by the Duma Rules or the Duma Statute.<sup>51</sup>

However, on November 1, 1913, the Social-Democrats were allowed to present their vigorous urgent interpellation, addressed to the Ministers of Justice and of the Interior. They again reviewed the events of June 3, 1907, which they held had served to introduce the "reaction of the United Nobility and higher bureaucracy." And they again recounted the arrest of the Social-Democratic fraction, whereby a "fierce revenge" had been taken "on the most hateful enemies of the government." They reviewed the course of their interpellation in the Third Duma, attributing the government's stand to a reluctance to publicize the activities of the Okhrana. But, they added, new in-

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 463.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 463-465, 465-466, 466-467, 467-468, 469-471, 472, 475, 476-477.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 473-474, 477. The Conference of the Duma was established by Article 12 of the Duma Statute for considering general questions concerning Duma activity. It consisted of the president, vice-president, secretary, and first assistant secretary of the Duma, as well as advisory specialists. It looked after the general order of Duma work, the legality of its proceedings, and settled all matters not covered by the Duma statute or its rules. See *Nakaz Gosudarstvennoi Dume*, St. Petersburg, 1914, pp. 43-45.

formation had come to the attention of the Duma, and they retold the story of Shornikova's connection with the Military Organization and the dismissal of her case by the Senate as revealed by the government, specifically by Prosecutor Korsak. They concluded that the Okhrana was guilty of "provocation" and demanded an end to these activities and the punishment of those responsible for them.<sup>52</sup> But the conservative Duma majority refused to regard the statement as urgent and forwarded it to the Committee on Interpellations.<sup>53</sup>

As was the case in the Third Duma, the government was careful to inform the committee on all of the circumstances of the Shornikova affair.<sup>54</sup> That body, in turn, thoroughly reviewed the matter at its session of February 6, 1914 and drew up a report. And although the president twice announced that the committee was ready to appear before the Duma, its statement was never delivered.<sup>55</sup> From the unpublished report, however, it is evident that the opposition minority bitterly denounced Shornikova as a criminal. For they felt that, without her intervention, the "instruction" would never have appeared. They noted further that Article 92 of the Criminal Code clearly denoted those activities which did not merit punishment and that "provocation" was not among them.

But the committee majority concluded that the government might legally employ secret agents, since such activity was nowhere forbidden. They agreed with the late Peter Stolypin that provocateurs were useful and beneficial in fighting revolution and in preventing terrorism and "expropriations." They further quoted his opinion that the government considered a person a provocateur only if he took the initiative in committing a crime and urged others to follow him. On the basis of the evidence presented by the police department, the majority concluded that Shornikova was innocent of any provocative act — although her part in the presentation of the "instruction" to the fraction might possibly be regarded as criminal. They felt, moreover, that her activity in no way affected the sentences imposed upon the Social-Democrat deputies; for her activity was carried on only among the soldiers, and the deputies were arrested for crimes committed before she began her operations. Their relations with the

<sup>52</sup> *IV Sten. ot.*, I, 605–609. The first signer was the Social-Democratic whip, Lenin's confidant, and provocateur, Malinovski. See *Padenie*, III, 430.

<sup>53</sup> *IV Sten. ot.*, I, 610–620.

<sup>54</sup> See the report of the police department sent to the Fourth Duma, *Krasny Arkhiv*, XVI, 97–117.

<sup>55</sup> The report appeared in *Prilozhenija k stenografičeskim očetam gosudarstvennoi dumy. Četverty Sozvy, sessija vtoraja. 1913–1914 gg. Vypusk V. (No. No. 426–555)*, St. Petersburg, 1914; *IV Sten. ot.* II, 1842; *Ibid.*, IV, 155.

military group were but one of seventeen accusations levelled against the former deputies. Accordingly, the committee refused to include any statement in the interpellation intimating that Shornikova's activity involved the accusation and incarceration of the Social-Democratic deputies of the Second Duma. The interpellation they were ready to present would merely ask the Minister of Justice and the Minister of the Interior if they knew that Shornikova was an Okhrana agent, that she had assisted in the presentation of the "instruction" to the Social-Democratic fraction, and what measures the government intended to take to establish the legal order.

By now, tremendous events were beginning to loom on the horizon. But in the stormy period which ensued the continued employment of "secret agents," justified and condoned by the government and its conservative and reactionary supporters in the Duma, was to play no little part in undermining the Old Régime.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

## THE LIQUIDATION OF THE MURMANSK REGIONAL SOVIET

By LEONID I STRAKHOVSKY

WHEN Archangel was occupied by an Allied expedition on August 2, 1918 and a socialist government under the name of the Supreme Administration of the Northern Region replaced the Soviet authorities,\* the fate of the Murmansk Regional Soviet was hanging in the balance. Although the Murmansk Regional Soviet had played a conspicuous role in the preparation of Allied intervention in North Russia,<sup>1</sup> its very name was anathema to the socialists of the new government headed by Nicholas V. Chaikovski who was determined to eradicate every vestige of sovietism in the region. Furthermore, Chaikovski desired to incorporate the Murman area into the Northern Region so as to enlarge the territory under his control. This, however, was opposed by the leaders of the Murmansk Regional Soviet mainly because they feared that the incorporation of the Murman area and the abolition of the Soviet would invalidate the Murmansk Agreement of July 6, 1918 with Great Britain, France and the United States by the terms of which the Allies were bound to observe non-interference in internal affairs and to supply the area with food-stuffs.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore when the Allied expedition left Murmansk for Archangel on July 30, three representatives of the Murmansk Regional Soviet were on board one of the British transports. They were A. M. Yuriev, former stoker and then president of the Soviet; General N. I. Zvegintsov, former hussar of His Majesty and commander of the Russian troops in the Murman area; and V. M. Bramson, the Soviet's legal advisor.<sup>3</sup> Their purpose was to protect the interests of the Murmansk Regional Soviet before the new government.

From the beginning of their stay at Archangel they kept close contact with Chaikovski's government as well as with Major-General F. C. Poole, the British commander-in-chief, who knew them well during his two months residence at Murmansk. Yuriev and Zvegintsov were present during the meeting of the government on August 4, i.e., two days after the Supreme Administration of the Northern Region came into existence.<sup>4</sup> The next day all three of them attended

\* For the complete history of the Archangel government see Leonid I. Strakhovsky, *Intervention at Archangel* (Princeton, 1944).

<sup>1</sup> See Leonid I. Strakhovsky, *The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia, 1918* (Princeton, 1937).

<sup>2</sup> *Foreign Relations of the United States, Russia, 1918* (Washington, D. C., 1932), II, 493-495. For the history of this agreement see Strakhovsky, *The Origins*, Chaps. II and III, pp. 24-71.

<sup>3</sup> From the author's personal notes.

<sup>4</sup> I. Mintz (ed.), *Intervencija na Severe i Dokumentach* (Moscow, 1933), p. 26.

the meeting of the government during the course of which they presented a report on the position of the Murman region.<sup>5</sup> This report was followed by a heated discussion when Chaikovski announced the decision of his government to incorporate the Murman area into the northern region and to abolish the Murmansk Regional Soviet. Yuriev, Zvegintsov and Bramson argued that outright incorporation would not be tolerated by the population and that the abolition of the Soviet would not only be unpopular with the masses but would mean the termination of the legal obligations undertaken by the Allies in the Murmansk Agreement. Finally the Supreme Administration adopted the following compromise resolution:

1. The Murman region composed of the Alexandrovsk and Kem counties of the former Archangel province is incorporated in the territory of the northern region and is subject to all laws and decrees of the Supreme Administration.

2. The Murmansk Regional Soviet remains the executive organ of local and state authority enjoying the rights of former provincial government institutions and provincial zemstvos.

3. An extraordinary commissar for the Murman region is appointed as representative of the Supreme Administration.

4. The Murmansk Regional Soviet has two representatives in the Supreme Administration with the rights of members of the government.<sup>6</sup>

This resolution was telegraphed to Murmansk for acceptance or comments. In the meantime General Zvegintsov was appointed on August 6 acting minister of war of the Supreme Administration for the duration of the actual minister's absence from Archangel.<sup>7</sup> Late that day came the answer from Murmansk drafted by G. M. Veselago, the business manager of the Murmansk Regional Soviet and one of the principal workers for Allied intervention.<sup>8</sup> It accepted the idea of incorporation as well as of representation in the Supreme Administration but only on the following conditions:

1. The Supreme Administration is to conclude an agreement with the Allies identical with that signed by the Murmansk Regional Soviet on July 6, 1918.

2. The internal administration of the Murman region remains entirely in the hands of the Soviet.

3. The Supreme Administration appoints a mere representative for the coordination of its policies with the actions of the Regional Soviet and not an extraordinary commissar.

<sup>5</sup> I. Mintz, *Angliskaja Intervencija i Severnaja Kontrrevolucija* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931), p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> M. Svetchnikov: "Sojuzničeskaja Intervencija na Severe Sovetskoj Rossii," *Kto Dolžnik* (Moscow, 1926), p. 462.

<sup>8</sup> From the author's personal notes.

4. The Supreme Administration retains in its jurisdiction: (a) the conduct of foreign affairs of the northern region; (b) the establishment of relations with other parts of a unified Russia; (c) justice; (d) military affairs; and (e) finances with the exception of local ones.<sup>9</sup>

The leaders of the Murmansk Soviet, Vesselago and Yuriev, though anti-Bolshevik themselves, realized that the transition from the soviet form of government to a representative one on a democratic basis had to be a slow and gradual process. They believed that it could be done successfully only in such a way as their past experience had revealed to them when they outwitted demagogues and induced the Murmansk Regional Soviet to adopt a pro-Ally and anti-German platform leading to a break in relations with the Bolsheviks in Moscow.<sup>10</sup> They felt furthermore that they themselves should retain the control of affairs in the Murman region since they had practical experience in dealing with local problems whereas an appointee of the Supreme Administration executing orders emanating from far-off Archangel would be exposed to a much greater danger of committing serious blunders.

On the other hand, Chaikovski and his colleagues were not only jealous of the authority exercised by Yuriev, Vesselago et al. but they did not trust the Murmansk leaders because of their former collaboration with the Bolsheviks. Therefore, after two days of debates and arguments the Supreme Administration announced at its meeting of August 8 that it refused to accept the conditions laid down by Vesselago on behalf of the Murmansk Regional Soviet and insisted upon the incorporation of the Murman region on the basis of its resolution of August 5.<sup>11</sup> The government then proceeded to work out the details of the projected incorporation.

Alarmed at the decision of the Supreme Administration to disregard their wishes, Zvegintsov and Yuriev telegraphed Vesselago at Murmansk to come and reinforce their ranks in the struggle with Chaikovski and his socialists while seeing to it that the Murmansk Regional Soviet withheld its consent to the proposed incorporation. Vesselago then came to Archangel\* and pleaded personally the case of the Murmansk Soviet before Chaikovski and his colleagues at the meeting of the government on August 28.<sup>12</sup> His argument rested principally on the fear that the Allies would refuse to honor the Murmansk Agreement after the incorporation. After Vesselago's

<sup>9</sup> Mintz, *Angliskaja Intervencija*, p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> From a personal statement to the author by G. M. Vesselago; see also Strakhovsky: *The Origins*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>11</sup> Mintz, *Angliskaja Intervencija*, p. 108.

<sup>12</sup> Svetchnikov, "Intervencija," p. 451.

\* The author was Vesselago's secretary at that time.

eloquent plea, Chaikovski and his colleagues seemed not so much persuaded by him as less sure of the wisdom of their own decision.

The question was reopened at the meeting of the government on September 14 when the defense of the *status quo* in Murmansk was conducted by Vesselago and Bramson. The former insisted upon the preservation of the Murmansk Soviet "which is the only form of authority that contributes organization to the Murman region and without which the whole administration and the economy of the region will assume a chaotic character." He then declared that if the form of government that had developed in the Murman region (i.e., the Murmansk Regional Soviet not merely of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies, as under the Bolsheviks, but representing the entire population since it was elected on the basis of universal suffrage) were destroyed, it would be "impossible for us under present political conditions to preserve order since a new form of government at this time would not have the support of public opinion." He explained further that to the fishermen of the Murman coast who were formerly exploited by the capitalistic fish dealers of Archangel the abolition of their present local self-government would mean the return to the old and hated system of exploitation. Bramson added that the incorporation as projected could be achieved only by force.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the decree was promulgated next day and published on September 18 in the Official Gazette.<sup>14</sup> It read:

The Supreme Administration of the Northern Region has decreed:

1. To incorporate the Murman region in the territory of the northern region under complete jurisdiction of the Supreme Administration of the Northern Region and under the direct authority of the governor-general and commander-in-chief of the Russian troops in the northern region.

2. The temporary agreement owing to exceptional circumstances between the representatives of Great Britain, France and the United States of America and the Presidium of the Murmansk Regional Soviet of July 6, 1918, is to remain in force until such time as the actual barriers now existing between the northern region and the Central Russian government will have been removed.<sup>15</sup>

This was a far cry not only from the expressed wishes of the representatives of the Murmansk Soviet but even from the resolution of the Supreme Administration of August 5. The unilateral transfer of Allied obligations under the terms of the Murmansk Agreement was subject to questioning as to its legality as well as to its binding force on the Allies. The subordination of the Murman region to the

<sup>13</sup> Mintz, *Angliskaja Intervencija*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>14</sup> *Vestnik Verchovnago Upravlenija Severnoi Oblasti*, No. 28, September 18, 1918, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Sobranie Usakoneni i Rasporiazeni Verchovnago Upravlenija Severnoi Oblasti* (Archangel, 1918), p. 93.



authority of the Supreme Administration was complete. As to the Murmansk Regional Soviet "no provision was made for its liquidation but its days were counted."<sup>16</sup>

The last act in this little drama was enacted on October 5 when the following decree was issued by Chaikovski:

To complement its decision of September 15, 1918, the Supreme Administration hereby decrees:

1. In place of the present regional self-government in the form of the Murmansk Regional Soviet, to re-establish in the Alexandrovsk and Kem counties of the Archangel province the zemstvo self-government as created by the decree of the Provisional Government of June 17, 1917, for which: (a) to restore temporarily the rights of the zemstvos elected in 1917; (b) to order new elections of zemstvo representatives for December 1918 and January 1919 leaving the designation of the exact date to the governor-general of the northern region.

2. To consider the rights and obligations of the Murmansk Regional Soviet under the temporary agreement owing to exceptional circumstances between the representatives of Great Britain, France and the United States of America and the Presidium of the Murmansk Regional Soviet of July 6, 1918 as having passed on to the Supreme Administration of the Northern Region.

3. To instruct the governor-general of the northern region to appoint a commission for the liquidation of the institutions of the Murmansk Regional Soviet and for the transfer of all property in their holding to the respective government and civic organs.

4. To institute a temporary position of an assistant governor-general of the northern region in charge of the administration of the Murman region . . .<sup>17</sup>

The same day V. V. Ermolov was appointed assistant governor-general.<sup>18</sup>

Upon receipt of the above decree by telegraph, the Presidium of the Murmansk Regional Soviet gathered in a conference and decided to submit to the action of the Archangel government. Thereupon it issued the following order:

All deputies of the Murmansk Regional Soviet who are not members of departments or commissions of the Soviet or members of the courts or having any other official functions under the Soviet must leave immediately to the places of their residence for the purpose of re-establishing the organs of zemstvo self-government.

The Presidium of the Murmansk Regional Soviet remains temporarily the supreme authority in the region until it transfers its functions to a commission.

The administration, civic and professional organizations, and the

<sup>16</sup> M. S. Kedrov: *Bez bol'shevistskogo rukovodstva* (Leningrad, 1930), p. 184.

<sup>17</sup> *Sobranie*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>18</sup> Kedrov, *Bez rukovodstva*, p. 184.

population of the region are called to continue quietly and firmly our common task for the good of our fatherland.

KORELSKI, president

EGOROV, vice-president

MEKHININ, secretary

KARPENKO, acting business manager.<sup>19</sup>

Following the issue of this order the red flag over the building of the Soviet was lowered and the national tricolor was hoisted in its stead.<sup>20</sup>

Thus came the end of the Murmansk Regional Soviet through the medium of which, and under whose auspices, Vesselago and Zvegintsov had paved the way toward a real regeneration of North Russia on a democratic basis. With the end of the Murmansk Soviet the obligations of the Allies under the Murmansk Agreement became null and void notwithstanding Chaikovski's insistence to the contrary in the decrees of September 15 and October 5.<sup>21</sup> From now on there was not even that much legal ground on which to base protests against arbitrary actions of the Allied military authorities.

As to the situation at Murmansk, it became critical as Ambassador Francis reported on October 18.<sup>22</sup> Notwithstanding the self-immolation of the Presidium of the Murmansk Soviet, a large part of the Murman population was thoroughly aroused by Chaikovski's action. Dangerous undercurrents became apparent and the military authorities in the region were expecting trouble. Economic difficulties were added to the political ones as reported by the American senior naval officer in North Russia, Admiral McCully:

Murmansk is occupied by an Allied force consisting of British, French and Italians about 1,000 in number under the command of General Maynard (British). Conditions in this vicinity are quiet with no evidence of enemy activities, but there are in the town of Murmansk about 5,000 unemployed workmen who have not been paid since September 1, and who will not work without pay, although they claim pay for all the time they spend in Murmansk. About as many more workmen have left because they could get no pay, and repair work on the railroad is practically at standstill. The difficulty about paying workmen seems to be a lack of currency, and Allies and Murmansk Council (Soviet) have not yet been able to agree on manner and kind of currency to be issued. The population claims to be insufficiently fed, and it is understood that their rations have been reduced, since now all possible cargoes must be taken into Archangel before the port is closed by ice, and very little cargo is coming at this time into Murmansk.

<sup>19</sup> *Vestnik Vremennago Pravitelstva Severnoi Oblasti*, No. 17, October 30, 1918, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> On April 22, 1919, the State Department announced that it "does not consider the Murmansk Agreement as binding in regard to Archangel Government" (*Foreign Relations*, 1919, pp. 629-630).

<sup>22</sup> *Foreign Relations*, 1918, Vol. II, p. 559.

As a result of these causes the Russian population of Murmansk is surly and discontented, and a possible source of trouble.<sup>23</sup>

Chaikovski, however, remained optimistic and, apparently discarding the political implications of his recent action, saw only the economic difficulties. When asked by Francis "whether he feared a *coup d'etat* at Murmansk" as the result of the dissolution of the Murmansk Regional Soviet, he replied in the negative, "provided the new [Assistant] Governor-General can take 5,000,000 rubles when he goes to Murmansk to assume office."<sup>24</sup> Actually disturbances were avoided only by the arrival of additional Allied troops.

In the meantime the position of all those who had been actively attached to the Murmansk Soviet became dangerous. Following the decree of dissolution of October 5, and the simultaneous appointment of Ermolov "there was organized by the department of justice of the Provisional Government [formed on October 7, 1918] a secret investigating committee for the ostensible purpose of investigating civil and criminal offenses."<sup>25</sup> Upon an arbitrary order of this committee the first of the Murmansk leaders to be arrested was V. M. Bramson who shortly contracted pneumonia in prison and died. The next on the list was G. M. Vesselago who escaped arrest only by taking refuge in the railway car occupied by the American Consul at Murmansk and eventually making his way to the United States.<sup>26</sup> A host of minor officials, however, were caught in the far-flung net of the committee\* until "under pressure of disapproval of such proceedings by Allied representatives, the Murmansk secret investigating committee rescinded its action in regard to arrest of former members of old Murmansk Council [Soviet]."<sup>27</sup> Yet General Zvegintsov as former commander of the Red army in the Murman area did not escape his fate. He was arrested in the late summer of 1919 by order of Colonel S. Dobrovolski, then Judge Advocate General of the Russian army in the northern region,<sup>28</sup> and lingered in prison until the collapse of the anti-Bolshevik movement in North Russia when he escaped to Norway. As to Yuriev, "an ignorant but honest sailor with judgment,"<sup>29</sup> he was not molested and was given a modest position on the staff of Assistant Governor-General Ermolov.

<sup>23</sup> Admiral McCully's report of November 3, 1918. From a copy in the papers of the late Colonel E. Francis Riggs.

<sup>24</sup> *Foreign Relations, 1918*, II, 559.

<sup>25</sup> Admiral McCully's report of December 20, 1918, p. 1. Navy Department Archives.

<sup>26</sup> See appended documents.

\* The author escaped arrest only by joining the French Foreign Legion.

<sup>27</sup> Admiral McCully's report of December 20, 1918, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> S. Dobrovolski: "Borba za vozroždenie Rossii v severnoi oblasti," *Arhiv Russkoi Revoljucii*, III (Berlin, 1921), 102.

<sup>29</sup> *Foreign Relations, 1918*, II, 559

## DOCUMENTS\*

## I

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL RUGGLES.  
THE CASE OF THE MURMANSK SOVIET.

January 10th. 1919

Attached please find the decision of the Murmansk Extraordinary Investigation Commission regards the arrest of Vesselago and also a later decision rescinding the order for arrest, also a memorandum drawn up by me and Capt. Lee, the British representative on the Extraordinary Commission here regards this case.

In connection with this case I would like to point out that the Allied representatives on the commission are guided by the following basic principles: We are there to protect the interests of the Allied Command and the safety of the Allied troops in this region. This is done by bringing to the attention of the commission the activity of persons who may be working in the interest of the enemy, or may have done so in the past and liable to do so again; by protest against release of persons who are considered dangerous to the safety of the Allied cause and whose cases have not been sufficiently fully investigated by the commission; by supporting cases brought up by the G.H.Q. N.R.E.F.\*\* The Allied Representatives also protect the interests of persons who have assisted the Allies or Russia during the Bolshevik regime and in doing so have been suspected of aiding the Bolshevik government, this is done by collecting the necessary evidence and presenting it to the commission. In certain cases the Allied representatives also invite the attention of the commission to the political results which might develop from a decision of the commission. In no case do the Allied representatives take part in the voting as members of the commission.

Therefore in the case of the Murmansk Soviet I would recommend that the proper Allied authorities who have evidence that the members of this Soviet worked in the interest of the Allies and for the benefit of Russia should present the facts to the Allied Representatives who will bring them to the attention of the commission and request that they be fully considered when the case is drawn up against the members of the Soviet. The Russian judicial authorities have already proclaimed the principle that no measures will be taken against persons who worked with the Bolsheviks for the purpose of assisting the Allies or Russia and therefore such evidence will be sufficient material to stop all prosecution. Up to now the case against Vesselago, Zvengintzov, etc. has been held up by protests based on the political results arising from such arrests and as the cases against the members of the Murmansk Soviet are more or less complete and are based on the Russian Criminal Laws, which are recognised by the Allied Governments, it is necessary that our protests be also based on facts, as otherwise they may easily be construed as interference in Russian Internal Affairs.

(Signed) N. PRINCE Capt. U.S.A.  
Allied representative on Archangel  
Investigation Commission.

## II

### MEMORADUM ON THE VESSELAGO CASE

On 11th. December the Temporary Enquiry Commission of the KEM and ALEXANDROVSK Districts after having made full enquiries into the activities of VESSELAGO when he was a member of the District Soviet decided to indict him under article 126 of the Criminal Code. (See Decision of Commission attached.)

VESSELAGO claimed the protection of the American flag, considering himself in the position of a political offender and as such privileged to be protected by the Allies.

On 9th. December the Assistant Governor-General YERMOLOV telegraphed to the Governor-General stating that VESSELAGO had requested permission to leave the MURMANSK District and supported his request. This was two days before the decision of the Commission was announced, but as the Minister of Justice informs me that one of the members of the Commission had been discussing the case in public, it appears obvious that VESSELAGO expected to be indicted.

On 16th. December YERMOLOV wired to the Governor-General that the Commission had ordered VESSELAGO's arrest. The reason for the desire to arrest him was that the Commission was afraid that he wished to evade justice.

On the same day the Commission, after hearing a verbal declaration of BUKOVSKI, the American representative, which was supported by Capt. BAKLUND and Lieut. GRANDSERRE on behalf of ENGLAND and FRANCE respectively, and having in view the fact that VESSELAGO informed both the Russian Authorities and the Allies of his intended departure, altered its decision and passed a resolution cancelling the order for his arrest, but decided to serve a notice on VESSELAGO calling upon him to appear for enquiry.

On 15th. December Lt. Col. BEGOU wrote to Col. LEWIN, H.Q. "SYREN,"\* stating that he disavowed the vote of the French representative on the Commission. His reason was that he considered that the Commission had exceeded its powers in that it was dealing with a political question and not with crimes and offences against common law, and on the basis of non-intervention in Russian internal affairs he considered that the French representative should not vote.

On the same day Lt. Col. BEGOU wrote to YERMOLOV, stating that he disavowed Lt. GRANDSERRE's vote as he was a member of the Commission only for the purpose of combating the Bolsheviks and the Germans and should not have a voice in internal political matters.

It is said, but I have no proof, that Col. LEWIN stated that he will not allow VESSELAGO to be arrested, but, if necessary, would send him to ENGLAND on a British ship.

YERMOLOV, the American Admiral and the French representative are all opposed to the Commission. The Minister of Justice in ARCHANGEL holds very strong views on the case. He considers that VESSELAGO is

\* Code name for the British Expeditionary Force in the Murman area (L.I.S.).

undoubtedly guilty of offences against the Russian law and that he has been able to influence the Allied representatives and YERMOLOV to intervene in his favour. He is of opinion that there should be no distinction between VESSELAGO's case and the numerous cases which have been dealt with by the various commissions merely because he happens to be a more important man. He has no doubt that the evidence against VESSELAGO is as damning as that against many men who are at present prisoners at MUDYUG\* and considers that Russian justice will suffer if it can be said that a man's high position and capacity for intrigue can save him from paying the penalty for his misdoings.

9th. January 1919.

### III

#### DECISION

On 11th December 1918, the Temporary Commission of Enquiry of the KEM and ALEXANDROVSK Districts, consisting of the President I. T. ANDREEV, Vice-President F. N. JUKOV, members A. I. PSHENICHNOV, V. I. VINOGRADSKY, A. V. YAKOVLEV, P. L. GRANDSERRE and E. G. BAKLUND and the Secretary TSVIETKOV, after hearing the report of the President of the Commission, I. T. ANDREEV, on the case of the "People's Board" and the MURMAN District Soviet, and considering that:

*Firstly*, The MURMAN District Soviet was an authority organized on the pattern of the Central Bolshevik Authority, as is quite evident from the constitution accepted by the District Soviet in April of this year, and this authority was established in the District by force.

*Secondly*, The District Soviet by its actions devoted all its efforts to the realization of the fundamental purpose of the Bolshevik Authority, i.e. the establishment of a socialistic regime in Russia; this task the Soviet carried out in a practical manner by destroying private commercial, industrial and steamship enterprises, requisitioning them and handing them over to the so-called poor fisher class, and abolishing the government departments which were in existence in the MURMAN District, under the pretence of uniting them, without taking into consideration at all the duties of these departments and their plan of work; the departments were united without any plan and without the most elementary formalities being observed in the transfer of government property, which was also expended by the District Soviet without any formalities at all, as a result of which there is no doubt that the government interests suffered severely. Regarding its intention of establishing a socialistic regime in the District, or at any rate of carrying out experiments in this direction the District Soviet (through the Executive Committee), in a report to the Soviet of People's Commissaries, declares definitely: "Thus, the workmen's and peasants' government having been estab-

\* A prison for Bolsheviks and pro-Bolsheviks organized by the British on an island in the White Sea at the mouth of the North Dvina river (L.I.S.).

lished, MURMAN may become a theatre for socialistic experiments on a large scale."

*Thirdly*, According to the statements of witnesses, Lieutenant-Commander GEORGI MIKHAILOVICH VESSELAGO, who, in view of his higher intelligence, was the responsible manager of the Soviet, was the instigator of this destructive policy of the District Soviet; he carried on all the business of the Soviet personally, countermanding and altering the directions issued by the president and his substitutes.

The Naval Chief of MURMANSK, when examined as a witness, mentioned the following case: "The District Soviet decided to transfer transshipping operations from his management to that of the firm of DANISHEVSKY. He received a notice from the District Soviet, signed by KORELSKY, Vice-President, to the effect that his employees were to be dismissed. When the English Authorities heard of this, they demanded that transshipping operations should be left in the hands of the Naval Chief. The latter, not knowing what to do, asked VESSELAGO for an explanation. The latter tore up the order signed by Vice-President KORELSKY and wrote a note in pencil to the effect that the transshipping operations were to remain in the hands of the Naval Chief."

*Fourthly*, The said Lt.-Cmdr. VESSELAGO directed the actions of the "People's Board," which, with the consent of the MURMAN Soviet, took over the authority of the Chief of the MURMAN Fortified District and of the MURMANSK Flotilla after the murder of Rear-Admiral KETLINSKY; this "Board," among other things, abolished the Zemstvo and Town Council which were then in existence, replacing them by a revolutionary tribunal and local courts, removed from the school curriculum Scripture and the reading of prayers before and after lessons, in spite of the categorical protests of the school-children's parents, entrusting the execution of this to BRAMSON, a Jew.

*Fifthly*, Although the District Soviet came to an agreement with the Allies on the question of combating the Finns and Germans, thus breaking with the Central Government, it was forced to do this by the following circumstances:

- a) The local population was entirely on the side of the Allies and asked them to remain in the District;
- b) No hope remained regarding the help of the Central Government in the matter of food supply and the improvement of the economic condition of the District;
- c) The Soviet could not force the Allies to leave the District.

At the same time, the Soviet, while making the agreement with the Allies, apart from help in the matter of food supplies, reckoned on retaining the Soviet authority in the District, as the Allies declared they would in no wise interfere in the internal affairs of the District.

*Sixthly*, According to officers of the KOLA Base, Lieut.-Comdr. VESSELAGO misbehaved himself when in the Baltic Fleet, from which he was

discharged owing to the differences he created between the officers and men and in the Black Sea Fleet, where he behaved so badly that Admiral KOLCHAK considered that the Black Sea Fleet could only be regenerated on condition that such untrustworthy elements as VESSELAGO were removed from it.

#### DECIDED:

To accuse Lieutenant-Commander GEORGI MIKHAILOVICH VESSELAGO under article 126 of the Criminal Code and to call upon him to appear for enquiry.\*

Original signed by Secretary of Temporary Commission of Enquiry of KEM and ALEXANDROVSK Districts: TSVIETKOV.

#### IV

#### DECISION

On 16th December 1918 the Temporary Commission of Enquiry of the KEM and ALEXANDROVSK Districts consisting of the President I. T. ANDREEV, Vice-President F. M. JUKOV, Members: A. I. PSHENICHNOV, V. I. VINOGRADSKY, A. V. YAKOVLEV, P. L. GRANDSERRE, E. G. BAKLUND and P. BUKOVSKI and the Secretary I. I. TSVIETKOV, after hearing the verbal declaration of the representative of AMERICA P. BUKOVSKI, supported by the representative of ENGLAND Captain BAKLUND and of FRANCE Lieutenant GRANDSERRE, regarding the cancelling of that part of the decision of the Commission of 11th. December 1918 calling upon Lieutenant Commander VESSELAGO to appear for enquiry in connection with the case of the MURMAN District Soviet, and taking into consideration the declaration of V. I. VINOGRADSKY, member of the Commission, to the effect that VESSELAGO informed both the Russian Authorities and the Allies of his departure from MURMANSK, stating at the same time his destination and the purpose of his journey, and the declaration of the representatives of the Allied Countries on the Commission to the effect that there are no grounds whatever for fearing that Lieut.-Comdr. VESSELAGO is attempting to evade judgment and enquiry, DECIDED: to cancel the order, as per the decision of 11th December, whereby Lieut.-Comdr. VESSELAGO is accused under article 126 of the Criminal Code, but to send him a notice to appear for enquiry; the remainder of the decision, which is not subject to discussion, to remain in force.

Original signed by Secretary of Commission of Enquiry TSVIETKOV.

\* Article 126 of the Russian Criminal Code read as follows: "Those guilty of participation in organizations which have wilfully established as the aim of their activity the forceful overthrow of the existing form of government . . . are punishable by forced labor for not over eight years or by exile to Siberia (L.I.S.)."



## SOVIET NATIONAL MINORITY POLICIES 1918-1921

By XENIA JOUKOFF EUDIN

### I

THE February Revolution of 1917 did much more than to seal the collapse of the old regime in Russia. It forced many problems to the front which pressed for solution. One of these facing the new Russia was that of national minorities. Led by educated and liberal minded groups, national councils were soon formed by the Letts, the Esthonnians, the Georgians, the Armenians, and the Tartars. Councils or *radas* were formed as well by the Ukrainians and White Russians, the *Kurlutsi* by the Crimean Tartars and the Bashkirs in the Volga region, and so forth. After at first demanding autonomy in a Russian federal republic, these nationalities gradually began to interpret the right of self-determination as being the right of separation from Russia. The Provisional government which held power from February to October, 1917, postponed a decision on the matter on the ground that only the Constituent Assembly had the power to settle the status of these nationalities. This postponement led to particularly strained relations between the Provisional government and the new governments of Finland and the Ukraine.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the influence of the Bolsheviks among the Russian masses had so increased that the Bolsheviks were almost ready for the seizure of power. For many years the Bolsheviks had concerned themselves with the problem of national minorities and had accepted the theory of national self-determination as early as 1903. Thus paragraph nine of the program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party adopted at a conference in London in that year, insisted on the "self-determination of all nations which enter into the composition

<sup>1</sup> Almost immediately after it had come to power the Provisional government summoned the Finnish Diet; old officials were dismissed and a new governor-general, the liberal minded Stakhovich, was appointed. On July 18, 1917, the Diet advanced the so-called "Power Law," by which it assumed control of foreign affairs and defense. The Provisional government objected to this bill and Stakhovich ordered the dissolution of the Diet.

In the Ukraine, on June 24, 1917, the Ukrainian leaders issued the Universal, i.e., a manifesto, of the Ukrainian Rada which stated "without separating from Russia, and without breaking away from the Russian State, let the Ukrainian people on its own territory have the right to dispose of its life, and let a proper government be established in the Ukraine by the election of a Ukrainian National Assembly. . . ." Frank A. Golder, *Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917* (New York, 1927), p. 436. Whereupon the Provisional government appealed to the Ukrainians to postpone action until the Constituent Assembly had met. As difficulties continued, special representatives of the Provisional government were sent to the Ukraine who succeeded in securing a partial compromise.

of the state."<sup>2</sup> This particular paragraph was not agreeably accepted by all groups of the R.S.D.L. party. Those Russian Bolsheviks, represented by the so-called Bukharin-Pyatakov group, and also the Polish Social Democrats, believed the slogan of self-determination of nations both utopian, unrealizable, and contradictory to the interests of the working class, etc.<sup>3</sup> But to understand the Bolsheviks' national minority policy once the Bolsheviks were in power, it is most important to remember that the significance of the political and revolutionary unity of the workers of all nations was never forgotten by Lenin and his adherents. What, then, was to be the practical application of the Bolshevik theory of national self-determination, pulled as it was between the charges of utopianism and the Bolshevik realization of the international unity of the working class. In 1913 Stalin wrote as follows: "*National* autonomy does not solve the problem . . . The only real solution is *regional* autonomy . . . It [regional autonomy] does not divide people according to nation, it does not strengthen national partitions; on the contrary, it only serves to break down these partitions and unites the population in such a manner as to open the way for division of a different kind, division according to class . . . [Our] aim must be to unite the workers of all nationalities in Russia into *united* and *integral* collective bodies in the various localities and to unite these collective bodies into a *single* party . . . Thus, the *principle of international solidarity of the workers is an essential element* in the solution of the national problem."<sup>4</sup>

Expressed more clearly, the Bolshevik principle of self-determination of nations actually meant the revolutionary self-determination of the proletariat alone, and not of the nationality as a whole. The resolution of the seventh All-Russian conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor party, taken in April, 1917, recognized very definitely the right of all nationalities of the former Russian empire to freely secede and form independent states; denial of such right would be equivalent to supporting a policy of seizure and annexation. The resolution further states that unless this right were recognized complete solidarity among the workers of the various nations would be impossible. This was borne out by the conflict then existing between the Finns and the Russian Provisional government. The right of separation, however, did not imply actual secession by every national

<sup>2</sup> Olga Hess Gankin and H. H. Fisher, *The Bolsheviks and the World War* (Stanford University, 1940), p. 528.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 219-221; 224-227; 229-235; 505-507; 510-514; 518-532, etc.

<sup>4</sup> J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, A Collection of Articles and Speeches* (New York, 1935?) pp. 57-59, 61.

group, for each individual case was to be decided by the workers themselves, in accordance with the "development of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism."<sup>5</sup>

Lenin's statement on the same subject made a few months later was still clearer and more emphatic. It read as follows:

If we assumed power we would at once recognize the right [of separations] of Finland, the Ukraine, Armenia, and of any other nationality which had been oppressed by tsarism (and by the Great Russian bourgeoisie). But we on our part do not at all wish for this separation. No. We want the largest possible state, the closest possible union, the largest possible number of nations all of which are closely associated with Great Russians; we desire this in the interest of democracy and socialism, in the interests of bringing into the struggle of the proletariat the largest possible number of the workers of all nations. We desire *revolutionary proletarian* unity, and *unification*, and not the separation of peoples. We desire a *revolutionary* unification, and therefore, we do not advance the slogan of the unification of all and every state in general. The task advanced by the social revolution is the unification *only* of the states which have passed over or are passing over to socialism, of the colonies which are freeing themselves, and so forth. Desiring a *free* unification, we are duty bound to recognize the freedom of separation (otherwise free unification would have no meaning). We are duty bound to recognize this freedom of separation all the more because tsarism and the Great Russian bourgeoisie with their oppression have left a heritage of great irritation and distrust toward most Great Russians. Only *by action* and not by words can we conquer this distrust. But this unification means much to us and this must be stated and emphasized in the program of the party of such a motley state . . . . We wish the Russian republic (I shall be inclined to say the Great Russian [republic] because this is more correct) to attract other nations, but how? Not by violence, but entirely by voluntary agreement. Otherwise, the unity and the fraternal union of *workers* of all countries will be unbalanced. Contrary to the bourgeois democrats we advance the slogan of fraternity of *workers* of all nationalities, and not the fraternity of peoples, because we distrust the bourgeoisie of every country, and we consider this bourgeoisie our enemies . . . .<sup>6</sup>

## II

The October Revolution of 1918 forced the Bolsheviks to apply their theories in practice. The problem of national minorities was covered by the Declaration of the Rights of Toiling and Exploited Peoples which was adopted by the Central Executive Committee for presentation to the Constituent Assembly that was about to convene.

<sup>5</sup> Stalin, *op cit*, p. 269.

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Sochinenija*, xxxi, [2 ed. Moscow, 1931], 316-317.

It was finally ratified by the Third Congress of Soviets in January, 1918. Paragraph two of Chapter I stated: "The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union of free nations, a federation of National Soviet Republics," and paragraph four of Chapter IV significantly added: "At the same time, desiring to bring about a really free and voluntary, and consequently more complete and lasting union of the toiling classes of all nations in Russia, the Constituent Assembly confines itself to the formulation of the fundamental principles of a federation of the Soviet Republics of Russia, leaving to the workers and peasants of each nation to decide independently at their own plenipotentiary Soviet Congresses whether or not they desire, and if so on what conditions, to take part in the federated government and other federal Soviet institutions."<sup>7</sup>

The subsequent policy of the Soviet government made it plain that for the Bolsheviks the only true expression of the will of the people was actually the will of the proletariat alone, and that the union of the toilers of all nations in the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie was above any national consideration. It should be remembered that very soon after their coming to power the Bolsheviks, like the Provisional government, were in conflict with both the Finns and the Ukrainians. The Soviet government maintained that neither the Ukrainian nor the Finnish government expressed the will of the toiling masses, which would be exercised in true self-determination only if the toiling masses, led by the Bolsheviks, deposed their respective bourgeois governments. It was the duty of the Great Russian proletariat, that is, the newly formed Soviet government in Russia, to help the proletariat of other nationalities. Lenin's statement made on December 5, 1917, at a meeting in St. Petersburg is highly significant.

We are being told, he said, that Russia will break up, will become a number of separate republics. But why should we fear this? . . . For us it is immaterial where the frontier line of a state is drawn. For us the important thing is that a union among the toilers of all nations is maintained unbroken for the struggle against the international bourgeoisie of every nation. If the Finnish bourgeoisie buys ammunition from the Germans to use against their own workers, we offer the Finnish workers union with the Russian workers. Let the bourgeoisie squabble contemptibly over frontier lines: the workers of all countries and of all nations will not quarrel over such mean issues. At the time I speak we are, and now I shall use an unsavoury word "conquering" Finland, but our conquering

<sup>7</sup> James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution* (Stanford University, 1934), pp. 373, 374.

is not the conquering of the international vultures, the capitalists. Finland is allowed absolute freedom to live in a union with us or with others, as we guarantee absolute support to the toilers of all nationalities against the bourgeoisie of any country. This union is based not on treaties, but on the solidarity of the exploited against the exploiters.

We are witnessing a national unification of the Ukraine, and we say: we are absolutely for the complete and unlimited freedom of the Ukrainian people. We must do away with the old, bloody and filthy past, when a Russia of capitalists and oppressors played the rôle of an executioner among other peoples. We shall wipe away this past, and we shall leave no stone unturned in doing it. We shall tell the Ukrainians: as Ukrainians your life is your own to organize as you wish. But stretching hands of brotherhood to the Ukrainian workers, we shall tell them: together with you we shall struggle against your bourgeoisie just as we struggle against ours. Only the Socialist union of the toilers of all countries will abolish every reason for insane nationalism and quarrelling.<sup>8</sup>

Eventually the relations between the Soviet government and the Ukrainian Rada reached a breaking point, and on December 17, 1917, an ultimatum was sent by the Russian Soviet government to the Ukrainian Rada which stated:

Taking our stand on the principle of the solidarity of the exploited masses and of the brotherly union of all workers in their struggle for socialism . . . we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, have recognized the complete independence of the Ukrainian Republic. . . . All that concerns national rights and national independence of the Ukrainian people we . . . are ready to acknowledge unconditionally and without hesitation. . . . We accuse the Rada of playing, under the guise of nationalism a double game, a game which for some time expressed itself in the Rada's refusal to recognize the Soviets and the Soviet power in the Ukraine (among other things, the Rada refused to call . . . a regional congress of Soviets). This double game, which is the chief reason why we cannot recognize the Rada as the plenipotentiary representative of the toiling and exploited masses of the Ukrainian Republic, has of late led the Rada to undertake a number of steps which preclude the possibility of any agreement. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Similar situations arose also in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia in all of which the Bolsheviks endeavored to establish Soviet regimes. But other and more pressing difficulties soon began to occupy the Soviet government. The peace negotiations started in Brest between the Soviet representatives and those of Germany soon reached a stalemate: on February 18, 1918, Germany declared the armistice to be ended and the German advance into Russia was

<sup>8</sup> Lenin, *Sočinenija*, xxii, 100-101.

<sup>9</sup> Bunyan and Fisher, *op cit*, pp. 439-440.

resumed. It should be recalled that German troops were already in occupation of Russian Poland and of other Russian sectors including Kurland and the city of Riga. Since the German advance met no resistance whatsoever from the war-weary and demoralized Russian soldiers, German soldiers soon held great territories in western Russia. At the conclusion of peace between Germany and Soviet Russia, the latter lost the entire Baltic region of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. German troops of occupation were also in the Ukraine, the Crimea and some sectors of the Caucasus.<sup>10</sup>

The conditions of the Brest peace no sooner became known in Russia than a great wave of indignation swept over the country. Various Socialist groups, such as the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionists added their voices to the general protestation. Among the Bolsheviks themselves, the dissenters, the so-called Left Communists, were no less outspoken in their criticism. But Lenin, and those who sided with him, staunchly maintained that the interests of Socialism and the existence of the Socialist state, being of foremost importance, made temporary abandonment of the small nationalities to the "imperial vultures" justifiable. Speaking on January 20, 1918, on the necessity of peace with Germany, Lenin said: "Theoretically we should struggle now for the liberation of Poland, Lithuania and Kurland. But no Marxist, unless he wishes to repudiate the very basis of Marxism and Socialism in general, can deny that the interests of Socialism are above the interests of nations and their right to self-determination. Our Socialist republic has done all that it could, and it continues to do all it can for this right as it applies to Finland, the Ukraine and the other nationalities. But if the actual situation is such that the existence of the [Russian] Socialist republic is endangered by the violation of the right of self-determination of certain nations (Poland, Lithuania, Kurland, etc.) then, it goes without saying, that the interest of maintaining the Socialist republic is bound to come first."<sup>11</sup> A little later, speaking on the international situation on May 14, 1918, Lenin reiterated: "We affirm that the interests of Socialism, the interests of world Socialism are superior to national interests, and above the interests of the state."<sup>12</sup>

Finally, the Soviet interpretation of the principle of self-determination of nations was formulated in the Soviet constitution which was confirmed by the Fifth Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918. By this constitution the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic became a union solely of national proletariats, and each national group

<sup>10</sup> Articles III, IV, VI, *Texts of the Russian 'Peace'* (Washington, 1918), pp 15-16, 17-18.

<sup>11</sup> Lenin, *Sochinenija*, xxii, 198-199.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii, 14.

had no choice but to accept the Soviet form of local government. Paragraph eleven of Chapter v of the constitution read: "The Soviets of the regions which are characterized by special customs and national composition, can form autonomous oblast unions at the head of which, as in the case of every other oblast association that may be formed, there should be an oblast congress of Soviets and its respective executive organ."<sup>13</sup>

### III

The defeat of Germany in 1918 had quick effect throughout the Russian borderlands under occupation by German troops. Immediately the national governments which had been formed prior to the German occupation, proclaimed again their assumption of power. And at the same time the Bolsheviks of each region, strongly supported by the Great Russian Bolsheviks, tried to reestablish Soviet rule. The Bolsheviks had temporary success and the national governments were obliged to flee. The Russian official Soviet paper, *Izvestiya*, stated on December 13, 1918: "Our heroic Red army is liberating Estonia, has approached Latvia, and now is only twenty *vershs* from Walk."<sup>14</sup>

Three days later, on December 16, 1918, the Provisional Revolutionary Workers' government of Lithuania issued a manifesto which proclaimed: "In the name of the rebellious workers and poorest peasants and the Red soldiers of Lithuania, we declare the power of German military authority of occupation and of the Lithuanian Taryba<sup>15</sup> deposed. All power is assumed by the Soviet of Workers', Landless and Poor Peasants' deputies."<sup>16</sup> Similar decision was made in Estonia. In December, 1918, the newly created Estonian Soviet government issued a proclamation saying: "In the name of the revolutionary workers and Red troops of Estonia, we declare the Provisional government of Estonia overthrown, and the Soviet order reestablished. Comrade workers! The hour has struck in the international proletarian revolution for the toilers of Estonia to decide for themselves their political destiny. The chains of German imperialism,

<sup>13</sup> *Sobranie Uzakoneni i Rasporjazenii Rabočego i Krestjanskogo Pravitelstva* (Moscow, 1917-18), No. 51, p. 601

<sup>14</sup> Walk is situated on the frontier between the former republics of Estonia and Latvia.

<sup>15</sup> In September, 1917, a conference of 200 deputies representing various political and social groups of Lithuania convened in Vilna when it was decided to form a Lithuanian National Council. Permission to do so was requested from the German command of occupation and was duly granted. In that way a Lithuanian National Council, the *Taryba*, was elected on September 22, 1917. This body proclaimed Lithuanian independence on December 11, 1917.

<sup>16</sup> *Žizn' Nacionalnostei*, Moscow, No. 7, December 22, 1918, p. 1.

of the bloody Baltic barons, and of the Estonian Whites are broken. The slavery which they tried to impose upon you, the workers, after a short taste of freedom, is destroyed . . . Every worker of Estonia understands why it is that the Provisional government appeals to the English for help.<sup>17</sup> The appeal is not in the interests of the toiling people but comes from those wishing to return to power with the help of [foreign] bayonets against the power of the proletariat. . . ."<sup>18</sup> The declaration of the Provisional Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Soviet government of White Russia stated in a manifesto of its own about the same time: "The government reminds all toiling masses that while defending Soviet White Russia, they are also defending Soviet Russia, the World Revolution, the interests of all toiling people, as well as the final victory of world Socialism."<sup>19</sup>

The proclamation of the Latvian Soviet government, which was established on December 17, 1918, likewise emphasized the international significance of the newly created Soviet republics. Among other things it said: "From the banks of the Rhine to Vladivostok, from the shores of the Black Sea to Arkhangelsk, civil war is raging. It is already breaking through the ramparts and entanglements erected by the victorious imperialists. In France, England, and Italy, the voices of the proletarian revolution are already heard. A quick victory of the Soviet government and its consolidation in Latvia will act as a flaming torch thrown into the powder magazine of our enemies. To arms! Long Live the Latvian Soviet Republic: Long Live the World Revolution!"<sup>20</sup>

The Russian Soviet government lost no time in recognizing all newly proclaimed Soviet republics, while in its address to the White Russian Soviet government, it significantly added: "The presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee reaffirms the fact that White Russia and other regions in a similar situation, because they were once parts of the old tsarist empire, are in no way obligated by that past connection. The presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee believes that only now and on the basis of absolute freedom for self-determination, and through the transfer of au-

<sup>17</sup> The Estonian Provisional government by that time, being driven from most of its territory, appealed for help to Finland, the Scandinavian countries, and the Entente. Finland and England were the first to come to Estonian assistance. The Finns supplied volunteers and ammunition for the Estonian military units which were being hastily organized by the Estonian government in exile. England dispatched a squadron headed by Admiral Cowan, which arrived in Reval on December 12, bringing arms and ammunition.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 7, December 22, 1918, pp. 2-3.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1 (9), January 5, 1919, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> P. Stuchka, *Pjat' mesjatssev socialističeskoj sovetskoj Latvii*, 2 parts (Pskov, 1919-21), Part II, pp. 7-8.



thority to the working class, can a voluntary and permanent union of the toilers of all nationalities inhabiting the territories of the former Russian empire, take place."<sup>21</sup>

In the development of the Soviet policy among the newly formed Soviet republics the declaration of the White Russian Soviet government for a federative union with Soviet Russia is important. Whether such a desire was actually expressed by the White Russians in general, and by the White Russian proletariat in particular, or whether it was simply an instruction given by the Russian Soviet government, can be left to conjecture. This declaration read:

Soviet White Russia considers it necessary to establish a close economic and political connection with her eldest sister, the Russian Soviet Republic who has given the White Russian Soviet Republic invaluable help in the reestablishment of her ruined economy. [Therefore] . . . the First All-White-Russian Congress of Soviets freely resolves as follows: Negotiations must be started with the Russian Soviet Republic for the establishment of a federative union between the latter and the Soviet White Russian Republic. . . . Remembering the close connection and interdependence that exists between the workers and peasants of all former regions of the Russian empire, this congress believes that the voluntary union of the toilers of all independent Soviet republics will guarantee the victory of the workers and peasants in their struggle against all capitalist countries. Therefore, the congress appeals to all fraternal and independent Socialist republics to follow the example of the workers and peasants of White Russia, and immediately to begin negotiations leading to the establishment of a federative union between them and Soviet Russia.<sup>22</sup>

The desire for federation with Soviet Russia and the close imitation of her policies was even more apparent in the actions of Soviet Latvia. The establishment of an independent Soviet government in this country appeared to be merely a tactic in tearing Latvia away from its own national and "bourgeois" government and federating it with the Soviet union. This was confirmed in the following statement made by Stuchka, the head of the Latvian Soviet government at the Sixth Congress of the Latvian Communist party: "The political situation has led us against our will to the establishment early in 1919 of an independent [Latvian] Soviet Republic. . . . According to the old diplomatic formula we can speak either of an independent or a dependent Latvia. But from a Soviet view point we are at the same time independent of and yet closely connected with the Russian Soviet Republic. Only the proletariat can so interpret the conception of in-

<sup>21</sup> *Sobranie Uzakoneni i Rasporjazi* . . . 1919, No. 3, pp. 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> *Zisn' Nacionalnostei*, No. 5 (13) February 16, 1919, p. 2.

dependence."<sup>23</sup> In conformity with this statement a subsequent decree was passed by the Latvian government in January, 1919: "Following the annulment of the Brest Litovsk treaty, Latvia again became a composite part of Russia . . . [Therefore] all decrees issued by the government of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic . . . become law in the confines of the Soviet Republic of Latvia unless they are modified or annulled by the Latvian Soviet government. . . ."<sup>24</sup>

The Bolshevik policy in the Ukraine did not differ from that adopted elsewhere. The Ukrainian Soviet government, established by a Bolshevik *coup d'état* early in 1918, lasted only briefly. The German troops of occupation forced it to flee and the Ukrainian Rada again became the government of the region. It was replaced in turn by a German protected regime headed by Hetman Skoropadsky. The Bolsheviks who remained in the Ukraine conducted underground propaganda among the Ukrainian peasants and workers as well as among the German troops of occupation, hoping to overthrow the Skoropadsky government and to restore the Soviets in the Ukraine. It should be remembered that the Russian and the Ukrainian Bolshevik cause was inseparable, whether the past, present or future is considered. Rakovsky, who represented the Russian Soviet government in the negotiations with the Ukrainian government, wrote on May 2, 1918, the following confidential note to Antonov-Ovseenko, the head of the retreating Red Ukrainian troops which were being hard pressed by advancing German and Ukrainian national forces: "The Ukrainian affair must be liquidated, at least temporarily, and our cause must await for a more favorable time. We have reached our limit. . . . Theoretically you are right . . . . As long as the fighting continues on Ukrainian territory . . . it can be considered as a Ukrainian civil struggle. I am quite aware of the enormous significance of this struggle for the future revolution in the Ukraine. . . . Actually there is but one front, and the distinction which we are in the habit of making is useful only in diplomatic correspondence with the German government. . . ."<sup>25</sup>

The actual fighting between the Soviet Ukrainian troops and the German and the Ukrainian national troops was soon over but Bolshevik propaganda in the Ukraine continued. The second congress of the Ukrainian Communist party took place in Moscow on October 17-22, 1918, when direct measures preparatory to general revolt were out-

<sup>23</sup> P. Stuchka in *Naša Gazeta*, as given in P. Stuchka, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 23-24.

<sup>24</sup> P. Stuchka, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> V. A. Antonov-Ovseenko, *Zapiski o graždanskoj vojne*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1924-33), II, 293.

lined. The work of party organizations in the Ukraine was consolidated and special preparations for the seizure of power were made in all large Ukrainian cities. The so-called "neutral zone", including the town of Kursk which separated the Ukraine from Soviet Russia, became the center of concentration of armed Bolshevik forces; efforts were also made to organize the separate revolutionary detachments into a regular Ukrainian Red army. Nevertheless, when Germany's defeat came, and German forces began to withdraw from the Ukraine, the downfall of Skoropadsky's government was effected not by the Ukrainian Communists but by a new national Ukrainian force, which soon formed a national government under the name of the Directorate, with its seat in Kiev. Opposing this move the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist party on November 20, 1918, issued a manifesto proclaiming a provisional Workers' and Peasants' Soviet government of the Ukraine.<sup>26</sup>

Difficulties soon developed between the Directorate and the Russian Soviet government, the former accusing the latter of intervention in the Ukrainian civil war. In official answer the Soviet government stated among other things on January 10, 1919, that "the Russian Soviet government reaffirms in a most categorical manner, its former declaration that there are no military units of the Russian Soviet Republic fighting on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic. Your ultimatum demanding that military actions against the Directorate be stopped and that Russian troops be removed from the Ukraine is, therefore, groundless. Your statement that Letts, Magyars and Chinese, enlisted by the Russian Soviet government, are advancing into Ukrainian territory is a repetition of the calumny against us which has been spread for a year by the capitalist and counter-revolutionary press which wishes to weaken and compromise the successful revolutionary defense of the Soviet Republic on all fronts. You must know that among the Ukrainian Soviet troops which are fighting against you, there are no Chinese, Magyars, nor Letts." Further the declaration claimed that the Directorate was acting in complete opposition to the Ukrainian workers and peasants.<sup>27</sup>

The Directorate reaffirming its previous charge replied:

The declaration of the Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the effect that Russian troops have not entered Ukrainian territory is, according to newly verified information, either an intentional distortion of the truth, or shows an absolute lack of information on the part of the Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Regular troops of the Soviet Russian army are operating

<sup>26</sup> *Izvestiia*, Moscow, No. 263, December, 1, 1918, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 7, January 12, 1919, p. 2.

in the region of Kharkov. The troops consist of Chinese, Letts, Magyars, and some Russians. . . . In view of the fact that these Sino-Latvian troops are organized and maintained by the Russian government, that they invade the territory of the Ukrainian People's republic and destroy the lives and property of the peasants and workers of the Ukraine, and in view of the fact that the Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Russian republic definitely avoids answering directly the question of the Ukrainian government — namely why there was an advance of Soviet troops into the Ukraine — the Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic for the last time asks the government of the Russian Republic: What does this advance signify, and how can it be explained that these troops treat the Ukraine as a conquered country? The Directorate believes it necessary to make the following observations. The Commissar of Foreign Affairs, while denying that Russian troops attacked the Ukraine, at the same time offers to enter into peace negotiations with the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic on condition that it change its internal policy in regard to the Communist party and to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. It can be inferred from this that the Russian government, without any right whatsoever, wishes, with the help of Sino-Latvian bayonets to introduce in the Ukraine a regime approved by it. The Directorate declares that it will not allow anyone acting behind the back of the Ukrainian people to decide their destiny. The power in the Ukraine belongs and will continue to belong to the Ukrainian toiling classes, — the toiling peasantry which represents eighty-six per cent of the population, the workers, and the toiling intelligentsia who form the basis of the entire socio-economic and national life of the country. A congress of the representatives of these classes is being convened. . . . <sup>28</sup>

The Directorate's protests were ineffective and on February 6, 1919, the following proclamation was posted in Kiev: "The Directorate has been driven from Kiev. The Soviet battalions are entering the city. In the name of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' government of the Ukraine we declare the government of the Kiev Soviet of Workers' deputies reestablished."<sup>29</sup>

Stalin spoke shortly after this on Soviet policy toward the borderlands. He said that the so-called national governments represented only the interests of the bourgeoisie and were actually counter-revolutionary. Fortunately in each borderland there were also workers and peasants who had been organized into Soviets, similar to the Great Russians, even before the October Revolution, and these, in each case, were striving to defeat their own bourgeoisie. The statement was utterly false, said Stalin, that Soviet Russia was following

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> P. Dikhtiarenko, "V pidpili za hetmana ta Direktori", *Pid gnitom nimeckogo imperialismu* (1918 g. na Kiiuščini), p. 47.

a policy of ruthless centralism. On the contrary, no other government in the world had granted its people such complete national freedom as did the Soviet government in Russia. The workers of the oppressed nationalities have now finally learned, he added, that unless they overthrow their bourgeoisie, their liberation from oppression was meaningless and impossible.<sup>30</sup>

#### IV

During the years 1919 and 1920 civil war and foreign intervention in Russia continued, and the Soviet government made certain modifications in its policy toward nationalities. But there was no weakening of the basic position that national self-determination meant the revolutionary self-determination of the proletariat. But apart from the advanced national minorities, such as the Baltic peoples, the Ukrainians, etc., the former Russian empire also contained many groups of relatively backward nationalities to whom the principle of self-determination had to be applied. Soviet leaders from the beginning tried to establish closer relations with these nationalities; a Commissariat of National Minorities with various national subsections and headed by Stalin, was formed early in the Soviet regime. In the course of the civil war, and in the measure as various localities were conquered from the opposing anti-Bolshevik forces, various forms of national autonomy were granted to the numerous national minorities inhabiting these regions. Workers' communes were formed, such as the Workers' Commune of the Volga Germans, in October 1918, or the Karelian Workers' Commune, organized in June, 1920. A broader form of autonomy was given to the Bashkirs when on March 23, 1919, a separate autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic was recognized, and the recognition of other autonomous regions followed.

In some cases the introduction of a Soviet regime among these backward nationalities was effected with difficulty, and many times the backward nationalities preferred to side with the forces opposing the Soviets. Thus the Kalmyks, who inhabited the south-eastern sector of Russia, gave active support for a while to Denikin's and the Don Cossack armies. The autonomous region of the Kalmyk People was finally decreed on November 4, 1920.<sup>31</sup> In developing their national minority policies toward the above backward peoples, the Soviet leaders intended that the customs and national and religious

<sup>30</sup> J. Stalin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-74.

<sup>31</sup> The texts of the Soviet government's decrees establishing various autonomous formations in Russia can be found in W. R. Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia* (New York, 1929), pp. 137-196.

peculiarities of the latter should receive special attention, and that care should be taken that their national sentiments were not hurt. Unfortunately, the Russian Bolsheviks often forgot these "golden rules" when they found themselves masters of some remote place, as for example Turkestan. Theoretically, and in accordance with the program of the Communist party adopted by the Eighth Congress of the party in March, 1919, the main theme of the national policy was to be "the unification of the proletariat and semi-proletariat of various nationalities for a common revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of landlords and bourgeoisie." It was necessary "to do away with every privilege that may have been enjoyed by a given national group," and absolute equality among the nationalities was to be established. A native of Turkestan describes how this was actually applied in the treatment of his co-religionists: "We poor Moslem people, do not find conditions changed under the proletarian government; nay, our position is even worse than it was in the time of Nicholas the Bloody; now as then, we are treated as mere cattle. . . . In their [Bolsheviks'] declarations they said that they would fight the capitalists. But under that pretext they began to rob everyone that came their way and to stuff their own pockets. It would not be a lie to say that these Communist officials are capitalists. . . ." <sup>32</sup>

The truth of the charges was partially borne out when Lenin found it necessary to send a personal letter to the Communists of Turkestan in which he asked the latter to destroy all traces in their work of Great Russian imperialism, stressing again "the gigantic and world-wide importance of Turkestan" as the starting point for a struggle "with British-led world imperialism." <sup>33</sup> About the same time the Central Soviet government sent a special commission to Turkestan empowered to do away with "every remnant of Russian imperialism in Turkestan," stating that "the self-determination of the peoples of Turkestan and the destruction of all national inequalities and of all privileges enjoyed by one group over another are the basis of the entire policy of the Soviet government of Russia, and in the work of all [Soviet] institutions. Only by such work will the distrust for the Russian workers and peasants, created in the toiling masses of Turkestan by the long rule of Russian tsarism, be overcome." <sup>34</sup>

Similar difficulties confronted the Soviet central government in other borderlands of the former Russian empire, for example in the Ukraine, where Soviet representatives hastened to introduce a num-

<sup>32</sup> T. Ryskulov, *Revoljucija i korennoe naselenie Turkestana, 1917-1919* (Tashkent, 1925) p. 101.

<sup>33</sup> Lenin, *Sočinenija*, xxiv, 531.

<sup>34</sup> Ryskulov, *op cit.* p. 199.

ber of measures that were generally distasteful to all Ukrainians, and especially to the peasants. This forced the Central Committee to moderate its Ukrainian policy and to urge the Russian Communist party in the Ukraine to use care and tolerance toward the Ukrainian backward masses by explaining to them "that the interests of the toiling masses of the Ukraine and Russia are alike."<sup>35</sup>

## V

Yet another aspect of Bolshevik policy toward the Russian national minorities became apparent in the later period of War Communism and can best be characterized as Communist aggression or Communist imperialism.

At that period the civil war and intervention were at their apogee and the Soviet government faced not only domestic and military opposition from the anti-Bolshevik Russian formations, but also a ring of hostile borderland states, all of which were substantially assisted by the victorious Entente. Allied countries had long been supporting anti-Bolshevik struggles on the various fronts of the civil war in Russia. In the south, in Siberia, in the north, and in the Baltic regions their help was substantial and timely. Petrograd was twice seriously threatened by the anti-Soviet forces, while in October, 1919, its suburbs were held by the White Russian army of Yudenich. A year before the Soviet organ *Izvestija* had already emphasized the significance of the Baltic Sea and consequently of the Baltic regions for Soviet Russia. Russia needed the Baltic Sea as a convenient route for her trade with neutral countries. However, apart from its economic importance, the Baltic Sea and the countries bordering it, such as Latvia, Estonia, as well as Lithuania, were of immense political importance to Soviet Russia in that they served as an open gate between Russian workers and revolutionary Germany. It was highly important for Soviet troops to occupy these regions that they might have the "opportunity to influence directly the development of the German revolution, and in that way create a Socialist federation of middle-eastern Europe." "The Baltic Sea," added the writer significantly, "must become the sea of the World Socialist revolution."<sup>36</sup>

In the light of the civil war and intervention that characterized the previous three years, Stalin spoke in 1920 against the secession of the borderlands from Russia, saying that such action violated the interests of both the borderlands and of central Russia. Soviet Russia

<sup>35</sup> Lenin, *Sočinenija*, xxiv, 552

<sup>36</sup> T. Draudin, "Borba za baltiskoe more," *Izvestija*, No. 283, December 25, 1918, p. 1.

and the imperialist Entente were engaged in a life-and-death struggle, a struggle in which the borderlands had to choose one or the other. By siding with Soviet Russia they would immediately free themselves from oppression. If they chose the other side they would become vassals of the Entente because, he added, "the so-called independence of a so-called independent Georgia, Armenia, Poland, Finland, etc., is only an illusion, and conceals the utter dependence of these apologies for states on one group of imperialists or another."<sup>37</sup>

The above statement is of particular interest in its relation to the events that followed, namely the Soviet war with Poland, and especially the conquest of Azerbaijan and Georgia by Soviet Russia. It is true that in the case of Poland Soviet Russia made a number of conciliatory overtures, and it was Polish aggression against Soviet territory that precipitated the war.

Poland had been an independent state since the defeat of Germany in 1918 and the withdrawal of the German troops of occupation from its territory. Soviet-Polish relations became strained almost immediately upon the Bolsheviks' assumption of power, Poland being anxious to enlarge her territory and fearful of Bolshevik propaganda. In February 1919, Polish military units advanced against the Lithuanian and White Russian Republic, now joined into one, and occupied Vilna in April. The Poles did not, however, press their attack against Soviet Russia in 1919 when the Red armies were in their most precarious position. One explanation offered for this is that the Poles feared the Whites more than the Reds and therefore refrained from doing anything that would help the Whites to win.<sup>38</sup> It appears, too, that some secret negotiations took place between the representatives of the Polish and Soviet governments about that time, while General Denikin, the head of the anti-Soviet military movement in the South, even speaks of a secret agreement between Pilsudski, the head of the Polish state, and the Soviets according to which military action on the Polish Soviet front was temporarily to cease.<sup>39</sup> The Polish information on that subject is given by General Tadeusz Kutrzeba, who quotes the letter of a certain Boerner. The latter says that on November 3, 1919, Pilsudski had authorized him to communicate to Markhlevsky, then the plenipotentiary representative of the Soviet government with the Russian Red Cross, that he, Pilsudski, had ordered the Polish troops not to advance beyond a certain line, that Poland was not the gendarme of Europe, and that "aiding Denikin in his struggle

<sup>37</sup> J. Stalin, *op cit* p. 79.

<sup>38</sup> L. Fischer, *The Soviets in World Affairs*, 2 vols (London, 1930), I, 238.

<sup>39</sup> General A. I. Denikin, *Kto spas sovetskuyu vlast ot gibeli* (Paris, 1937), p. 6.



against the Bolsheviks is contrary to Polish interests.”<sup>40</sup> In January, 1920, when all but one of the two principal White armies had been eliminated, the Poles began an outright offensive against Soviet Russia. The Soviet government hastened to send an official declaration to the government of Poland and the Polish nation on January 28, 1920, in which it stated: “The Soviet of People’s Commissars declares that the policy of its government toward Poland is based not on an accidental or temporary military and diplomatic combination, but on the firm principle of the right of all nations to self-determination. The R.S.F.S.R. has always recognized without any reservation the independence and sovereignty of the Polish republic, and this recognition from the very first moment of the formation of the independent Polish state has been used as a basis in all the Russian government’s subsequent relations with Poland. . . . Having no aggressive intentions, the Soviet of People’s Commissars declares that the Red army will not cross the present line of the Russian front . . . .”<sup>41</sup>

A little later on February 2, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets sent another declaration to the Polish nation:

The Freedom of Poland is a condition necessary for the free development of Russia. We, the representatives of the Russian working class and peasantry, have presented ourselves and are presenting ourselves now openly before the whole world as fighters for communist ideals; we are deeply convinced that the toiling people of all countries will enter the same road which the Russian toiling people have already entered. But our enemies and yours deceive you when they tell you that the Russian Soviet government wishes to establish Communism in Poland by means of the bayonets of the Russian Red army. A Communist regime is only possible when a large majority of the toiling masses is permeated with the idea of establishing Communism by its own efforts. Only then will it endure. . . . The Communists of Russia only wish to defend their own land, and their own work of peaceful reconstruction; they do not wish, nor can they wish, to force Communism upon foreign lands. The transformation of Poland in the interests of the Polish toiling masses must be the work of the toiling masses themselves.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile military action between the Polish and the Russian Red armies continued and on May 8, Kiev fell to the Poles. This seemed to mark a turning point in the fortunes of war. On June 10 the Poles were driven from Kiev, and from that date, the advance of the Red troops did not slacken, until in August of the same year they

<sup>40</sup> General Tadeusz Kutrzeba, *Wyprawa Kijowska 1920 roku* (Warsaw, 1937), p. 27.

<sup>41</sup> *Krasnaja Kniga; Sbornik diplomaticheskikh dokumentov o rusko-polskikh otnošenijach s 1918 po 1920 g.* (Moscow, 1920), p. 84.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

stood close to Warsaw. As the Red armies advanced into Poland, the Bolsheviks did their part in carrying on propaganda among the Polish people for the creation of a Polish Soviet state. In July a Polish Revolutionary committee was formed in Bialystok which hastened to issue a manifesto to the Polish people:

The hour of release has struck. The working class of Poland liberated from the yoke of the capitalistic landlords, plunderers and exploiters has decided henceforth to determine its own destiny. . . . While fighting for its own cause, the heroic Russian worker has also given the Polish worker and peasant a chance to free himself from the yoke of oppression and exploitation. . . . Our Russian brothers are entering Poland not for the purpose of enslaving her. . . . [But] in fighting for their own freedom, the Red soldiers fight equally for ours. . . . When over all of Poland the bloody government which has brought the country into this criminal war is put down, the Soviet of the town and country workers' deputies will establish a Polish socialist Soviet republic. . . .<sup>43</sup>

The Soviet Russian Red command, encouraged by its successes began to interpret its task on a still wider basis when it proclaimed to the Russian armies on the western front that their task was of world wide significance leading to the world revolution, and bringing final happiness and peace to toiling humanity.<sup>44</sup>

A little later, on September 1, 1920, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Red army explained the nature of the work that was to be carried on by the political sections of the Red army. It was most imperative to draw the local population and all workers into the work of organizing a Soviet government in Poland. Agitation and propaganda were to be conducted among the Polish population to explain the presence of the Soviet army on Polish territory. The Polish workers and peasants were also to be urged to overthrow the yoke of their landlords and capitalists and to create a government similar to Russia's, otherwise there could be no lasting peace between the two countries.<sup>45</sup>

The Polish government with some help from the Entente powers, particularly France, stopped the advance of the Red army which reluctantly abandoned its intended revolutionary role. In March, 1921, a Soviet-Polish peace treaty was duly signed, and it remained for the Communists at the Second Congress of the Third International to express their regrets for the misfortune of Poland in having failed

<sup>43</sup> Stepanov, *S krasnoi armiei na panskuju Polšu* ([Moscow], 1920), pp. 92-94.

<sup>44</sup> Stepanov, *op. cit.* p. 78.

<sup>45</sup> P. V. Suslov, *Političeskoe obespečenie sovetsko-polskoi kampanii 1920 goda* (Moscow, 1930), p. 172.

to be conquered by the Red armies. The resolution that was passed stated that the imperialist countries of Europe were in no position to settle the problem of small nationalities. By the Versailles treaty the small countries were simply Balkanised and made to serve as temporary and convenient props for the imperialist victors. Such little countries as Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bohemia, Finland, the Baltic states, Georgia and Armenia were the vassals of the victorious imperialists who dominated them by means of their banks, railway, and coal monopolies. It was the irony of fate that Poland, "which formed a part of the programme of the revolutionary democracy" was made independent by imperialists for their own ends and that the Polish leaders "whose predecessors had died on the barricades of Europe, should be used as a foul and bloody weapon in the murderous hands of the Anglo-French bandits against the first Proletarian Republic in the world."<sup>46</sup>

The methods used in the war just described were adhered to by the Soviets in the conquest of Azerbaijan and Georgia which took place about the same time. After the Bolsheviks came to power in central Russia the Transcaucasian peoples, that is the Georgians, the Armenians and the Azerbaijan Tartars, formed on November 25, 1917, a provisional government for Transcaucasia, the so-called Transcaucasian Commissariat which was to exercise authority until such time that the Russian Constituent Assembly could act. But by the end of May, 1918, it had become clear that the Transcaucasian Republic composed as it was of national groups whose political views and national aspirations were fundamentally different, could no longer exist as a unit. On May 26, immediately following the last session of the Transcaucasian *Seim*, Georgia's independence was proclaimed by the Georgian National Council. Foreign powers were informed of the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Federation. Armenia and Azerbaijan likewise proclaimed their independence on May 28. On June 4, 1918, a convention of peace and amity was signed between Georgia and Turkey while agreement was also made with Germany for protection by German troops of occupation. Following the defeat of Germany in October, 1918, the English replaced the Germans in Transcaucasia where they remained until 1920. In Azerbaijan, the polyglot city of Baku was the focus of events. The situation there was rendered particularly difficult by the animosity which existed between the Moslem section of the population and the Armenians. A third force in the city was the large colony of Russians, including many Russian workers

<sup>46</sup> *The Capitalist World and the Communist International; Manifesto of the II Congress of the III Communist International* (Moscow, 1920), p. 7.

in the oil fields. In March, 1918, following a sanguinary struggle between the Armenians and the Russian Communists on one side, and the Azerbaijan Tartars on the other, a Bolshevik government, the so-called Baku Commune, was established. The defeated Tartars fled the city, and on May 28, following the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Federation, as had already been stated, proclaimed an independent Azerbaijan republic. Their strength rested upon the Turkish armies which were then in occupation of some sectors of Transcaucasia. The Baku Commune lasted only for several months and in September, 1918, the Azerbaijan Tartar government was able to move to Baku, remaining in power until 1920.

Soviet policy in Transcaucasia was defined by Stalin in a letter which he wrote to Shaumian, the head of the Baku Commune, in the summer of 1918. He said in part: "Our general policy in the Caucasus lies in forcing the Germans to recognize that the problem of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan are problems intimately connected with Russia's internal policy, which is of no concern to the Germans. It is precisely on that account that we do not recognize the independence of Georgia although Germany does so. It is quite possible that we shall be obliged to agree with the Germans on the question of Georgia but we shall do so only on condition that the Germans agree not to interfere in the affairs of Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Germans, while agreeing to leave Baku to us, ask us to compensate them with oil. We can, of course, satisfy this 'request'. . . ." <sup>47</sup>

This policy, outlined by Stalin in 1918, was maintained throughout the period of independence of the three Transcaucasian national states. After the fall of the Baku Commune, the Baku Bolsheviks were temporarily scattered and weakened, but by November, 1918, they had rallied to form a provisional Baku Committee of the party which was to reestablish the party organization. An armed revolt for the seizure of power was on the program from the beginning. Much the same can be said of the Bolshevik activities in Armenia and Georgia. In the latter country, the Bolshevik groups and organizations carried on their propaganda and were directly responsible for many of the peasant disturbances. It should be understood that while the independent Transcaucasian republics refused to subordinate themselves or even to have any dealings with the Russian Soviet government, and while the Russian Communists did all they could to destroy these governments from within, the situation was still further complicated by the Russian civil war which was in full swing between the Red soldiers in the Caucasus and the anti-Soviet forces

<sup>47</sup> S. G. Shaumian, *Stati i reči (1908-1918)* ([Baku], 1924), pp. 224-225.

headed by General Denikin. After gaining some successes over the Soviet forces the Whites advanced into Transcaucasia and soon reached the border lines of the new Transcaucasian republics. General Denikin and his government had little sympathy with the aspirations of the Russian national minorities, and acted on the principle of "Russia, one and indivisible." Thus the independence of the Transcaucasian republics was threatened by both Soviet and anti-Soviet designs. The situation of the Transcaucasian governments was extremely difficult. Early in 1920 the fortunes of the civil war changed, and Denikin's army, suffering heavy defeat, faced disintegration. The Russian Soviet government, anxious to deal a final blow to Denikin's forces, approached the Azerbaijan government with an offer of joint action against Denikin. But the Azerbaijan government, which had secured *de jure* recognition from the Allied Supreme Council, evaded a direct answer and re-affirmed its wish to remain neutral. Its final submission to Soviet pressure came too late. The Soviet Twelfth army invaded the Azerbaijan territory, ostensibly upon the invitation of the Azerbaijan Tartar workers who had risen in revolt. On April 28, 1920, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. A similar fate befell Armenia. Georgia was now left alone, surrounded by Soviet republics. After prolonged negotiations an agreement was finally signed between the Soviet government and Georgia on May 7, 1920, while another agreement dealing with trade and transit through Georgia was signed on November 14, by Georgia on one side and Soviet Russia and Azerbaijan on the other. In accordance with the May 7 agreement, the Communist party of Georgia was given full political rights, with the understanding that they were to refrain from propaganda against the Georgian government. The Georgian government, on its part, pledged itself to permit the presence of no armed forces other than those of Georgia on Georgian territory and to disarm and intern those forces hostile to the Soviet government which were already there. None of these stipulations was observed. The Georgian government continued to persecute the Georgian Communists, and the Bolsheviks continued to carry on their secret activities. Early in 1921, following a peasant insurrection in Georgia, the Georgian Revolutionary Committee declared a Soviet government established and simultaneously Soviet Russian troops entered Georgia. The Red army quickly became master of the country and the Georgian people were rescued, according to the formula, from the oppression of capitalists and imperialists.

Soon after the completion of the Sovietization of the Caucasus, Lenin found it expedient to send a special letter to the Communist

comrades of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Daghestan and Mountaineers' republic<sup>48</sup> in which he outlined once more the policy of caution and care required in dealing with the various nationalities of Russia:

Although peace among the workers and peasants of the Caucasian nationalities is extremely important, the preservation and development of the Soviet government as a transitory stage to Socialism is still more important. The task is difficult but realizable. To accomplish it, it is most necessary for the Communists of Transcaucasia to understand the unique situation of their republics, quite unlike the situation and conditions existing in the R.S.F.S.R. It is imperative for our Transcaucasian Communists to understand that they must not copy our tactics but should carefully modify them to conform to their particular conditions. . . . Greater lenience, caution and complaisance in regard to the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and particularly the peasantry [are necessary]. . . . A slower, more careful, more systematic transfer to Socialism should be the policy of the Caucasian republics, in contradistinction to the R.S.F.S.R. This policy must be understood and carried out. . . .<sup>49</sup>

It was, however, apparent that greater centralization of the former Russian territories was deemed necessary by the Soviet government which, in a declaration of the Russian Communist party in March, 1921, clarified its position on this point. It was evident, this declaration read, that the separate Soviet republics were mutually threatened by the capitalistic states. This made their problem of defense a common one. The war, in devastating each country, had created economic problems common to all of them. Therefore, a voluntary federation of these republics, based on reciprocal trust, was to be established and maintained in the future, "for a federation of this nature is a necessary transitory stage to that supreme fraternity of workers of all countries in a united world economy, which is becoming more and more essential."<sup>50</sup>

## VI

There remains to consider one other aspect of the Soviet attitude to the nationality problem, namely the problem of colonial and exploited peoples, which in fact, is a part of the problem of national minorities in general. In this the Soviet government and the Bolshevik party were concerned and active in giving support not only to

<sup>48</sup> There are many other small national groups, known under the general name of Mountaineers inhabiting the Caucasus. They, too, were brought under Soviet rule about that time.

<sup>49</sup> Lenin, *Sočinenija*, xxvi, 191-192.

<sup>50</sup> *Desjatyj sezd rossijskoj kommunističeskoj partii; Stenografičeskii očet* ([Moscow, 1921), p. 324.

the national minorities of the former Russian empire, but to all oppressed nationalities of the world. On December 7, 1917, the Soviet government issued an appeal to the Moslems of Russia and of the East telling them that the power in Russia was firmly in the hands of the laboring people, who had but one burning desire — "to achieve peace and to aid the oppressed peoples of the earth to fight for their freedom." Support in that "holy war" was already coming to the Russian workers from the East and the West. People in Europe were ready to help the Russian workers, while in the East, the oppressed peoples of India were even now in revolt. The proclamation further solemnly pledged the Moslems of Russia that their beliefs and customs as well as their national and cultural institutions would be "free and inviolable." It then appealed to the Moslems of other countries, the Persians, the Turks, the Arabs and the Hindus promising them support and stating that "the secret treaties . . . regarding the seizure of Constantinople . . . are null and void," and that the "treaty regarding the partition of Persia is null and void."<sup>51</sup>

It was in this light that Turkestan, bordering close to other Moslem countries, and to the British possessions in the Middle East, became the most important center of Bolshevik activity. "The Turkestan republic occupies the first place in the development of the revolutionary movement in Asia in general. . . . Turkestan is the vanguard post of Communism in Asia. . . ."<sup>52</sup> "Our frontier now touches Khiva, Bukhara and Afghanistan from which the road leads to Hindustan where lies the key to world revolution, because it is from India that England draws her strength. . . . Turkestan is extremely important to us politically. When the bacillus of our revolution reaches the starved and oppressed Eastern people, it will find conditions well suited for its development. The whole world has been so prepared by the war for a socialist overthrow that irrespective of where the revolution breaks out, suitable ground for it will be found, and this is particularly true of the British colonies. . . ."<sup>53</sup>

"In the past Turkestan served as a gateway from Asia to Europe. . . . Now it will be a gateway from Europe to Asia. Through Turkestan will go the idea of the social and political liberation of the long suffering toilers of the East from their native and foreign oppressors."<sup>54</sup>

Consistently with the above statement, the Seventh All-Russian

<sup>51</sup> Bunyan and Fisher, *op. cit.*, 467-468.

<sup>52</sup> *Zizn' Načionalnosti*, No. 22 (30), June 15, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 36 (44), September 21, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 20 (28), June 1, 1919, p. 1.

Congress of the Soviets, adopted a proclamation to the Oppressed Nationalities of the World, which denounced the audacious hypocrisy and crude mockery of the right of self-determination as proclaimed by the imperialist bourgeoisie. The problem of oppressed nationalities was solved by the Versailles peace conference, the proclamation stated, by dividing mankind into victors and vanquished, into rulers and slaves. Only the October Revolution was able to open "the way to the complete liberation of the toiling masses and the oppressed nations of the world." The proclamation further stressed the "complete readiness of the Russian workers and peasants to give moral and material support to the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities."<sup>55</sup>

To make their revolutionary propaganda among the peoples of the East more effective and better known, the Bolsheviks convened a congress of the Peoples of the East, which took place in Baku in September, 1920. There were present at this congress 1,891 delegates, of whom 1,273 were Communists. In all, thirty seven nationalities were represented including Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Kirghiz, Kalmuks, Hindus, Chinese, etc. The representatives from the Soviet center were Zinoviev and Radek. In a fiery speech Zinoviev emphasized the enormous significance of the congress. He declared it had been proved that not only the toilers of Europe saw the need of the revolution, but that the toilers of the East had become revolutionary conscious. It had become apparent that the workers both of East and West had a common mission, which they achieved either together or they would perish together. Propaganda should be spread among the millions of the East, still unawakened to their revolutionary role: and no task was so important as this. No other way led out of their oppression and no victory over their oppressors, i.e., the English and the French, could be won, unless a fraternal union was formed between them and the workers of the West. "We are convinced," Zinoviev added, "that under the efficient guidance of the organized workers of the West, the peasants of the East can revolt, and bring with them millions of other peasants. The basis for the [world] revolution will be laid, and mankind will be forever freed from landlords, from slavery, from taxes, from debts, and from all other clever tricks invented by the rich. . . ."<sup>56</sup>

The second Congress of the Communist International in its mani-

<sup>55</sup> VII-i Vserossiski sezd sovetov rabočikh, krestjanskikh, krasnoarmeiskikh i kazačikh deputatov; *Stenografičeskii otčet* ([Moscow], 1920), p. 18.

<sup>56</sup> *Pervy sezd narodov Vostoka, Baku, 1-8 sent., 1920 g., stenografičeskije otčety* (Petrograd, 1920), p. 39.



festo to the workers and peasants of the world summed up the attitude of the Communists on this question: "A Socialist who supports directly or indirectly the privileged position of one nation at the cost of others, who is reconciled to the practice of colonial servitude, who distinguishes between the peoples of various races and colors, who helps the bourgeoisie of the European continent to retain their power, instead of helping to promote an armed revolt in the colonies (for example the British socialist who does not support with all means available the revolts in Ireland, Egypt, and India, which are directed against the London plutocracy) — such a 'socialist' deserves, if not a bullet, at least a shameful stigma, and certainly not a vote of trust by the proletariat."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> *Vtoroi Kongress Komintern, 1919-avgust, 1920* (Moscow, 1934), p. 559

## THE TITLE OF THE *COMÉDIE HUMAINE*

By MARCEL FRANÇON

IN A RECENT VOLUME of studies on Balzac, Brucia L. Dedinski<sup>1</sup> states that, so far as present evidence shows, Balzac mentioned the title of the *Comédie humaine* for the first time on June 1, 1841. The date 1838, proposed by Joseph F. Jackson in an earlier article,<sup>2</sup> is based upon a letter of Balzac's to Mme Hanska dated January 20 of that year. This letter, taken by Jackson from the 1876 edition of the *Correspondance*, does indeed contain the following sentence: "Quant à ce qu'on appelle le *Balzac illustré*, rassurez-vous, c'est toute mon oeuvre, les *Contes drolatiques* exceptés; c'est enfin cette partie de la *Comédie humaine* qui est intitulée *Etudes sociales*."<sup>3</sup>

Now, as B. L. Dedinski has pointed out, the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* contains a different version of this same epistle, and since the *Correspondance* is not a trustworthy edition, there is reason to believe that an unjustified interpolation has crept into the text which Jackson invokes. The fact is that whenever Balzac, in his letters to Mme Hanska, refers to the *Etudes sociales*, he expressly indicates that this is the title of "la grande édition générale de l'oeuvre" (18-19 October 1834),<sup>4</sup> or of his "oeuvre entière" (26 October 1834),<sup>5</sup> or that it is "le titre général" (8 July 1837).<sup>6</sup> Other references might be cited which are no less clear.<sup>7</sup> At no time does Balzac use the title *Etudes sociales* to designate a "part of the Human Comedy." The letter dated January 20-22, 1838, as it appears in the *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, corresponds perfectly to the thought of Balzac: "le *Balzac illustré*, rassurez-vous; c'est toute mon oeuvre, les *Contes drolatiques* excepté. C'est l'oeuvre intitulée: *Etudes sociales*."<sup>8</sup> Jackson's argument is thus untenable. The title Balzac had in mind from 1834 to 1838 was *Etudes sociales*. It is only in a series of letters dating from June 1, 1841 to July 15<sup>9</sup> that Balzac informs Mme Hanska of his adoption of the title *La Comédie humaine*. Why then does he relinquish his original title for one reminiscent of the *Divine Comedy*? B. L. Dedinski has

<sup>1</sup> "Development of the Scheme of the *Comédie humaine*. Distribution of the Stories," in *The Evolution of Balzac's Comédie humaine*, ed. by E. P. Dargan & B. Weinberg (Chicago, 1942), p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XLII (1927), 526.

<sup>3</sup> *Oeuvres complètes de H. de Balzac*, XXIV. *Correspondance* (1819-1850) (Paris, 1876), p. 276. On the unreliability of this edition, cf. W. S. Hastings, *Modern Philology*, 29 (1931-1932), 437.

<sup>4</sup> H. de Balzac, *Oeuvres posthumes. Lettres à l'Etrangère* (1833-1842), (5e éd., Paris: Calmann-Lévy, s.d.), p. 196: "la grande édition générale de l'oeuvre qui, sous le titre d'*Etudes sociales*, comprendra tous ces fragments."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 247, 424, 430.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 557, 561, 562, 565.

shown that in the years 1829 to 1841 the allusions to Dante become increasingly frequent in the works of Balzac, and she believes therefore that he was led progressively to the title of his masterpiece. "During that period (1829-1841) I have noted fifty-one direct and several miscellaneous and incidental allusions. These are significant and, I believe, led to the use of the title *Comédie humaine*."<sup>10</sup>

Yet it is doubtful whether the influence evident in the *Comédie humaine* is either precisely or directly Italian. May we not suppose, seeing that Balzac discerned in the work of Dante a "pont hardi jeté entre l'Asie et l'Europe,"<sup>11</sup> that the title of the *Comédie humaine* was a manifestation of his interest in the East? It is hardly necessary to insist upon Balzac's mystical preoccupations; nor is it necessary to show that in the "Avant-propos," Balzac, in order to present the initial idea of the *Comédie humaine*, namely the principle of the "unity of composition," appeals not so much to Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire as to Swedenborg and Saint-Martin: "L'unité de composition occupait déjà sous d'autres termes les plus grands esprits des deux siècles précédents. En relisant les oeuvres si extraordinaires des écrivains mystiques qui se sont occupés des sciences dans leurs relations avec l'infini, tels que Swedenborg, Saint-Martin, etc., et les écrits des plus beaux génies en histoire naturelle, tels que Leibnitz, Buffon, Charles Bonnet, etc., . . ."<sup>12</sup>

What was the intellectual climate which fostered Balzac's preoccupation with the occult? Perhaps the clue resides in the fascination for Balzac of the Slavic world. For as Henry Rzewuski<sup>13</sup> has said of the

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 130, and p. 131: "the increasing frequency and nature of the references to the *Divine Comedy* ultimately led Balzac to the adaptation of the title for his works." — It would be futile, certainly, to belittle the influence of Dante on Balzac. Dante was then at the height of his reputation in France. For example, the "Revue littéraire" of the *Revue des deux mondes* xxiv (1840), 453-461 is devoted to an examination of A. Fiorentino's translation of the *Divine Comedy*; yet a few pages further on (p. 464) à propos the *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature des Slaves* by Eichhoff, mention is made of "M. Mickiewicz, ce grand écrivain, traduit par M. de Montalembert, loué à si juste titre par George Sand." I call attention also (*Rev. des deux Mondes*, xx (1839), 534-572, 737-772) to an article by J. J. Ampère who declares: "c'est un vrai malheur pour les admirateurs sincères de Dante que la mode se soit emparée de ce grand poète."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. Baldensperger, *L'appel de la Fiction orientale chez Honoré de Balzac* (Oxford, 1927), p. 30. Remarquons, en outre, que Balzac attire l'attention sur les relations des peuples slaves et du monde oriental. "On ignore, en Europe, que les peuples slaves possèdent beaucoup de secrets; ils ont une collection de remèdes souverains, fruits de leurs relations avec les Chinois, les Persans, les Cosaques, les Turcs et les Tartares," *Oeuvres complètes*, XXXIII. *Scènes de la vie politique. L'envers de l'histoire contemporaine* (Paris: C. Levy, 1892), pp. 225-226.

<sup>12</sup> *Oeuvres complètes de Honoré de Balzac*, éd. M. Bouteron et H. Lognon (Paris, 1912), pp. xxv and xxvi. Cf. A. Viatte, *Les sources occultes du Romantisme* (Paris, 1928), II, 268, 273.

<sup>13</sup> Sophie de Korwin-Piotrowska, *Balzac et le monde slave* (Paris, 1933), p. 181.

Poles: "Il n'est pas douteux que notre génie national ait manifesté de tout temps des tendances mystiques et qu'il ait essayé de s'émanciper du joug des formules scientifiques, afin de mieux développer ses facultés intuitives. . . ." Accordingly M. Baldensperger has suggested what, I think, is the likeliest explanation of the title of the *Comédie humaine*.<sup>14</sup> "Il faudrait savoir," he writes, "si le titre de la *Comédie infernale* de Krasinski (1837-48) a pu toucher Balzac." And Sophie de Korwin-Piotrowska<sup>15</sup> remarks that "la personnalité de Krasinski et l'originalité de ses idées devaient certes attirer l'attention de Mme Hanska." But it was not Mme Hanska who introduced Balzac to the *Comédie infernale*; at least it was not she who suggested to him the title of his work, since it is Balzac himself who announces it to her. Further, can it be said that "les influences slaves se résument presque toutes pour Balzac dans la personne de Mme Hanska"? S. de Korwin-Piotrowska herself remarks that "Balzac a fréquenté d'autres Polonais à Paris, Wronski, par exemple, ou Mickiewicz."<sup>16</sup> Now it was precisely at this time, 1840-41, as Wladimir Karénine notes,<sup>17</sup> that "Mickiewicz était . . . à l'apogée de sa gloire." Mickiewicz was named professor at the Collège de France on September 8, 1840, and on December 22 of the same year he opened his course on the political and literary history of the Slavs. His success was great. Among his auditors were not only university people but "une foule de jeunes gens et toute une série d'hommes les plus éminents de l'époque: savants, artistes et auteurs."<sup>18</sup> Outstanding in this assembly were Chopin and George Sand, the novelist being an enthusiastic disciple of the Polish poet. Mickiewicz was a frequent visitor at her house, and so likewise was Balzac at this time.<sup>19</sup> She was, to use her own term, "farcié"<sup>20</sup> with the Poles with whom Chopin had made his acquainted. Moreover, there is a series of letters from Mickiewicz to Sand dealing with the *Comédie infernale*. In one of these letters

<sup>14</sup> F. Baldensperger in his remarkable work, *Orientations étrangères chez H. de Balzac* (Paris, 1927), p. 221, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Sophie de Korwin-Piotrowska, *op. cit.*, p. 105 "Nous croyons pourtant que, parmi les jeunes poètes polonais, c'est la puissante figure d'Adam Mickiewicz, qui devait frapper tout particulièrement la châtelaine de Wierchownia." — Sur Krasinski, cf. J. Kleiner, *Z. Krasinski* (Lwów, 1912), 2 vol. <sup>16</sup> S. de Korwin-Piotrowska, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> W. Karénine, *George Sand, Sa vie et ses œuvres (1804-1876)*, III (1838-1848) (Paris, 1912), p. 181. — Cf. W. Lednicki, "Mickiewicz at the Collège de France, 1840-1940," *THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW*, XX (1941), 149-172. — A. Mazon, "Une correspondance: Mickiewicz, Victor Cousin, Cyprien Robert," *Revue de littérature comparée*, XIV (1934), 555-564. <sup>18</sup> W. Karénine, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>19</sup> *Lettres à l'étrangère*, pp. 552-553, letter of March 15, 1841: "George Sand chez qui je vais assez souvent."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 552-553, letter of March 15, 1841: "tous les Polonais dont elle est farcié."

Mickiewicz writes: "Je vous porterai mon drame. Faites-le lire à Bocage. Mais j'ai à vous parler d'une chose plus importante. Je pense qu'on pourrait arranger pour la scène la *Comédie infernale*."<sup>21</sup> This letter, it is true, seems to refer to the year 1843, the same year in which Mickiewicz wrote two other letters on the subject of Krasinski's play.<sup>22</sup> While Mickiewicz was not scheduled, in his course at the Collège de France, to take up Krasinski till January 24, 1843, yet it is highly probable, given his immense interest in Polish literature, that long before this date he spoke to his friends of the Polish patriot whose fame he wished to enhance with "tout son pouvoir."<sup>23</sup> Especially dedicated to furthering the reputation of the *Comédie infernale*, he was no doubt zealous in spreading round him word of the play. Nor is this all. The Polish title of the work is nearer the title of the *Divine Comedy*, and is naturally affiliated to the *Comédie humaine*. In connection with Mickiewicz's use, in his letters, of the title *Comédie infernale*, W. Karénine writes: "c'est ainsi qu'il traduit ici, comme au cours de ses leçons au Collège de France, le titre de *Nie Boska Komedya* qu'il faudrait plus exactement appeler: *Comédie non divine*."<sup>24</sup> Actually Mickiewicz speaks in his lecture of January 24, 1843 of the drama "qui a paru vers l'an 1834"<sup>25</sup> and "qui est intitulé la *Comédie non divine* ou la *Comédie infernale*."<sup>26</sup>

The motives and causes which led Balzac to chose the title of the *Comédie humaine* were no doubt various. Yet if his choice cannot be ascribed to any single circumstance, there is reason to believe that the influence of Krasinski's *Undivine Comedy*<sup>27</sup> was the decisive factor. A frequenter of George Sand, and in touch with the Polish group which surrounded the novelist, Balzac could hardly have resisted the attraction of a man who was then at the height of his fame, Mickiewicz — "le seul grand extatique que je connaisse," said George Sand<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> W. Karénine, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>25</sup> The drama appeared in 1835.

<sup>26</sup> A. Mickiewicz, *Les slaves* (Paris, 1849), iv, 140. Mickiewicz also spoke of the *Comédie infernale* on December 13, 1842 (cf. *Les slaves*, Paris, 1914), p. 12. — *La Comédie infernale* was published in the *Revue des deux Mondes* xvi (1846), 5-66. It is curious to discover in this French translation the omission of a passage occurring in the English version: "Ho! Citizens! Ho! Democrats! aid! aid!" (*The Undivine Comedy and other poems by the anonymous poet of Poland, Count Sigismund Krasinski*, transl. by M. W. Cook (Philadelphia, 1875). — Z. Krasinski, *Nie-Boska Komedya*, ed. J. Kleiner (Kraków, 1927), p. 100.

<sup>27</sup> It was only after finishing the *Undivine Comedy* that Krasinski found a title for it. (Cf. Z. Krasinski, *op. cit.*, ed. J. Kleiner, Introduction).

<sup>28</sup> W. Karénine, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

the disciple of Swedenborg and Saint-Martin, the popularizer in France of Polish literature, the friend of Krasinski, the admirer of the *Un-divine Comedy*.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> My liveliest thanks are due Professor Wacław Lednicki for having drawn my attention to the *Un-divine Comedy* and for his helpful counsel in the preparation of this paper. I refer the reader to his study, "Christ et révolution dans la poésie russe et polonaise," *Mélanges en l'honneur de Jules Lezras* (Paris, 1939), pp. 99-121. In this very interesting essay the author says of Krasinski: "Krasinski connaissait à merveille la *Comédie humaine*, il avait, par exemple, entrepris la composition d'un roman 'à la Balzac.'" Perhaps the influence of Mickiewicz and Krasinski on Balzac is greater than is commonly supposed. On the one hand, I might mention Mickiewicz's admiration of Napoleon and, on the other, Balzac's declaration to Mme Hanska: "Quatre hommes auront eu une vie immense: Napoléon, Cuvier, O'Connell et je veux être le quatrième." (*Lettres à l'Étrangère* [Paris, 1905], II, 301-302, letter of 6-20 February 1844).

## THE POLISH WRITER ABROAD

### THREE YEARS OF EMIGRATION LITERATURE

By MARION MOORE COLEMAN

THE POLISH WORD, thanks to the Diaspora of 1939–1941, is today not only spoken but written everywhere in the world. It is well known that Poles, whenever they chance to come together, even in twos and threes, immediately found a journal and begin to publish in Polish. Today, with Poles meeting in every corner of the globe and not in twos and threes but in thousands, it is no exaggeration to say, as someone has done, that now

On Volga's bank the Kraków Hejnal sounds,  
Tashkent has heard the chimes of Antokol.  
From Teheran to Scotland's misty bounds,  
Through every land between and all  
Beyond, courses the well-remembered chant  
Of village bells in Nowogródek land.

Naturally the great bulk of Polish writing today is news exchange and morale priming, accomplished through the various journals and designed to serve only the passing moment. Some of it, however, is above this transient character: a good deal of it will be remembered long beyond the time when the poor paper on which it is printed has fallen to dust and a small amount will even become a permanent part of the Polish nation's literary treasury.

Of the writers of Free Poland who now find themselves abroad nearly all are poets. With the exception of Józef Wittlin, none of the major novelists — Kossak, Gojawiczyńska, Dąbrowska, Nałkowska, to mention the most distinguished — have "got out." The number of poets outside the prisonhouse of Poland itself, however, is large, and it is they who are responsible for most of the Polish writing today that will live.

The Polish poet, wherever he is, whether in London or New York, Rio or Samarkand, and whatever the strain he may pluck on his lute, functions under two powerful and inescapable, if remote, controls: that of "tamci," meaning "those yonder" in the homeland, on the one hand, and of the First, or Great, Emigration, on the other. The poet desires, in his relative comfort abroad, only to serve "those yonder" in Poland and in order to do this he finds himself constantly straining to project his senses toward them, endeavoring with his eyes to pierce the darkness that curtains their misery, groping with his hands to touch and thus comfort them, listening with ear alert for even an

echo of what they are saying back there And what comes through?  
As Zenon Kosidowski puts it in a poem addressed to "Those Yonder"  
("Tamci"):

Word after word but a dully heard signal  
As from a submarine, lost in the deep,  
Throbbing about us, measured, immortal,  
Tolling despair, and the faith you still keep.

Yet the effort to establish spiritual communication goes on, and  
"those yonder" continue to rule the poet's mind.

As for the control exerted on today's emigration poet by his  
ancestors of a hundred years ago, Marjan Hemar reveals how it  
operates, in a poem "Spotkanie" ("Meeting"). Two Poles meet un-  
expectedly in Picadilly. Coming together from the ends of the earth,  
they have much to say to each other. They exchange remarks about  
London — how pleasant it is, just an overgrown village! — discuss  
such matters as where to get good gin, coupons, baths, etc., assure  
each other they will get together soon for lunch at Claridge's or a  
stroll in Hyde Park, admit they have learned to eat porridge, and  
then start to say good-bye,

... when suddenly, out of a cross-street,  
Emerges from darkness and walks alongside us —  
Mochnacki.  
Wait! Which Mochnacki? Maurycy, Maurycy.  
Yes, he! But too abstracted to bow.  
And they'd have given him — Oh, what a fine  
collation!  
But he'd come so sudden upon them and then  
how  
Swiftly reentered that other world once again,  
that other, — *his* Emigration.

Yes, the ghost of Mochnacki, or some other figure from that Emigra-  
tion of a hundred years ago, is never more than a thought away from  
the poet of today's emigration, standing there like "a great shadow,"  
reminding the exile of today that there is not among us," as Jan  
Lechoń put it recently, "either a Mickiewicz or a Chopin, a Lelewel  
or a Kniaziewicz or a Prince Adam."

That the shadow of the giants would lie heavily on their descen-  
dants was early foreseen by that Don Quixote of the present emigra-  
tion, the brilliant young journalist Ksawery Pruszyński. Fearing the  
shadow's paralyzing effect, Pruszyński, in a ringing, "keynote"  
article in the first issue of the excellent emigration journal *Wiado-  
mości polskie* (*Polish News*), called on his fellow-writers to look out



for this very thing, to beware the ghosts and to remember that 1940 demands other types of service from that required of the poet a hundred years ago. That Emigration, Pruszyński recalled, was in itself a defeated Emigration which only years after it was itself dead served the nation and helped to restore the fatherland. "Years later, to be sure, the verses of Mickiewicz, recited in a Russian gimnasium in Kielce, wakened the patriotism of Andrzej Radek, and the first political tutor of Ziuk Piłsudski was indeed Słowacki." But this does not alter the fact that the other Emigration was, as Słowacki himself knew only too well, unheroic. This emigration, Pruszyński challenged, must be a fighting one, lest it have no part in the ultimate victory, lest it be only, in the words of the old song, the "hands black from the plough" that win the final triumph.

Pruszyński himself proceeded to suit the action to the word. For a while he was busy roaming the length and breadth of Scotland, with the Polish forces training there or guarding the coast. Then he accompanied the famous Polish Highland Brigade on its expedition to Narvik. Later he went to Soviet Russia to edit a Polish journal circulating among those of his fellow-countrymen, lately released from prison, who were scattered throughout that vast country from Siberia to Uzbekistan to the Kirghiz Republic. With his pen for a bayonet, Pruszyński has covered every frontier, just as in more peaceful days he covered the Spanish Civil War and later the tragic final events of Czechoslovakia's brief history. Out of his Scottish experiences came a series of articles for *Wiadomości polskie*, a number of which were translated by Peter Jordan and published in English as *Polish Invasion*, the title referring, of course, to the peaceful invasion, by the Poles, of the Scottish villages. Other articles by Pruszyński have appeared in the collection *Poland Fights Back*. Besides reporting the Narvik expedition in a form half-fictional, half-factual, Pruszyński has also contributed to the recently published volume of memoirs, *Kraj lat dziecińczych* (*The Land of Childhood Years*, 1942), an account not only charming but at the same time informative of home life on a Polish estate in Volhynia as it was in the years just before the First World War.

Something like twenty volumes of poetry, some of it excellent, much of it indifferent, have been published since September, 1939 by poets of the emigration. Antoni Słonimski's slim collection titled from the stirring poem of the siege of Warsaw, *Alarm*, was the first, having appeared in London in the summer of 1940, and Jan Lechoń's *Lutnia po Bekwarku* (*Lute to Mourning Tuned*, 1942) the latest. In between there have been Kazimierz Wierzyński's three volumes, *Ziemia*

*wilczyca* (Earth, the She-Wolf), *Barbakan warszawski* (Warsaw Bar-ricade) — of this a de luxe edition from the press of Samuel Tyszkiewicz, formerly of Florence, now of Nice — and *Róża wiatrów* (Mariners' Rose), published in New York; two slight anthologies from Marja Pawlikowska, *Róża i lasy płonące* (The Rose and the Burning Forests) and *Goląb ofiarny* (Sacrificial Dove); Antoni Bogusławski's *Polna kochanka* (Rustic Sweetheart); and Józef Łobodowski's verses published by the Tyszkiewicz press under the suggestive title from Ujejski, *Z dymem pożarów* (From the Smoke of the Fires); besides a number of collections from the pens of new writers.

The poet who, in the last three years, has shown evidence of the greatest growth, and this in the direction of universality, a quality conspicuously lacking in so much of Polish poetry in the past, is Stanisław Baliński. In his first post-war anthology, *Wielka podróż* (A Great Journey), Baliński revealed himself a strictly Polish poet, moving, sincere, but a Pole's poet, nevertheless, all his allusions, his themes and his attitudes being bounded by the horizon a Pole might be expected to have, as one who undertook to make him intelligible to a foreign audience quickly discovered. From the initial poem in *Wielka podróż*, "Krajobrazy polskie 1933," ("Polish Scenes 1933") to the numerous verses in the collection written in Rome and Paris, all bore the special Polish mark. And the same old note of longing, the familiar Polish nostalgia, was omnipresent. To a Pole, or to one who had fallen under the spell of the portion of Poland from which Baliński came, the Lithuanian portion of the eastern border, the verses were deeply stirring. Such a poem as "O ziemi nowogrodzkiej" ("Of Nowogródek Land") had in it much of Mickiewicz and all of the land itself's own spell. But it lacked universal appeal.

More lately, especially in a poem which appeared recently in *Wiadomości polskie* entitled "Wizja ghetta" ("A Vision of the Ghetto"), Baliński has written not only greater poetry than before, but more universal. The poem came into being, obviously, as a result of long reflection on, first, the meaning of Warsaw to a Pole, and second, the appalling thing the Germans have made of that meaning. For Warsaw, with its long line of Kilińskis and Dekerts and its fame as a breeding place of revolutions, is identified in the Polish mind with western liberalism and progress. To a grim black wall in the heart of Warsaw Baliński is led by the Muse, to a wall he has never seen, though "the city is known to him well." It dawns on him, with a flash of horrible understanding, that this is the wall of the ghetto. The Muse leads him inside: the air is thick, stifling, there are no trees and no leaves, only bare blank walls and stones. . . .

No wind and no water, only blackest wells,  
Whence Hunger rears naked and stands at the gate  
To spread 'round her sadly the germs of the plague.

The poet proceeds on his way, scarcely able to believe the "feudal scandal" which the invading ruffians have reared in our "old, liberal Warsaw." Then he hears in the distance a feeble cry. It is a child . . . no, two children, both dying of the plague and over them stands a mother, trying to understand what they say. She bends over: what is it her children are crying for? What? One, to see the Vistula bank,

the water, fast-flowing, the breezes above it.

And the other, for "a fresh green twig from the Saxon Garden." Quickly the mother tears herself away from her children and eventually, through a chink in the ghetto wall, is handed a sprig of green from a tree that blossoms outside. She runs back to her children — and here the poet achieves a remarkable harmony of rhythm and action — and as they sleep their little lives away, contented at sight of the fragrant green, she anoints their faces, as if with holy oil, with dew from the living green. It is a poem that can not fail to move any heart, not only a Polish.

When Słonimski's first volume appeared way back in 1940, there were those who hailed him "the poet of the new emigration." The verdict was, of course, premature, but this much must be said for Słonimski: he has given the emigration a clear and inspiring statement of what it is fighting for, as fighting it is with pen and sword, in the short poem "Wszystko" ("Everything"). Not for fame nor riches, says Słonimski, nor to force our rule on others, but

Beneath an ancient plane tree  
Of a summer's day to tarry  
With a book, and hear  
The talk of villagers near  
By, the gnats' low buzz,  
The horses, neighing in the pasture lot at dusk.

Not to fashion others to our way, but

With our own, inside our own four walls,  
To break bread justly.  
To go forth and cleanly  
Greet the starlit sky,  
Then peacefully retire beneath its arch.

To gaze through windows once again  
At chestnut trees, to see  
Their leaves adrip with shining rain.  
To walk the boulevard, to stop  
And recognize old paths —  
Not much — but all.

So far the note of Messianism, which dominated the poetry of the Great Emigration, is absent from the poetry of the present. Recently Baliński even went so far as to write a poem in celebration of "Anti-Romanticism," in which he repudiated, if not Messianism itself, then at least its accompaniments. The daring, the love of high flying, the passion for showing that he can perform the impossible, which have characterized the Pole in the past, have not gone out of him, but today they are finding expression in the exploits of Polish airmen. Much of the verse that has appeared has come from the camps and one anthology at least — *Wcieniu skrzydeł* (*In the Shadow of Wings*) — from the pen of a flier who was later severely wounded in action. For this, as Pruszyński predicted, is, indeed, "a fighting emigration."

NEW YORK

## IN TAKING FLIGHT

By ŚWIATOPEŁK KAPIŃSKI  
(1940)

TRANSLATED FROM THE POLISH BY BLANCHE ZBOROWSKA  
AND MARION MOORE COLEMAN

This time, O native storks, when you return  
To springtime verdure 'neath an azure sky,  
The straw-thatched roof toward which your  
    memories yearn  
Will not be nigh. . . .

Frantic, you'll wheel and circle near,  
Screaming to heaven as in baffled strife:  
That once a hamlet nestled here,  
Rye grew, and there was life.

Cease writing clamorous circles across the air.  
Nothing is left. Grass will overgrow the site,  
Earth hide it soon with gravemound, bare  
And black, to match the ashes of its plight.

Fly swiftly then into the blue.  
To other lands from yonder ruin flee,  
To other marshes, vales and meadows new,  
Where welcome waits white-wingèd birds and free.

And though, 'mid fair designs of foreign scene,  
These meadows still nostalgic toll shall take,  
Or frogs in croaking chorus make you dream,  
The glowworm's flicker bitter yearning wake,

Despair not of the spring! Wingèd, 'twill free  
Your wings unto the wind, to blow  
You where the hamlet and the thatch shall be  
Again, and tears of gladness flow.

TRANSLATIONS FROM POLISH VERSE BY OLIVER  
ELTON AND W. J. ROSE

1. *THE BOOK OF THE POOR*<sup>1</sup>

JAN KASPROWICZ, NO. XIV

Just now, to say the truth, I am not  
Exactly burning to be dead.  
By this high road, or that hill-pathway,  
Death comes unasked, when all is said.

I understand a man precisely  
When "All is one to me," he cries,  
"What spade shall batter above my coffin  
Or where my carrion putrefies!"

But all must die one day — I know it;  
Yet, surely, all men's dreams are free?  
To be the last, lone, lingering hermit,  
That is the prayer, the prayer for me!

To you I turn, my kin, my nearest,  
And also, honored friends, to you:  
Scorn my remains, I pray, — and make not  
Of this affair too much ado!

No, pack them on a peasant's wagon;  
Between four boards those leavings hide  
Of lusts that came direct from heaven;  
And let them *thus* in triumph ride

To yonder field — in style luxurious!  
— He keeps his jubilee in state  
Through all those grievous years outliving  
His own — and others' — sorry fate.

Here, in this desert, he would ponder  
Upon the universe, and stroll  
On dewy mornings. Here, I beg you,  
Dig me, and dig it deep, — a hole:

<sup>1</sup> On Jan Kasprowicz (1860-1926) and Kazimir Przerwa-Tetmajer (1863-1939) see Dr. W. J. Rose, "The Poets of Young Poland, 1890-1903," in this *Review*, American Series, 1, pp. 187, 193-194. The poem of Kasprowicz here translated is no. xiv in his *Book of the Poor* (*Księga Ubogich*) 1916: a magnificent series of lyrics celebrating the peace that nature brings in the midst of war and carnage, the religious faith that the poet has attained after many struggles, his observant passion for natural things, and his devotion to his wife. There is a noble elegy on the fallen Polish soldiers compelled to fight in another's interests.

Or, if you still feel kindly, choose me  
Above that slab, a landing-ground  
Beside the stream, whose waves shall guard me  
While they eternally resound.

'Twas here, from yonder glittering boulder,  
As oft on sunny noons I lay,  
I watched those mighty, clamoring waters  
Leap into space, and break in spray.

Or, lay me by that trodden pathway  
(I crave too much, I aim too high!)  
Where often I would pace at evening  
And watch the stars, in days gone bye.

But stay — I'll be a sturdy beggar,  
Though kneeling humbly! — Have the grace,  
I pray, to plant a pair of fir-trees,  
Or ashes, on my burial-place.

For all my days I still have wondered  
What their mysterious voices teach:  
I loved, far more than sweetest music,  
Their converse, and their daily speech.

Dust unto dust! though God shall crumble  
This worthless body He doth despise,  
Yet am I well assured that always  
The soul is precious in His eyes.

And He will suffer her, believe me,  
From time to time to visit still  
That river bank, those fields deserted,  
The road, the forest, and the hill,

—Will suffer her to take her station  
Upon my grave, whose turf is green;  
To listen to the firs and ashes  
That now have sucked the marrow clean.

Not yet my time to think on dying!  
Some day, I know, a man must die;  
And so — I crave your parting service,  
— This crumb of bread — of coarsest rye.

2. WIND, I BEHELD THEE<sup>2</sup>

K. TETMAJER

Wind, I beheld thee also across the graveyards fly,  
 Murmuring to tombs that nameless and unremembered lie;  
 And from those tombs rose faces, I know, before thee there,  
 Which never shall be hallowed by human thought or prayer.  
 Time grips them, and they suffer oblivion profound,  
 Yet now they greet thee, smiling. Thy touch hath stirred the  
     ground  
 Where they have lain for ages, unfound on earth by all  
 Save thee. For many a forest has tottered to its fall,  
 And streams have shifted, mountains have sunk, but thou alone  
 Above these folk dost murmur for ever, in monotone.  
 They listen, and remember too well the days of old,  
 And mark the stars grown dimmer, the sun a paler gold.

TR. OLIVER ELTON

3. JANOSIK'S TOURNEY<sup>3</sup>

K. TETMAJER

On the gold throne in Budzyn exalted sat the king;  
 From all the land's four quarters the lords came journeying.  
 From castle and from hamlet those lords had ridden away;  
 To honor his dear daughter the king held joust that day.

The hour for royal pastimes had come; the heralds blared;  
 And thither sped the nobles — and twelve together fared.  
 Of royal blood descended, Bathyani led them on;  
 Next came Prince Esterhazy, in golden mail he shone.

Pallavicini, margrave, had saddle-housings red,  
 And a bright scarlet ensign waved from his long spear-head.  
 Erdoedy — Palfy — youthful Festetics, warrior tried,  
 Came with two counts, the Toskoels, whose stature was their pride.

Next come four others riding, their steeds beneath them neigh;  
 They come with polished breastplates, in glittering array;  
 And from their shoulders swinging striped leopard-skins descend,  
 And haughty plumes are brushing those necks, too proud to bend;

<sup>2</sup> *Poezye* (Warsaw, 1905), p. 15. Of the poems from Tetmajer, "Wind, I beheld thee" is in a different strain from the three heroic ballads that follow. These are part of the cycle in which the Slovak outlaw Janosik is the hero. A few words may indicate the links missing in the story. It opens with the *Tourney*: then are related the loves of Janosik and Jadwiga, the daughter of Count Szalamon, who in revenge has her buried alive. Janosik descends in wrath and, after breaking the pillars of the castle, carries off the body to the hills (*The Burial of Jadwiga*). Then the lords in Mikulasz debate how to kill him (*The Pursuit of Janosik*); and in the sequel they do so, owing to the treachery of a woman, revengeful Hanka. The series ends with her remorse and suicide. <sup>3</sup> *Poezye*, pp. 255-259.



And now the lists they enter; before the king they bow,  
And kingly are the prizes each champion seeks . . . But now  
A peasant from the gateway amidst those champions stept,  
And to the king, in homage, his Cap he earthward swept.

"O king, an accusation I bring thee!" he proclaimed.  
"Our women are dishonored, our village maidens shamed!  
Twelve of our maidens ravished — on these twelve knights the guilt! —  
Twelve of our village maidens! Let blood for blood be spilt!"

"Twelve cottages dishonored — twelve homes lament today . . .  
Sire, throned on gold, be gracious — give ear to me, I pray!  
Blood must be shed, and bloody must be the foeman's face;  
I come, I come avenging our Slovak maids' disgrace!"

Then all men stood astounded, and silent fell the ring.  
"What word is this? How durst thou? Who art thou?" asked the king.  
"A hill-born outlaw, hetman Janosik, that am I."  
Then marvelled all the courtiers, and king enthroned on high.

And the king's visage slowly with rising wrath was lit,  
And his moustache was bristling, his grizzled brows were knit.  
Upon that band of Magyars, twelve gentlemen, he glowered.  
Beneath the crested headgear twelve heads were earthward lowered.

"What, wilt thou to fight them, all twelve, and brow to brow?"  
— "With all, O king," Janosik made answer; "all, and now!"  
O king, twelve fields of harvest a single gust will clear;  
Thus let me, single-handed, meet these twelve warriors here."

Then the king's sceptre signalled; the trumpets gave one blast.  
Janosik fixed his girdle, and off his mantle cast.  
The king and all the courtiers, they marvelled to behold  
The shirt that came from Juhasz, the trousers looped with gold.

There from his cap a bundle of discs, all golden, rayed,  
And moved he ever so little, the cap a tinkling made.  
A row upon his axe-haft of brazen rings he had;  
At every step he swung it. His shoes in steel were clad.

His hand had gripped the hatchet, and there he took his stand.  
Heralds struck up; then signalled the king, with sceptred hand;  
Twelve lances, like a forest thick-timbered, took their aim,  
And at Janosik's bosom twelve lances flying came.

Hola! in golden Budzyn, hola! how went it, tell!  
And in the king's chief city what thing that day befell?  
Upon that day what pasttime might there the king await  
In his dear daughter's honor, by his town's golden gate?

Now on the sand, all shattered, twelve lances fell and crashed,  
 And off the polished helmlates twelve glittering sabres flashed.  
 For see! up sprang Janosik, and raised his arm to strike,  
 Whistled the tune of Juhasz, and whirled around his pike.

How like a flame of lightning that hatchet circled round!  
 Erdoedy, count, with vizor hewn through, was on the ground;  
 Pallavicini, margrave, had rent his horse's rein;  
 His riven skull was soiling the sand with bloody stain.

And now Prince Bathyani on his left side had dropt;  
 Right hand and sword were severed. Count Palffy's brows were chopt.  
 And soon Prince Esterhazy upon the sand lay low,  
 Scrabbling the ground; and straightway his face was white as snow.

Not long did Count Festetics smile in the light of day,  
 But by the brothers Toskoel fell dead — and dead were they.  
 And then, before Janosik, the remnant lay in death.  
 When the twelfth corpse had fallen, he drew a mighty breath,

And leaned upon his weapon; like some rich beechtree then  
 He stood; there lay before him twelve haughty gentlemen;  
 Twelve golden suits of armor and twelve sharp sabres lay;  
 And dumbly gazed the people upon that mortal fray.

And no man spoke, and all men a tomblike silence kept.  
 To the king bowed Janosik, and low his cap he swept.  
 Then in their blood were carried twelve corpses from that place  
 And thus avenged Janosik those Slovak maids' disgrace.

TR. OLIVER ELTON

#### *THE BURIAL OF JADWIGA<sup>4</sup>*

K. TETMAJER

On his arm he caught her — bore her off to field and woodland thence;  
 Bore her — and his look was dreadful, like an air-borne pestilence;  
 Bore her far away — the Starolesian Valley was his quest;  
 There he climbed with her, nor halted till he gained the rocky crest.

Over the abyss stands slumbering many a Starolesian height;  
 On a mountain-pass amidst them there he laid her body white;  
 Laid her body, laid the snow-white body that he loved so well,  
 While the tears, salt tears and big ones, gathered in his eyes and fell.

Two whole days Janosik by her linen-shrouded body lay;  
 Two days, from her ice-cold bosom never took his lips away;  
 On the third he rose and left the body of his love, his own;  
 With his hands he fell to breaking splinters from the solid stone.

<sup>4</sup> *Poezye*, pp. 175 ff.

And above her body built he there a house of granite rock;  
Of the solid stone he wrought it, fitting fairly block to block;  
Built her there a tomb of granite from the solid stone apart;  
Loosed for her his golden girdle — troth for troth, and heart to heart!

By that sepulchre Janosik knelt, and thus his love implored:  
"I am but a bird ill-fated, my Jadwiga, dear, adored!  
Bird ill-fated, from the hilltops flying here, and falling thence.  
To the Vale of Spiz descending, like an air-borne pestilence.

"Young, so young! — and death I brought thee! only death, to thee, my dear!

Now, a soldier and commander, I but stand lamenting here;  
Now, a soldier and commander, I am weeping on thy grave,  
On these rocks so hard and stubborn, for the troth our true hearts  
gave . . .

"From thy tomb arise, Jadwiga, from thy tomb I bid thee rise!"  
And that Starolesian rock-edge, moaning, echoed to the skies.  
In the misty gloom the Tatras moaned beneath the heavens gray,  
And in the ravines the echo moaned in answer, died away.

There a day and night he lingered with his face upon the stone;  
From the valley depths there floated wafts of wind, about him blown.  
While the clouds went by above him on their journeys overhead,  
As he lay beside his loved one, hardly breathing, as one dead.

On that wind-swept height Janosik, neighbor to the stars, alone,  
Now bethought him, well remembering cities he had overthrown;  
Yes, Janosik well bethought him, — left the heights — descended thence  
In his wrath against the Magyars, like an air-borne pestilence.

TR. OLIVER ELTON

### *THE PLOT AGAINST JANOSIK<sup>5</sup>*

K. TETMAJER

Listen! in their capital, Mikulasz,  
Mid the everlasting woods primeval,  
There, beneath the lofty mountain Dziumbir,  
In their city hall debate the gentry,  
Gentry of the land, of Spiz, of Lipta,  
And the wealthy counts of Oraw with them.

Listen! wherefore, in God's name, debate they?  
— How to kill, to do to death, Janosik,  
Kill that best of outlaw chiefs, Janosik!  
Yes, good God! the captain of the outlaws,

<sup>5</sup> *Poezye*, pp. 179 ff.

Him, the health of all the Slovak people,  
 Who despoils the mighty, gives to poor men,  
 Buying cattle for the needy peasant,  
 Measuring cloth from beechtree unto beechtree,  
 Him, who never slays a man — Janosik<sup>1</sup>

Under Dziumbir in the waste, a fir-tree  
 Towered above the rest and pierced the heavens,  
 Drinking water from the glassy wellspring.  
 And the neighboring fir-trees thus bespoke it:  
 "Why so high above us dost thou flourish?  
 Why above our heads art thou exalted?"  
 And that fir-tree shouted loud his answer:  
 "Brief my time for drinking from the wellspring,  
 Brief my time for flourishing above you.  
 I am sighted by the lords of Lipta,  
 I am singled out by Lipta's masters.  
 In their capital are župans sitting;  
 And their woodmen with the axe will fell me,  
 From my timber they will hew a gallows."

Loudly now debate the lords of Lipta  
 In their capital, the town Mikulasz,  
 'Mid the everlasting woods primeval,  
 Still debating how to take Janosik,  
 Take that best of outlaw chiefs, Janosik,  
 Him, the health of all the Slovak people.

So the lords take counsel — diverse counsel:  
 Some would hunt him with a troop of peasants,  
 Put to shame the outlaw, — him, their terror;  
 With their hands, their own hands, they would seize him.  
 Others from the king would beg an army  
 (King in Budza, Emperor in Vienna),  
 With that host beleaguering all the Tatras,  
 Like the wall that girds the fort in Trencin.

Mighty God! O God beloved, mighty!

Then the haughty župan of Swatojan,  
 Starting from his seat, his chair of oakwood,  
 In his black beard twists his crooked fingers,  
 Like a horse's mane he plucks and rends it,  
 Shouting loudly, "Idle are your speeches,  
 Honored lords! for all has been attempted  
 Many a time, and all has come to nothing!  
 From the land we have despatched our peasants,  
 Hajduks, army, — yes, and all for nothing!

You may catch a bear and you may drag him  
By the fell from Krzywa's gloomy forests;  
Not so soon, lay hands upon Janosik!  
Peasants march — but they are loth to seize him;  
Like a ghost, he fades before the army,  
And the hajduk dreads him like a vampire.

“Not for nought, seven years his mother nursed him!  
And, they tell you, when he grips a fir-tree,  
Never a girl will rend the flax as quickly  
As he plucks the fir-tree from the black earth.  
And they tell you, when he hews a boulder,  
That his hatchet two spans deep will grave it.  
When he shouts, the pools are stirred and muddied,  
Just as though a flight of geese had plunged there!

“Also folk will tell you” (here the żupan  
Crossed himself, and made the sign devoutly)  
“With the Evil One is leagued Janosik.  
Vain to shoot at him — the bullet misses;  
And the sabre-stroke slips off him, harmless.  
By no human hand his axe is guided;  
Like a living creature, at his bidding  
Of itself it cleaves men, stone, and timber.

And he has the power, so folk will tell you,  
Out of sight to vanish like a shadow,  
Disappearing like a mist at daybreak.  
Shackles cannot bind the bear on Dziumbir;  
So, Janosik is not caught by violence.

“But I judge,” the żupan of Swatojan  
Said, the black beard resting on his bosom.  
Now proclaiming unto all around him  
This: — “the man who shall betray Janosik,  
Seize him, or deliver him a captive,  
Or with his own hand shall kill Janosik,  
Shall receive a thousand shining ducats.”

So the lords decided, all consenting,  
All the lords of Spiż and lords of Lipta,  
And the wealthy counts of Oraw with them.  
Then from town to town the word went flying,  
Going forth from region unto region,  
Going, clamorous and shameful, telling

That the man who shall betray Janosik,  
That good warrior, to the lords, a captive,  
Or of youth, and health, and life, deprive him,  
Shall receive a thousand shining ducats.

Thus advised the župan of Swatojan;  
Loudly are the Magyar lords debating.

TR. OLIVER ELTON

### DEVOTION

K. TETMAJER

If thou wert but the crystal sea,  
All my life, standing, I'd gaze on thee;  
If thou wert but a forest all of green,  
To thy murmuring I'd attend, unseen:

If thou wert but a desert all untrodden,  
Gladly I'd bid the world farewell! forgotten;  
If thou wert Death, O wonder! at thy bidding  
Swiftly I'd go to thee, as to a wedding.

TR. W. J. ROSE

### *A MOŻE W STRASZLIWEJ ZAWIEI!*

JAN KASPROWICZ

Mayhap — from the frightful tempest  
That shatters the world about us,  
Not merely ruin may follow,  
Not only wreckage to flout us!

Mayhap — 'mid the wrestling of Titans  
The evil at last will crumble,  
And God will enter and dwell in  
All ready hearts and humble!

Mayhap — 'tis a time of waiting,  
When man will be bold, and feel  
(Ashamed of his age-long foulness)  
That flesh can endure like steel!

In place of renewal of fetters  
And tearful nursing of pain,  
Mayhap a gate of releasing  
Will open to human ken!

None can this gate discover  
By his clever calculations;  
But by heart and muscle straining  
He bursts the cage of the nations.

Blows of his arm and gauntlet,  
Harder than hammered steel,  
Will snap the bars and the latches  
And destroy this earthly hell.

Would that the hour momentous,  
Which thus our hopes engages,  
Today might strike, and be counted  
The turning point of the ages!

Would that, despising logic,  
The proofs might today be given;  
That — born of earth's past and future,  
Shall come an image of heaven!

For the untold aeons vanished,  
When strikes this clock beside me,  
Let none go gowned in mourning,  
Let none shed tears to chide me!

This shedding of blood may give us  
An earnest of new endeavor,  
And a thanksgiving *Te Deum*  
Resound for ever and ever.

Let wounds once more be opened,  
Fresh blood be poured in beakers,  
If only that great fulfillment  
May rise from the sodden acres!

Let hearts, the best and the bravest,  
As whole burnt offerings perish;  
If only the faith that fires them  
The Hope of the Ages cherish!

For, though the fires burn feebly,  
From hidden places living  
Sparks will be struck in season.  
The flame of life reviving.

Surely, Oh surely, surely —  
That faith inspires my being,  
Again will the deaf be hearing,  
The blind again be seeing.

The time is at hand — unbidden:  
Yet those its message utter,  
Whose vision has seen the vastness  
Of worlds in a drop of water.

## THE CZECH NOVEL BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

By EGON HOSTOVSKÝ

### THE WAR AS A THEME

IT WAS NOT until eight or ten years after the conclusion of peace, not until after the famous books of Barbusse and Rolland, and in Czechoslovakia after the war chronicles of Medek and Kopta, after the accumulation of a vast mass of literary documents touching the years 1914 to 1918, that the world was seized with an unprecedented and almost insane curiosity to know the answer to the question — what in reality was the Great War? Mankind felt that no adequate answer had been given to that question, that the mystery underlying it was far from solved. We thus witnessed a real mania for new and ever new books dealing with the War. For these books the title “novels of the new reality” was coined. They are works devoid of meditation, books which merely record wartime experiences and leave it to the reader to construct for himself, from their mere hints and indications, the true outlines of that dreadful picture. We have in mind the works of Remarque, Renn, Glaeser, Arnold Zweig and others. When we recall that in Czechoslovakia alone 100,000 copies of Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* were sold, we cannot doubt that this curiosity and desire to uncover the realities of the Great War were not merely a literary fashion. Man was still feeling the effects of the War, in every day life, in his own blood as it were, in his inner changes and in his mentality; to know the reality of war was of vital importance, for only from that knowledge could an answer be found to the question — what are we and whither are we going?

To date there has been no unanimous answer to that question. The reality of the First World War is still too burning, too fluid to be caught as a whole, in a single firm body — it is still in us and around us so that it stands in its own light and prevents the eye of discovery from penetrating into it. Only its fragments, only its episodes are clear to us; its actual contents are still afar from us. It is still an unconquered continent, a territory around which still center most passionate struggles.

One thing, however, is at once obvious in Czechoslovak novels dealing with the First World War. In their ideological trends they differ, for the most part, from analogous works which appeared abroad. This is easily comprehensible for the War had a wholly unique meaning for us. It was through it that we attained our independence as a nation and there emerged from it, after many centuries,



the new Czechoslovak soldier who fought in its battles for the birth of his new State. In a certain sense, the War was a necessity for us. Thus it is understandable that even this element of warfare attracted our poets, it is understandable that they asked: what was the task and the mission of the Czech in that amazing eruption of humanity?

It is clear that our War novels are for the most part novels with a definite tendency. Roughly speaking, they reveal three tendencies. The first group show the heroic aspects of war, the second take a sceptical attitude towards it, and the third group condemn it as the work of criminals or as a mad mistake. Apart from these books, however, there are works in which war fantasy is the sole source of inspiration.

Let us first mention a poet who sees, in the fury of war, signals calling slumbering heroes to a gigantic struggle for the resurrection of their nation. This is Rudolf Medek with his War pentalogy, *The Fiery Dragon*, *Great Days*, *The Island in the Storm*, *The Mighty Dream*, and *Anabasis*.

Here we find echoes of the early days of the War — how the drowsy ones were roused, how the scattered forces were brought together, and how determination grew to oppose centuries of oppression and seek contact with those fighting against the Central Powers. These books show us the rise, the growth and the first successes of the Czech anabasis, we learn of its moral forces, and with their heroes we live through the disintegration of the Imperial Russian troops, we find ourselves in the very midst of the Russian chaos.

The entire War pentalogy of Medek is based upon the central idea of heroism. That, too, is the culminating point of the author's consistent individualism which he consciously poses against the collective aspirations of the time. Medek's absolute is chivalry. It is to that that the heroes reared in the Austrian and Legionary regiments aspire.

The central figure is that of Budecius, on the whole an average man who, up to the outbreak of War, had gone through life without too great a sense of responsibility. Slightly decadent and something of a failure, in the War he experienced the regeneration of the passive Czech soul, a regeneration seemingly caused by a sudden up-flaming of will-power from the hidden depths of the nation itself. Budecius evolved from an individualistic selfishness to a sense of solidarity with his nation as a whole. He is a sort of instrument of his race, a voluntary and conscious instrument of its will to be strong, to have its own existence as a State and as a power. This Budecius becomes steadily conscious of the spiritual essence of the primeval home of

Slavdom. He absorbs it in his system as the odor of decay and as an opiate to the will; he fights it with his analytical reason, struggles against it with his fervent and ever enthusiastic spirit. With all his love for the "inscrutable land and its people" he remains a Czech — sober, a nationalist in the Czech sense of the word, the nationalist of another, non-Russian mysticism which does not prevent him from displaying a certain objectivity but which enables him to attain a happy conception of the new militarism.

To sum up, it may be said that of Medek's reality of war and anabasis, there remains the phenomenon of that racial heroism, forged by the fury of war, which rejects all the caution of sophist reasoning and is consecrated to the illusions of chivalry.

It is not possible to enter into details of the works of War poets who dealt with its realities in the form of the trifling fates of individuals; we will concentrate on the delimited sphere where the methods used are more or less alike. Here belong the delicate lyric poet Jaroslav Bednář, with his expressionist effects from the Southern front — *The Red Land*; Jaromír John with his delicately faithful reproductions of the thoughts and utterances of a Czech militia-man, *Evenings on the Palliasse*; František Langer, famous dramatist, whose excursions into the reality of the War are happier than elsewhere in wartime prose; Čestmír Jeřábek with his novel *The World Aflame*, in which he reveals to us a new, remarkable comradeship and a passionate love affair in a form wholly bizarre, such as only a war could produce; here belongs also the work of the ethical František Kubka, full of picturesque memories of the legions; the pathetic and sentimentally exalted novels of Josef Masařík, and many others.

A notable counterpart to Medek, a counterpart almost polemical, is provided by the war novels of Josef Kopta, *The Third Company* and *The Third Company on the Trans-Siberian Line*. The subject is taken from the same circle as the pentalogy of Medek. Kopta sets out to give an accurate and sober account of external facts, he elaborates his new material with an abundance of incidents treated in journalistic fashion, and describes war happenings as the product of humanity in the mass. His hero is always the average fellow, the humble, current type, bred to primitive humanism. Kopta's humble figure is, of course, incapable of the heroism of Medek's heroes, or let us say, Kopta conceives of heroism as something quite different — not as an impassioned gesture and resounding din but as one of the natural elements of war life.

Kopta in his *Third Company* presents us with a collectivity. The actual drama only begins when the company fuses into a single body.

In order that the collectivity should live a life of its own, the author purposely directs the fates of its individual members to correspond to the fate of the whole. He then goes on to show how the fates of individuals interlace with those of the whole body as a mass into one great irrational play, how it is not permitted anyone to live on his own account, how the schemes and wills of individuals break to pieces on a single, higher plan.

Another outstanding war work is that of Jaroslav Kratochvíl, *Springs*; Kratochvíl is also the author of an extensive historical work, *The Path of Revolution*. *Springs* throws the Legionary legends overboard and attempts to present an objective view of the national and social fermentation that took place among the Czech Legions. The author possesses one great advantage: he is thoroughly steeped in history so that he understands the vast Russian fermenting vat and the Czech collectivity which was crystallizing through external happenings and by virtue of its own internal forces. Kratochvíl emphasizes in particular the contrasts between the simple masses and the intelligentsia represented by the officers who, as he conceives it, have lost the healthy national instinct and have stuck fast in indecision. The Legions are described through the concrete fates of individuals, behind which we feel the author's own experience and knowledge of history.

A novel feature in our War literature, both in theme and poetical treatment, is the story in the form of memoirs entitled *Dismissed!* in which Karel Konrád, formerly poet and dadaist, immortalizes the memory of two of his contemporaries of the Great War—the painter Hubáček and the naturalist Purkyně. Both are heroes, not of war but of peace. Both are representatives of the youngest War generation which was unable to realize the full extent of the terrible reality; a generation which knew death ere it could know love and which was driven like oxen to an inferno of suffering, not knowing why, not understanding for what it was fighting. War, in this book, is a vision seen through eyes still partly those of a child. Konrád's book is a lyrical protest, a grievous cry over the fate of youth unable to understand the meaning of its grief and of its suffering.

Possibly the highest place in War literature should be given the work of a poetess who represents the fight for an understanding of the aim of life and of the world through unbiassed views of the age, through art and through the hidden ranks of daily life. We have in mind the War trilogy of Božena Benešová, *The Blow*, *Subterranean Fires*, and *The Tragic Rainbow*.

The men who went through the War emerged from it with their

chronicles composed of pictures and polemics. Benešová worked behind the front, lived and suffered through the great struggle, and she gives us her experience in novels rich in a mystical inner warmth written from an angle sceptical and critical towards the external forms of facts.

In her works, a small Moravian town personifies the revolt of the Czech nation at home and the struggle for a political revolution; both the one and the other are tests of the ethical capacity of the heroes of the novels. The Great War in the souls and hearts of those who were to pave the way to the new future — such, in brief, is the theme of Božena Benešová's trilogy. War is here conceived of as a gigantic whirlpool, carrying everything with it, a whirlpool from which only death or liberty can emerge. All the upheaval and revolution of war are reflected in Benešová's wealth of incident and in her manifold characters, characters now simple, now complex. We are lead through the catacombs of Czech hopes and fears, through the epoch of Austrian persecution which did not shrink from the use of the scaffold, through the days of the downfall of the Monarchy undermined by the activities of the national patriots, and so on. The work is also an allegory, a Pan-Slavonic allegory. In contradistinction to *Medek*, however, it is based directly on history and on the blood of heroes. It is not a discussion, it is a part of history itself.

Benešová's main character is Alena Hudcová, whose betrothed, partly through the fault of Alena's mother, is killed on the scaffold. Alena, bearing the marks of the War, out of despair serving the national cause, abandoning her mother until the latter is in the shadow of death, is a highly probable heroine who realizes the meaning of events only after passing through the purgatory of misery and suffering. Only after attaining the grievously won peace in her soul is she capable of judging justly and of forgiving. The whole trilogy is a story of the nameless heroes of whom history is silent but who, none the less, most effectively helped change the external and the spiritual map of the world. Benešová has succeeded, relying only upon her art, in bringing to life, in a uniquely convincing fashion, the actuality of war in a number of social areas behind the front, at home. She has escaped the danger of looking on too close at hand or from a single focus only. She has fully succeeded, as one of her pupils, Marie Pujmanová, has so aptly put it — "in reproducing that vital, mystical, incredible and irrational process by which, from the closest tangible facts, the clay and dust of which are still upon your hands, history evolves."

After the War novels of Benešová, we must mention those authors

who dissociating themselves from fidelity to fact and the attitude of chroniclers, have taken wartime material as the starting point for their poetical aims. There is nothing drastic in including Šrámek's *Body* in this class, for the war figures in it only to teach the poet, in the midst of the dying and mutilated, to love the sound body and all that pertains to it — strength, love and the sense of life. Here also belongs Šrámek's *Wonderstruck Soldier*, which has for its motive army comradeship and submission to fate. More particularly to this category belong, however, the fantastic War prose works of Jan Weiss. His *Cottage of Death* or his *Mad Regiment* were inspired by the author's experience in a prisoner's camp in Siberia where typhus was rampant. The hallucinations of feverish nights coincide with amazing fidelity with the absurdities of the fury of war. Both books reveal, in striking fashion, a new aspect of the reality of war in which truth coalesces with chimera to constitute an unknown supernatural world. The book of War prose, written by the sensitive poet Richard Weiner has a good deal in common with Weiss. In Weiner's *Fury* the experiences of War likewise verge onto the supernatural.

Vančura's *Tilled Fields* and *Battlefields* is an apocalyptic vision of war. In condensed and simplified outlines, with reversed succession of events, Vančura produces flaming pictures of a hell in which the human race is tossed to and fro, without order, without sense, like personified fury with the soul of a beast. The kaleidoscopic fragmentary situations intensify the impression of universal disintegration through which, in the author's view, society is now passing.

In its success as a piece of literature appealing to the entire world, all Czechoslovak War novels were surpassed by Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk*. The War here is depicted in the distorting mirror of eccentric anecdote and caricature. The central figure is most certainly an original one, a stupid-smart fellow, a personification of the senselessness of war. Švejk reveals all the odiousness, the stupidity and the coarseness of the military machine intentionally, and this intentionality shows his artfulness. He brings the military machine and its process *ad absurdum* by striving to carry out military regulations according to the very letter of the textbooks and by harping upon Austrian heroism and Austrian military virtues.

Our War novels are preeminently a comprehensive document of the psychology of post-War *mal de siècle*. There is nothing in them, if we except Medek's pentalogy, of Béranger enthusiasm. They are gloomy and melancholy even where they guide us from the inferno of suffering to the joy of hope. Disillusioned love of humanity speaks from the great bulk of them.

The Czech War novel is altogether pacifistic, the warring world in it becomes Babel. It is likewise thoroughly pessimistic. The pessimism of the authors and poets already mentioned is analogous to the pessimism of Šlejhar (1864–1914). There are also, of course, many mystic and visionary elements. Konrád, Šrámek, Weiner, Weiss, Vančura and even Hašek depict a world of suffering and evil. With many of our War poets and authors, as with Šlejhar, the sufferings of the individual are accompanied by the echo of the Universe, earthly events are the coulisse of the drama of the Universe. It is as if evil lay in the very foundations of the structure of the world. But all, excepting Šlejhar, feel that this all-embracing brotherhood of pain, because it is all-embracing, leads to a revelation of the latent sense of all suffering and to release from it.

As over the work of Šlejhar, so also over the best specimens of our War literature the immortal words of Pascal's God may be pronounced: "Console thyself, man, thou wouldst not have sought me if thou hadst not found me!"

#### STRUGGLES TOWARDS A NEW MAN AND A NEW REALITY

The positive heroes in the works of Medek, Kopta and Benešová, figures capable of saving the morrow, steel themselves and begin to see their right place on earth only after the experiences of the War, only after suffering and the loss of their illusions. Only then do they ripen to a positive conception of life. All our War and post-War poets and authors seek the new man, strive towards him, but do not see him because they have lost him.

The poet of the nineteenth century believed that the great personality, and not the masses, was the creative and moving lever of history. This was the first phase of the individualistic novel in which types full of energy and passion play the foremost roles. But at a time when the aggressive advance of bourgeois society came up against social and economic difficulties, and against political pressure, the aggressive personality lost its force. The hero of the novel became a lonely, weak, depressed individual fighting, against the entire world, a struggle which was lost in advance.

The social crisis of the First World War and the post-War years, during which the moral and sensible individual lost his fight and from which there issued a subterranean individual composed of insuperable inclinations, confused, mystical and unreasonable, all impulses and instincts, swept away the great heroic types at one stroke. The new man, the new hero, is still being sought and efforts to find the new man are the distinctive signs of the whole of literature, in novel form,

today. The new man is sought by the modern social novel, the novel of the social utopia, the religious novel, the novel of rural life, the novel of moral problems. The positive heroes of the old individualistic novel came forward as established, complete personalities, their conflicts were the conflicts of sharply defined beings with the world, with the difficulties of life, with evil, with death or with society. The conflicts of the heroes of today represent first and foremost a struggle with themselves, with the problems of the real essence of man, his place and mission in the world. In a word, even the new man in our post-War novel is still an illusion which issues from hatred of reality, of its lack of genuineness, of its commonplace character.

In the post-War novels striving to evolve a new man, we not infrequently are witnesses of quixotic expeditions into the realm of dreams, on the frontiers of which the hero, already developed into the new man, perishes. For the new, ideal man, whether under a charm in the person of a revolutionary proletarian or in the mask of a just intellectual, or in the guise of a humble child of God, must of necessity perish in an alien world in which everything is contrary to his dream.

#### THE SOCIAL NOVEL

It was first and foremost the post-War social novel which strove to evolve the new man. In that novel we see the most pronounced opposition to contemporary reality. Its program is not merely to mirror the present day social festering but also to solve the problem and find a way out. This contemporary novel endeavors to deal with the maximum scope of life and, by amassing facts deprived of all poetical tinge, to determine wherein the course of the world is wrong.

Among the Czechs the evolution of the post-War social novel is closely connected with the work of Marie Majerová. Here we find the typical indications of the quixotic expedition of which we have spoken above. Thus in her novel *Republic Square* we follow the fortune of the hero, Vršín, smitten with a revolutionary dream of a change in the social order and with the idea of perfect liberty. From the workers' inferno of Lodž he escapes to Vienna and from there to Paris. However even the Republic disillusiones him and the hero adopts Communism and the propaganda of violent action. He perishes in a State prison for an anarchist crime to which he was driven by his thirst for liberty. In Majerová's novel *The Most Beautiful World*, the heroine, one of the three daughters of a tyrant father, perishes in an unsuccessful Communist revolt. This heroine also consistently pursues her fixed dream of the "most beautiful world" of justice and liberty but fails to attain it. In her last two novels, *The*

*Dam* and *The Siren*, Majerová again deals with the fermentation of revolutionary energies. *The Dam* is a utopian novel centering about a social revolution which breaks out in Prague from fear of the bursting of a newly built dam. *The Siren* is a novel depicting the growth and prosperity of the Kladno mining district from the middle of the last century up to the time of the First World War.

The social order of the world as a rotten institution is the subject of the work of a novelist of the poor, one who only slowly developed from rural themes to proletarian realism. He is Karel Nový, the author of the splendid trilogy *Konopiště*. In this work we are acquainted with the lives of several generations and have the pre-War and War-time countryside as a background. In his novel of an unemployed couple, *We Have a Right to Live*, Nový calls for a new social order with his repudiation of the existing order, and he depicts, in a starkly naturalistic style, the miserable lot of those to whom work is denied. Linked with this work is his novel *At the Crossroads* which describes the experiences of a proletarian youth from the slums. Both these books as well as his novel *Money*, depicting the fate of a man who falls victim to the lure of the metropolis, are, from the viewpoint of sympathetic humanity, true to the actual life of the poor and the outcast.

Benjamin Klička, another representative of our new social novel, the author of *Brody*, contrasts the lords of capital with the poor and finely spirited intelligentsia. In his *Behold the Citizen*, the same author gives us a telling picture of the legally exploited soul. It must be granted that Klička shirks no theme, no material of his day. All his books are imbued with a melancholy social sentiment. Though by nature an epic writer, he abandoned that sphere precisely because of his social sense, his desire to champion the social cause and social ideas.

A new theme has been introduced to modern social prose by Zdeněk Němeček with his novels *New York — Fogbound* and *West of Pannonia*. In these works he depicts, with a truly poetic pen, the lot of emigrants in an alien environment. Němeček's basic motive — family life in alien surroundings — gives the author material for strongly dramatic action. The analysis of man in a strange world, his moral hesitancy, gives, in both novels, a stirring picture accentuated by film-like sidelights on an American Babel or the wide perspectives of coal-mining regions.

Karel Poláček also ranks among the social novelists with his works of comic situation and dialogue, as well as with his tragedy of the ordinary man wading his way under the burden of life to the commitment of a crime, described in his *The Trial*.



Among the women writers of social novels, prominent places are taken by A. M. Tilschová and Marie Pujmanová.

A. M. Tilschová attempts to define the crisis of capitalism and its auxiliary organs during the War but returns again and again to the topic of the middle class family, to its vain yearning to regenerate itself by means of healthy proletarian blood. The cry for redemption, which provides the title for her most recent and most popular book, is for the most part overlooked, for it is decline and disintegration which interest this poetess more than the path to escape from them. Her heroes have dropped out of the texture of life and vegetate in sentimental isolation. And the figures in *The Old Family* and *The Sons* suffer from this isolation; they are denied the capacity of sharing their experiences with others.

Marie Pujmanová attracted attention as a fiction writer after the War when she published a book *Beneath the Wings* which had child life as its motif, and with her *Tales from the Town Park*. Her psychological talent found full scope in *Dr. Hegel's Patient*, a novel of woman's lot. In this work she showed that she has outgrown the decorative impressionism of Růžena Svobodová and has attained a more objective vision of the complicated female type and a clearer delineation of character. In *Dr. Hegel's Patient* she has shown her strong interest in depicting social environment, an interest which culminated in her novel *People at the Crossroads*. Here Pujmanová has based complicated action on the contrast and clash of social classes today. Two families, one middle class and the other proletarian, are intermingled in the fortunes of their children. The book shows us the intellectual decline of the bourgeois types, the post-War conversion of the intellectual to socialism and communism, and, on the other hand, the growth of new proletarian forces which clash in the struggle for life with the hard rationalism of industrial capital. It should be added that the author has fitted well-drawn characters into this pattern of ideas, characters which live and which make *People at the Crossroads* one of the best of the Czech social novels.

The most significant figure in the evolution of the Czech social novel, however, is Ivan Olbracht. His work is an enchanting poetical mirror of the manifold vital events in the lives of the poor, the humiliated and wronged, the beggars and the outcasts. Olbracht's opposition to contemporary conditions has given him a love for those most harshly hit by the hardness and the evils of today. The poet and author identifies himself with these despised creatures, voices their accusations and suffers with them.

In his very first post-War novel *The Strange Friendship of Jesenius*

*the Actor*, a work in which Olbracht for the first time conducts a struggle for the future elect of creation, it is not Jesenius but his friend Veselý who puts all the other characters into the shade. A mysterious figure, beggar and adventurer, capable of supreme sacrifice and the uttermost evil, alongside him the noble Jesenius is little better than a paper hero. It is only in Veselý and through him that we recognize the true face of Olbracht's world; the atmosphere of people hostile to society, living in anarchistic fashion on their own resources, going through life without problems and with a certain exaggerated curiosity and yearning for the adventures of existence.

In his novel *The Mirror of the Iron Bars*, a description of the experiences of a political prisoner in jail, Olbracht reminds us of Dostoyevski's *Notes from a Dead House*. While, however, the genius of Russian literature followed the sufferings of the most miserable of the miserable, with the eye of religious fervor and from the angle of the highest moral principles, Olbracht tells the story of his own experiences and those of his fellow prisoners without any regard to moral contents, speaking always with the passion of a storyteller and with a curiosity determined to taste of every situation life can offer.

It is obvious that Olbracht's world is the world of people outside the pale of the law, people fighting disciplined society in a life and death struggle. Olbracht does not concern himself with the reform of the numerous and powerful generation on the other shore. Nor does he concern himself with the redemption and the return of these outcasts. He merely follows the struggle of the happy with the unhappy, and reveals the true features of both.

We must bear this in mind when we approach Olbracht's most successful work, one of the outstanding novels of Czech literature, his *Nikola Šuhaj the Robber*. The author was not led to the theme of this book by the problems of justice nor by the question of guilt and punishment; he was drawn by that elemental curiosity to learn something of the country, and of its people, where a robber, before his bones have crumbled to dust, passes into legend, becomes the heroic champion of the weak and oppressed, the avenger of the humiliated and the wronged. Olbracht, indifferent to moral problems, follows the legend and only the legend in order to extract from it the wild, rebellious song of the people living under the shadow of the Carpathians, a song of hate and ire, of passion, of grief and of love — and what is most important — a song full of purest poetry.

With Olbracht we have exhausted the list of the principal representatives of the modern social novel. We have seen that they strive for the new man, either by a negation of existing man or by means of

politico-social tendencies. Their faith is based solely on this world and on the progress of its individuals or the collective whole.

#### THE NEW MAN

The spirit of modern man is ever in pursuit of invention, of technique, of novelties, of economic progress; man does not and cannot today take a moment's pause and think of higher matters. There are poets to whom it seems that we are pursuing dubious values, that not all the endeavors to improve this life can make up for the emptiness of the soul which yearns, above all, to love — to love much and passionately. It seems to them that love cannot be satisfied with something transitory and partial.

These poets and authors strive to achieve the new man by moral regeneration, not contenting themselves with an analysis of reality, they attempt a judgment over it. Their aim is superpersonal humanitarianism.

The work of such writers is in direct contrast to that of our modern social novelists, for while the heroes of the social novel are representatives of thousands who think as they do, the heroes of these modern epics are exceptional characters. They are sharply opposed to the determinism of society and deny the rules of social relationship by advancing the cult of personal isolation of a somewhat morbid and eccentric character.

A poetical document standing out above the others of this type is the novel *Man*, in which its author Božena Benešová attempts to find an answer to the eternal question — what is the meaning of life.

What then is the sense of our life? Is it selfish personal happiness? Is it aesthetic delight, lasting romantic quixotism, the urge for a career or suffering, humility and submission? The hero of *Man*, the musical composer Cyril Trojuš, answers these questions with his life. A divorce released him from his first marriage with an inconstant, adventurous wife and he pays no heed to her child whose paternity is rather uncertain. By this divorce he opened a free path for his creative abilities and at the same time successfully attempted to win another woman from her lover. This handsome girl of keen intellect and fervent sentiments abandons her lover Vanský, a childish altruist, and bestows her love upon Cyril. But it is precisely in his contact with her that Cyril finds that, for super-personal happiness as a sole aim, neither a rise to artistic fame nor personal happiness suffices, but that close kinship with the fate of another is necessary. He finds that it is essential to be a good man and to seek happiness only in moral certainty, in love and, finally, in sacrifice and self-denial.

Benešová lays on the shoulders of her hero the cross of a non-personal mission. Her hero is called upon to go astray, to look around and finally to reach his goal. In *Man*, which was published in the year 1920, and the action of which is placed in pre-War times, Benešová was the first amongst us to break through the charmed circle of the labyrinth of contemporary prose. Amidst the chaos of external changes she demonstrates the fundamental and unchanging things in our lives — the responsibility of man for man, without which life has no value.

Life and reality as they appear in the works of Božena Benešová have several elements in common with reality as disclosed by Karel Čapek. Čapek's humanism, too, is based on the belief that man himself is the measure of all things. And the humanism of Čapek, like that of Božena Benešová, is not a primal relationship to man, but it is something that has been won from the elemental sense of distrust. It is a hope that was painfully purchased, a hope that was not from the beginning. What nihilism and what fear of man we still find in Čapek's *Painful Stories*. Here all that has a tendency towards purity is muddled, goodness is but a habit, beauty ends in the mire. The later path from this state of despair to faith in man is reached through theories rather than through experiences. Čapek's humanism is a doctrine which fights against the fundamental feeling of distrust, and Čapek's entire modern output is a passionate apologia for this doctrine. Only once, and that right at the outset of his literary career, was it anchored in the absolute within reach. We refer to his *Crossroad Chapel* (*Boží muka*), and in particular to his *The Footprint* which are an obeisance before supernatural existence and the reality of a higher world. Later Čapek reverts irrevocably to man as the supreme perfection of the universe. This humanism even finds its enemy in the absolute. "You wanted to accomplish too great things, and you shall do small things. It is better so. You will do things beneficial to man. Those who think of the highest things turn their faces from the people."

It must be emphasized, moreover, that in Čapek's utopistic novels the issue is never reality-based on scientific laws. Čapek's scientific imagination is excessively indistinct, inexact, unsupported. It is not, therefore, in reality a question of scientific utopism but rather a sort of arbitrary thaumaturgy with natural scientific appellations. Čapek's *Factory of the Absolute* is based on the invention of a machine which releases from matter its tremendous energies and with them the absolute incorporated in matter. The absolute obsesses people with a religious mania that debauches into horrible slaughter. The evil

only passes when people realize that the absolute is unnecessary since it is noxious and a scourge to humanity. Nor is there in Čapek's work an absolute truth, there is only the truth produced by man and serving man. And Čapek erects a world of truths for man. His ideal man is the humble, average, commonplace creature who yet is the supreme value in the universe.

A second enemy of Čapek's humanism is to be found in each champion of great epoch-making ideas, the titan, the genius, the hero, the great man. This is demonstrated in his *Krakatíi* — that protest against titanism as a destroyer of humanity. An engineering genius yearning for human happiness and believing in man is brought to the verge of ruin precisely by his greatness. In this work we arrive at Čapek's fundamental truth, namely, that only small things are human while the great conception leads to destruction. It is essential to add that Čapek has no love for the miracles of science, and that he is not enraptured, as would appear at first glance, with the technical achievements of civilization. In everyday life he loves none of these things. All his utopias end in the apotheosis of intimate joys, of simple, unimpassioned idylls and honest, earthly labors, the detailed and unostentatious work of everyday life.

It might seem that we have incorrectly included Čapek among the authors striving for the new man, since his work is an apologia for the average, everyday, humble individual. However, in Čapek's conception this humble man is placed in a light which makes him worthy of the highest respect, which makes it obvious that the humble man capable of saving the world does not issue from the unknown but lives unrecognized in our midst.

This is proved by Čapek's trilogy of *Hordubal*, *The Meteor*, and *Ordinary Life*. It is a trilogy through which runs the idea common to each novel that a single human being contains the soul of all humanity since it is possible to form as many opinions of a man as there are people to think of him, and because we are able to see in others' souls only that which slumbers within ourselves. Furthermore, we are not alone in our ego, we carry ten brethren within ourselves. And finally, the whole of human society rests upon a knowledge of the souls of others.

Here we arrive from a multiplicity of views to a single truth. Čapek once again in this trilogy uses the *inconspicuous* man as his starting-point. He analyzes his soul and suddenly sees therein the hidden strands of human society. The critic Václav Černý rightly sees in this trilogy the apotheosis of democracy for the consciousness that man can find within himself, develop and foster the germ of every

form of life signifies a joyful recognition of human freedom as the supreme happiness.

We find an urgent yearning for redemption from the generally accepted "morality" of the day and from the whole post-War psychosis in the works of two writers with a uniform basis of inspiration; Jaroslav Durych and Jan Čep. Both, profoundly religious, conceive of worldly events in the form of parables and unworldly reflections. In the sphere of art a new type of the beautiful is created in the rays of which is revealed the connection between our time and eternity.

Čep's work has been correctly characterized as a mirror of man's fate in eternity. It is significant of Čep — as it is of his older contemporary Jaroslav Durych, that in him we find Březina's expression of the nation as a community of the living, the dead and the still unborn, come true. "I have always believed," says Čep, "that the spiritual life of our departed is a real heritage for us just as are the fields and the houses they bequeathed to us, and that in a certain sense we are their prisoners." Such is the reality of Čep's world. What type of new man is it for which this poet of childhood, of the home and of the breath of the soil, strives?

The answer is given to us in his only novel *Frontiers of Shadow*. He has, however, also written a number of short stories. In *Frontiers of Shadow* we see, as in a mirror, a condensation of all the creative forces of the author. The story is that of a student who returns after much wandering to the scenes of his childhood. He comes back, shipwrecked in love and soiled by city life, to a realization of his daily purpose in the landscape of his dreams. Only one member of his family is still alive — his grandfather, an old man on the verge of the grave, who fails to grasp the changes which have taken place in the world around him. The conversations between grandfather and grandson reflect, in a nebulous fashion, the atmosphere of this life and that beyond the grave. Through his grandfather the young hero realizes that his heritage from the dead represents for him a mission which he cannot fulfill except supernaturally, with metaphysic hope in a future, in an anchorage in safe waters, in an eternal home of which his earthly home is but a symbol just as our childhood is a symbol of paradise. Everything on this earth is a maze and a chimera up to the moment when we understand that all merges into eternity.

Humility and submission can be said to be the outstanding spiritual marks of the new man for which Jan Čep strives. Quite the opposite is true of Jaroslav Durych. Once the literary critic, Paul Eisner, tried to learn the word most frequently recurring in Durych's works, the word representing, so to say, a heraldic motto. He found it to be

"rebellious" and representing most frequently blasphemy and moments of apostasy.

Jaroslav Durych's new man is not a passive but an aggressive character. Durych prefers to follow the fate of a man suffering from spiritual blindness, madly longing for worldly recognition even though its achievement calls for bloody struggle. At the same time, Durych, more than any other Czech poet, hates the present world which he ridicules and condemns because it is a world without God. At the same time he loves life and its hidden beauty. From these antitheses, however, there leads one path which reveals the omnipresent God in the bespattered and yet unique beauties of this vale of tears.

The prime aim of this poet-novelist stands out most clearly in his fairy tales, in his historical novels and in those of family life, with their moral lessons. His novel *In the Hills*, a story outside the bounds of time and space, is an enchanting tale of eternity, love, hate, beauty and poverty. In the pilgrimage of the soul to the absolute lies the greatest wealth of poverty and the greatest happiness of sacrifice. The angelic Christina, embodiment of tenderness and beauty, lives among the hills in a labyrinth of unending misfortunes. She loses her beloved John, the War severs her marriage bond, she loses her children and dies in a convent. But she dies with the knowledge that her martyrdom was not in vain. In all his work, Durych with the aggressiveness of a Leon Bloy, lauds poverty and champions the beauty of common things, hidden by dust, standing in shadow, despised by most. In *The Daisy*, Durych gives symbolic expression to our yearning for the absolute in the search of a lover who longs once again to behold his lost love whom he recognizes now in a serving-maid, now in a shopgirl, in a clerk, and so on and on.

The most powerful of Durych's work is his *Rambling*.<sup>\*</sup> In this novel the stormy epoch of the Thirty Years War lives again in a plastic picture of Wallenstein, the Duke of Friedland, and his surroundings. With a marvellous variety of action and a multitude of characters, from emperors and kings down to the common wenches of Prague streets, the author presents us with an amazing kaleidoscope of events which display the splendor of the Imperial Court at Vienna, the network of intrigues among the diplomats of that day, the silent cells of monasteries and so on. Durych depicts his heroes with all the force of a great epic and in masterly language which brings to life before our eyes the whole epoch of the Thirty Years War. The unique descriptions of the battles of Stralsund, Nuremberg and Lutzen are masterpieces of poetical composition. Durych was so uniquely satu-

<sup>\*</sup> Published in English as "The Descent of the Idol"

rated with the spirit of the times around the year 1630 and devoted himself with such intensity to his material that it is impossible to imagine anything more vitally poetical than this work. He has entered the depths and climbed to the heights of Baroque mysticism, that phenomenon of most fervid ecstasy but at the same time he has not been unfaithful to healthy, worldly fancy which gives us an opportunity of gazing into the depths of most mysterious souls. Durych's visionary art found kindred material in those far off days, and the reader involuntarily recalls the length of time which separates us from the scenes of *Rambling* for the present day is also a time of war, full of revolutionary fermentation and unrest.

On the whole, Durych's world centers round but a few motives. He has not, however, shut himself off from the freshest sources of contemporary life. Not only because of his worship of poverty but also through his ability to see earthly events mirrored in forms transcending time and reality, Durych is one of the foremost poets of today.

The path back to the land is frequently regarded today as a path to the new man. This return is seldom made through religious and ethical spiritualism, as in the case of Holeček and of Nováková, but rather through naturalism and expressionism (A. C. Nor, V. Krška, B. Horst) or through the visionary character of some new paganism in which the conception of earth takes the place of God (F. V. Kříž, V. Prokúpek, Josef Koudelák). In addition to foreign influences, especially that of Giono, the literary trend known as ruralism has become the school of these worshippers of the soil.

Thence come the spokesmen of the poetry of the countryside. Their program comprises regional realism, a detailed knowledge of the country and its social conditions, an investigation into the relations of the village to the town and so on.

In the case of Josef Knap, the chief representative of ruralism, the traditional experiences of peasant families are something of a matter of course, like the primary conditions of childhood in the case of other poets. His novel *The Vine on the Wall* is a lyrical picture of the self-sacrifice of a young woman who suffers the martyrdom of motherhood (knowing it means her death) only so that she may present her farmer husband with the son and heir for whom he longs. *Men and Mountains* is a novel dealing with the life of Slovak peasants and crofters. A succession of folklorist pictures is combined with an impressionistically conceived heroine — Nature — who appears in the novel as a real, a fateful partner. In the novel *Spring Skies* the strong instincts of family are suppressed and silenced to permit of



the presentation of a universally human lot. The theme is similar to that of *The Vine on the Wall* and centers round love and marriage crowned by the self-sacrifice of a woman which leads to her death.

The most successful and the most typical of Knap's novels is his *Stranger*. In this work, the soil sharply repulses as an alien element the hero who has left the plains to find a home in the foothills. The unwritten law of the soil mars his plans and the man who has proved unfaithful to the tillage remains a stranger in his new environment, a stranger who passes from one failure to another until he returns to his right place.

František Křelina, a poet of passionate lyrical inspiration, issuing from the ethical depths of his credo, has given Czech literature a work which is far from commonplace in his *The Crumbling Temple* (following his rural-social novels *The Voice Crying in the Wilderness* and *Lean Years*). The morality, self-satisfaction and self-intoxication of a small country town are the cracks in the social structure depicted by Křelina. The two central figures of the novel, Čihák the secretary and the burgomaster Tvrzník who is later repentant, are the carriers of the demoralizing bacilli which infect the whole town. The problem of crime and punishment is broached but is not solved. In the second part of the *Crumbling Temple*, Křelina depicts the fate of the ancient peasant freehold of the Antoš family. He attempts to demonstrate the shocks which the farming element is suffering from at present. Křelina's characteristic hero, Václav Antoš is a man of uneasy conscience who fights his way from a morbid weakness to moral certainty. Václav's return to the soil and to his home are not depicted as a demand on the part of the peasant class but rather as the necessity of inner growth.

We will now turn to a writer who is regarded as the maturest figure in Czech post-War prose, to a novelist who has restored the epic, in its most fundamental form, to the modern Czech short story and novel. This is Vladislav Vančura. Vančura's outlook on the world is nihilistic. But if the world is a meaningless chaos to him, Vančura nevertheless strives to create, out of the elements of this meaningless world, an artificial state of affairs in which there is some meaning. His prose creates, through the enchantment of his style and the splendor of his metaphors, a world of his own, a new time and space. *Tilled Fields and Battlefields* is a parable of the madhouse of the world during the First World War. *The Last Judgment* is a parable of worldly justice, his *End of the Old Days* is a parable of the embodiment of lies and illusions which thrive among mankind but without which the world would be poor and comfortless.

In all of Vančura's novels the word is an absolute element. His work depends upon the word and not upon contents or plot. Vančura can thus write upon any subject whatsoever. Plot and contents are but coulisse to him. His style, full of archaic words, and similitudes, exalted periods, touched with the charm of Biblical and popular speech, is practically unchanged throughout — whether in *The Capital Charge*, a novel dealing with an old, unsolved murder, or in *The Flight to Budín*, a love story, or in *Margaret Lazar*, a story of robbers and their fights in the heart of virgin scenery.

#### CONCLUSION

The destruction of Czechoslovakia which began with the Munich Agreement and culminated in the German occupation on March 15, 1939, also ended all creative art of the young free nation. Since that time we have followed with horror, not the internal growth of the Czech poets, but their terrible private fates.

Karel Čapek survived Munich by only a few weeks; his brother Josef was thrown by the Nazis into a concentration camp. Vladislav Vančura was executed by them and Ivan Olbracht died, no one knows how. Karel Poláček was dragged to some spot in Poland. The great Czechoslovak literary body is being murdered, imprisoned, and tortured without surcease.

Those writers who have not been imprisoned or murdered are silent. The literary glossographer abroad, dependent today on items in the cultural columns of newspapers and magazines published in Hitler's Protectorate, is confronted with but a single tragic task, that of writing necrologies.

None the less, it must be obvious to all who knew the strength of Czech poetical genius that in the tortured home of the great apostles of life, poesy must even now be burgeoning under the blight caused by robbers and murderers. Most certainly a new creative art is growing in the Czechoslovak underground which, with new strength and new vision, is discovering the future man from whom we all await the salvation of our sorrow filled world.

NEW YORK

## MORE MODERN SERBO-CROAT LYRICS\*

TRANSLATED BY OLIVER ELTON

JOVAN DUČIĆ (1874- )

### 1. 'MUSE, LET US SAIL'<sup>1</sup>

Muse, let us sail! Come, with thy loving arm  
That pillowed once my youth so softly awhile!  
Long is our journey to the haven calm,  
And distant still remains the peaceful isle.

Upon this sea of life, erect and proud  
Our masts are standing; in hot haste we go;  
Above, the vault of heaven is dim with cloud,  
The never-resting ocean storms below.

And our too feeble eyesight idly strains  
To mark the lighthouse towers across that sea,  
For in the deeps, there only, Truth remains;  
Above, upon an unknown track, fare we.

A doubtful murmur meets our questionings  
And to our longing soul makes no reply;  
— Where is the source, the wondrous goal, of things?  
Hid in impenetrable mists they lie.

For many a ship, sore driven, here has sailed  
With true, deep-sunken treasure for her quest,  
And hoped to scan the harbor lights, and failed —  
Ah, where may now her floating wreckage rest?

Plunge not the ponderous anchor, in thy haste,  
No message from our wounded heart lies there!  
Nor let thy gaze, too eager, scan that waste;  
Fret not for weary knowledge, but forbear.

No, range with tranquil eye the wide expanse;  
There only shalt thou dulcet peace obtain;  
Nor cast elsewhere, my Muse, thy wavering glance;  
The billow foams, with murmuring sweet refrain.

Do thou but dream! To dream will blunt thy grief;  
Brighter and calmer all thy nights will shine;  
Beneath thy fetters, learn to find relief!  
And Truth, the one and only Truth, is thine!

\* The translator is indebted for much help and advice to Dr. D. P. Subotić.

<sup>1</sup> B. Popović, *Antologija novije srpske lirike* (1936), pp. 3-5, 'Xajd'mo o Muzol'

Truth's name is Love! Sing of our youth alone,  
 Sing of ourselves; be quiet and carefree;  
 By one man's heart the universe is known,  
 And, in one tear, his whole life's history.

Ask not if all the sounds of our brief days  
 By whispering winds are soon dispersed and shed  
 Like snow-white blossoms from the flowering sprays  
 Or blooms that mark the grave above our head.

Muse, thou art young; inquire not if they last  
 Or if some echo of thy voice still breathes  
 Or whether our dull age thereon will cast  
 A shower of pebbles or a crown of wreaths.

Be like that dweller in isles of ice and cloud,  
 The bird from northern seas, whose eager cry  
 Amidst the icy summits echoes loud,  
 Who asks not to be seen of human eye

Nor asks for listeners. — Thus the poet weaves,  
 In this dead vale, his songs interpreting  
 The thought of a whole age — and dies — nor grieves  
 That never a soul on earth has heard him sing.

## 2. *THE RETURN*<sup>2</sup>

She, when again the leaves have fallen, will come back,  
 While on the river-brink the weeping winds blow cold,  
 — An apparition pale, and all attired in black,  
 Like some remembrance, calling forth dead days of old.

But sadly then the murmur of autumnal streams  
 Attends her gentle step; but see, her marble brow  
 Is dark with shadow, and no man ever knows or dreams  
 That shadow's meaning — no, nor whence it fell; but now

And like the very soul of autumn, come she will  
 And with the tremor of some tranquil sorrow fill  
 Our hearts, and ailing nature, and these gardens cold;

Then to all gathered in the salon, it will be  
 Like dust that falls by night, when, with light fingers, she  
 Dark music strikes from that pianoforte old.

<sup>2</sup> Popović, no. LXXXII, p. 114.

3. *POPLARS*<sup>3</sup>

Why this murmuring in the poplar-trees tonight,  
Passionate and wondrous? Wherefore murmur so?  
Past the hills the yellow moon sank long ago;  
Dark and distant they, and ominous. Dead of night!

Now upon the water have fallen my dreams; it lies  
Gray and quiet as lead; and in the gloom they cease;  
Only high above in air the poplar-trees  
Murmur, murmur strangely, and quiver in the skies.

Night — and by the quiet water stand I here  
Like the earth's last man; and here my shadow is prone  
On the ground before me; yes, tonight I fear,  
Shake and shiver to see my shadow, and wait alone.

4. *SILENCE*<sup>4</sup>

An unremembered spot, in some far-stretching glade —  
The shores, with grass and silence overladen, sleep;  
And here the sad, still waters moan, in evening's shade;  
The willows grieve and whisper, and breathe oblivion deep.

Here, in the pale translucent darkness of the boughs,  
I come on pale, on ever-silent Solitude  
Beside the river; and here she sits, to dream and drowse  
And gaze on her own face in waters azure-hued.

Whence came she thus? who knows? and is she, in this dead vale,  
Only a voice, that falls in these pure spaces, and dies?  
Heavily now will silence all her grief exhale:  
From leaf to leaf the old refrain of suffering flies.

5. *WINE OF DUBROVNIK*<sup>5</sup>

Quiet as silver, never moving, lies the sea.  
The garden fronts it; just is heard the fountain's dance  
And splash of spray; from yonder dark-blue laurel tree  
Peers out a marble Pan, with wanton countenance.

Then passionate music sounds; and all the party is there  
Out in the garden-close, and all the faces shine  
Amused and joyous, and all is merry and free from care,  
So good the dinner — and so insidious was the wine!

<sup>3</sup> Popović, no. LXXXVII, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Popović, no. LXXXIX, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Popović, no. CXI, p. 160.

The frolics, with a gentle turmoil, now begin;  
 Disorder grows — for mark the doings in the crowd!  
 A friar, in Dominic's habit, twangs a mandolin;  
 A captain here, with fervor, spouts the psalms aloud.

Ana de Doce next, now gray, a dame of note  
 For all the stricter virtues, as for perfect *ton*,  
 Is heard, amidst a swarm of ladies, now to quote  
 A roaring tale — and whence, but from *Decameron*!

VOJSLAV ILIĆ (1862-1894)

### 1. ON THE VARDAR<sup>6</sup>

Proud uprises to heaven the rock-wall, gray, everlasting;  
 Over the gloomy ravines are the eagles, with cloudland battling.  
 Vardar, dreadfully roaring below, foams down to his outlet,  
 Plunges and falls through the narrow defiles to the blue Egean.  
 Thus, ye billows, O Serbian stream, do the centuries perish,  
 Sink like the face of a wave in the ocean of darkness eternal.  
 Yet are thy drops, like pearls, still kissing the stone-clad foothills  
 Where the memorials abide of our people, its past and its glory.  
 Yet shall the Freedom we love shine radiant in bliss, like a phoenix;  
 Gay and serene I shall stand where today I stand in abasement;  
 Broadly shall our white eagle be seen unfolding his pinions  
 O'er thy ravines. O Vardar.

### 2. IN LATE AUTUMN<sup>7</sup>

Hear how the wind through these our desolate pastures is howling,  
 Rolls thick layers of mist down to the watery dale . . .  
 Hark to the croak of the raven who rises and circles above me;  
 Dark is the sky, like a veil.

Hurrying, the colt, all drenched, snorts loud as he enters the village;  
 Ancient and wretched indeed is the dwelling he now has espied.  
 There on the threshold the dame stands calling the rain-sodden poultry;  
 Monstrous and shaggy of tail paces the hound at her side.

Sadly the wind through the gloomy and desolate pastures is whistling,  
 Rolls thick layers of mist down to the watery dale;  
 Hark to the croak of the raven who rises and circles above us;  
 Dark is the sky, like a veil.

<sup>6</sup> Popović, no. cxvi, p. 165. The original is rhymed.

<sup>7</sup> Popović, no. c, p. 148.

3. "MY ARMS WERE FOLDED"<sup>8</sup>

My arms were folded crosswise,  
My gaze was quencht and dead,  
As I lay there amidst you all  
On my deathbed.

And you with dewy garlands  
My death-pale face had wreathed;  
You talked of all my aches and pains —  
What sighs you breathed!

I listened to the poisonous words  
And sweet you spoke aloud,  
And bitterly I laughed, and laughed  
Beneath my shroud.

MILETA JAKSIĆ (1869–1935)

THE SINGER AND THE SONG<sup>9</sup>

Ah, dig not in thy heart too rudely, with thy pen!  
Are there no flowers? — 'Tis not the season for their birth!  
No, nurse with care the seedling in thy breast,  
Like grains of wheat hid in the kindly earth.

If thy God willed that thou shouldst come to be  
A paradise of blossom here below,  
Why then, He brought a posy from the skies  
Before time was, for thy hot heart, — and so

Why chafe? — If thou art destined to forget,  
He will send down His Spirit, in quest of flowers,  
From far away. No blade can germinate  
In winter, it must wait for sunlit hours.

Then, when the Genius, in his downward flight,  
Wafts airs above thee from his golden wing,  
And when his wizard fingers light  
On thy full heart, full bosom, — then, then first  
The bud shall burst!

Dig not, but wait! a restless child may tear  
The petals of the bud apart; but see,  
That floweret sickens in the garden, bare,  
Scorned — scorned alike by butterfly and bee!

<sup>8</sup> Popović, no. CXXIV, p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> Popović, no. CLXVII, p. 241.

MIRKO KOROLIJA (1886-1934)

THE MAENAD<sup>10</sup>

Wild woodland roses pale are twined in her long hair  
 Bestrewn with dust; half-naked, heated, with shrill cries  
 She dances on; and now, all shattered by her labors, lies;  
 The narrow sandal slips down from her ankles bare.

The thyrsus, wrapt in leaves of vine, she carries there;  
 She brandishes the rattle; on her breast, love's prize,  
 The wine floods down; her burning countenance, her eyes  
 Are all bedewed, and still a fiery moisture wear.

Her lips are fragrant, breathing pleasure and desire;  
 Her wanton song intoxicates and burns like fire,  
 And madly in her train the furious rabble flee,

An evil, drunken rout; and all the highways ring  
 With challenge wild and furious passion, as they sing  
*All hail to Bacchus, Bacchus, Bacchus — evoe!*

MILAN KUJUNDŽIĆ (ABERDAR) (1846-1893)

TO THE BRIDEGROOM<sup>11</sup>

My love, my pride, is yonder golden apple  
 There on the sunlit turret glittering bright.  
 The sun is now gone down, and gone the radiance,  
 The apple silent — silent as the night!

Thy love, thy pride, is yonder star so tiny,  
 Wavering aloft in heaven, and quiet and light;  
 The night has come. *My* gold is overdarkened;  
*Thy* star grows ever kinder, grows more bright.

VELIMIR RAJIĆ (1879-1916)

TO MY COUNTRY<sup>12</sup>

All my hot, native blood is kindled now;  
 My eyes are bathed in penitential brine;  
 In holy awe, I wear a humble brow,  
 My sinful feet draw nearer to Thy shrine.

My sin towards thee — it is huge indeed,  
 And for Thy holy path I cared no jot;  
 For only of myself my soul took heed,  
 And Thee, my Mother, I had quite forgot.

<sup>10</sup> Popović, no. CXLII, p. 198.<sup>11</sup> Popović, no. XXV, p. 37.<sup>12</sup> Popović, no. CLXVI, p. 239.



Till now, self-wrapt and hideous have I been;  
For my own sorrows were my only thought,  
And what I owed to Thee, I had not seen,  
Or how I never, never gave Thee aught!

But wild remorse today I feel at last  
Piercing my bone and marrow everywhere,  
And as I weep, tears follow thick and fast;  
I gasp, 'Forgive me, Mother, hear my prayer!'

Burning and scorching is my Serbian blood,  
And in my throat my quivering voice is sealed;  
For in my fiery veins my tears now flood,  
Like molten metal now my soul is steeled!

I swear a weighty oath to Thee: behold!  
— By that blue starlit heaven overhead;  
By earth where, dying, I shall rot in mould;  
My life on earth, my grave when I am dead;

By life eternal, by God crucified:  
— Against Thee I will sin no more; and see,  
My feet shall be set firm, Thy path my guide,  
And I myself — forget myself in Thee!

MILAN RAKIĆ (1876— )

*THE ABANDONED CHURCH*<sup>13</sup>

(from the environs of Peć)

See, Christ upon the Cross, an antique image, lies.  
All down His shattered side a trickle of blood is shed.  
Death's self is here; the lips are pale, and dead the eyes;  
A halo, beaten silver, hangs above His head.

A gift from noble folk and godly peasant came;  
For there, about His neck, the strings of ducats shine;  
Pure silver filigree is wrought upon the frame.  
That frame a man of Debar cut — some craftsman fine.

Thus lies the Christ, within the empty temple there,  
With darkness, shade by shade, descending everywhere,  
Amidst the swarm of night-birds ranging for their prey.

Sole in that empty church, and ringed by phantom bands,  
The dreadful Christ, despairing, reaches out His hands,  
And waits forever for His flock — but where are they?

<sup>13</sup> Popović, no. cxiii, p. 162.

2. THE PEONY<sup>14</sup>

How beautiful, tonight! all round, we see  
 From oak, acacia, poplar, mulberry-tree,  
 On springs of gushing waters, golden-tressed,  
 Those immaterial moonbeams fall and rest!

O'er meadows where the grasses breathe sweet scent;  
 On flowerless branches, fields beneath the plough  
 That darken when the abundant showers are spent,  
 Like some great spirit dreams the moonlight — now.

Raindrip — all quiet! Mute the level plain  
 Where troop on troop lay stricken long ago;  
 There sprang of old, from blood that fell like rain,  
 The Peony, red and blue, on Kosovo.

*Note by Rakić.* "There is a popular belief that after the battle of Kosovo there sprouted up, on Kosovo, the peony the red one from Serbian, the blue from Turkish, blood."

3. TO THE SINGER<sup>15</sup>

From God you have the spark divine. Strike flint! and then  
 Illume these poets' gloomy dwelling with your fire,  
 And let them come to know that they are little men,

And shatter all their altars, as in jest or scorn,  
 And all the gods that these idolaters admire!  
 Shiver each prejudice, each pattern long outworn!

Let one swift flourish of your potent arm efface  
 That crazy ancient edifice, from roof to base,  
 And, as the storm drives seamen, hunt that sorry crew!

And then, poor wretches, let them shiver in mortal fear,  
 And let them cross themselves, when that wild song they hear  
 Which thunders round their rhyming prose, and peals from you!

4. CHINESE MADRIGAL<sup>16</sup>

In deepest China now the lady I love resides,  
 On cold and distant mountains with perpetual snows,  
 Alone; and like a moonbeam now and then she glides  
 Through far-sequestered palace rooms, where no one goes.

And there she waits for me, and sorrows all her days,  
 And from her snowbound icy hills she breathes a sigh,  
 Always for me; and sits, with sick and piteous gaze,  
 And with sweet longing fades, all imperceptibly.

But when in palanquin she rides to town, in dress  
 Of white, through many an alley of junipers and pines,  
 All veiled, and on soft cushions sadly there reclines,  
 Then all men's pigtails shake with longing, every tress.

<sup>14</sup> Rakić, *Pesme* (Zagreb, 1924), p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> *Pesme*, p. 77.

<sup>16</sup> *Pesme*, p. 23.

5. *A COMMONPLACE POEM*<sup>17</sup>

That love of ours had all too brief a date;  
It lived — what seemed an instant — just one year.  
Then, to divide us, some rude, sudden fate  
Came — and with never a word, or sigh, or tear.

For half our days in wrangling had flown by;  
Half our vexed nights, in making peace, at best;  
And so from our abode at last fled I,  
And in the lonely country sought for rest.

All this endured but for a little space,  
And we became as strangers — dull and dazed  
Like children cloyed with sweetmeats, so we gazed  
In long unbroken silence, face to face.

So all is over and ended — nor may I  
Blaspheme my destiny, or heaven's decree,  
Or clench my fists, or plunged in sorrow cry  
Curses on women and their infamy.

But hadst thou known, if only for an hour,  
The fatal flame in which this soul is caught,  
The love that cancels, like some monstrous power,  
All other hopes, all dreams, and every thought;

If once, distracted soul, thou hadst desired  
To speak some tender word, with its caress  
Like silk — and by thy burning heart inspired,  
— Long, long, perchance, had been our happiness.

But time today flows at a sluggish pace;  
We have remained as strangers; in a daze,  
Like children cloyed with sweetmeats, now we gaze  
In long unbroken silence, face to face.

6. *TO A DEAD WOMAN*<sup>18</sup>

May Nature, sickly and pale, who with a niggard hand  
Denies all May, all sunshine, to thy native land  
— Now cold, inert, as by some ghostly finger pressed, —  
Bestow upon thy soul beatitude and rest.

In fields of snow, beneath the sod that fostered thee,  
And under one poor fir, in thy mean grave confined,  
Sleep sound, and may the earth a loving mother be;  
Decay in thy white shroud, thou spirit good and kind!

<sup>17</sup> Popović, no. LXIV, p. 104.<sup>18</sup> *Pesme*, p. 49.

And let the winds be whistling thy sad lullaby  
 Forever, through those fields far-stretching into space.  
 Black ravens, when the twilight darkens down, shall cry  
 With melancholy croak about thy resting-place.

Long hast thou suffered. Silence now! repose at last.  
 But I will come to thee from far away, my dear,  
 In sodden autumn, while the leaves are yellowing fast,  
 While Nature pines and waits, and knows her death is near.

And then, all gently, like the leafage from the bough,  
 My memories one by one shall drop away, forgot;  
 Those days mourned long ago — I shall forget them now,  
 The joys that once were mine, the misery now my lot,

— All, all! — those fields of snow no eye can scan. Ah, yes,  
 And even, beneath the lonely fir, that humble mound;  
 I shall forget thy love, so pure, so measureless.  
 Decay in thy white shroud, kind spirit, and sleep sound!

#### 7. TO THE BELOVED DEAD<sup>19</sup>

I hold that somewhere, far beyond our sphere of sight  
 And far beyond the bounds of earth, so sickly and gray,  
 With rainbows overhead, unspanned, forever bright,  
 Your souls beloved, as heretofore, live on today.

And yet, how often comes a ruthless doubt, to flood  
 My soul — and then I shiver, and dread to know your plight:  
 — Exist ye anywhere, the sinful or the good,  
 In lands of darkness be it, or lands for ever bright?

For never, in all our days of sorrow, come ye near,  
 When all our hearts are quaking, terrified of fate.  
 Not once, good friends of days departed, do we hear  
 All those compassionate words and kind for which we wait!

Can you, beloved souls, without one pang of grief,  
 Without one tear, regard our lot so merciless,  
 Our pilgrimage so long, upon a road so brief,  
 All our despair, and all the depth of our distress?

Or has the grave some spell to chain you, there on high,  
 Begrudging you the power to act, the power of speech,  
 O souls, to me forever dear? — to make you each  
 A sad Prometheus, one who dares not soar or fly?

<sup>19</sup> *Pesme*, p. 39.

If thus indeed it be, O souls we loved of old;  
If now ye live to all eternity, and dwell  
Immovable and mute, and impotent and cold,  
— Then is your second life more horrible than hell!

8. *A WISH*<sup>20</sup>

When comes the hour that sayeth to me, "Thou too must die,"  
Then let me die, O God, upon an autumn night,  
Still gay and full of laughter, full of youth and might,  
And revelling in the rays of some September sky!

Yes, death were easy, so — but all his escort, all  
The follies that revive when death confronts them there,  
The women veiled, who shed their tears professional,  
The artificial woes, of folk who do not care!

The candelabra — then the cloth, the cassocks black,  
— 'Tis all too coarse, too gross; it rends me with distress,  
Revolts me, all my feelings sets upon the rack.  
Think but of endless peace, its quiet loveliness!

Ah, thus to die! with no one there, no wails, no cries;  
Without that foolish, irksome deathbed farce — and so  
Unnoted, like some blossom's scent that fades and dies,  
Obliterate life, and life's long-drawn despair, and go,

Just with a single breath, still young and full of might,  
And revelling in the rays of some September night!

For thou wouldst come to me: I know thou wouldst not weep;  
But even while stifled by thy pangs, and torn apart,  
Thou wouldst but hide thy woes, and thy affliction deep  
In some far-buried nook of thy fond loving heart.

Yes, thou wouldst come, and then to thy old friend wouldst say,  
With one last parting look, thy last farewell to me,  
And in thy lovely lovingkindness, wipe away  
With one pure kiss, the secret grief thou couldst not flee.

Come, the hour strikes; and as in happier days, alone  
Together we will quit the tedious town, and then  
Alone together seek some gentle upland zone,  
Far from all pain and sorrow, and far away from men.

Ah, let us haste, and seek the light, the fields, the flowers,  
And pass into that chaste, that still and slumbering night,  
Into that mystic love the stars pour down in showers,  
Solemnly pulsing through those lonely regions bright!

<sup>20</sup> Popović, no. LXXV, pp. 117-120.

See how the moonbeam shines upon the fields beneath,  
 Scatters the wisps of cloud, illumines them with its rays.  
 Now the grass yields its perfume, plants will burst their sheath,  
 And what sad murmur stirs those massy fields of maize!

Above our heads a light will tremble in the sky,  
 Gently will each dumb creature greet us from his home,  
 And now the last belated bat, from copse hard by,  
 On vagrant, flitting wing will now prepare to roam.

Then, while the city's echo rumbles far away  
 With all its vain, demeaning, empty sport and play  
 And all its hum of boisterous, furtive revelling,  
 Somewhere, unseen, the nightingales will start to sing;

— All nature murmuring, too, one passionate low refrain,  
 While everything that lives, and every hill and plain,  
 Garden of flowers and herbs, its greeting offereth  
 To the slow grave advance of cold impartial death.

Then will I hold my peace; there is no more to say;  
 I will but leave a kiss upon thy fingers pale,  
 And with soft sighs, that ever faintlier fade away,  
 Will say farewell to life, to all distress and bale,  
 With mind carefree and full of mirth, robust and clear.

And I will close my eyes for ever, and in that hour,  
 Like one who dreams, shall be miraculously thrilled  
 By that mysterious love the stars upon us shower,  
 And by the odorous breath of ploughlands newly tilled;  
 And see thy radiant eyes, compassionate and dear.

ALEKSA ŠANTIĆ (1868–1924)

*THE EVE OF THE FESTIVAL*<sup>21</sup>

'Tis Festival tomorrow. A soft, mild ray  
 Flooding my room, by yonder lamp is thrown.  
 There ticks the old corner-clock. I sit alone  
 While these dead hours, unheeded, slip away.

How cold, outside! The stove gives puffs of heat.  
 I lie, my arms beneath my head, and now  
 In silence hear the naked walnut-bough,  
 All frozen hard, upon my window beat.

<sup>21</sup> Popović, no. LXXXI, pp. 126–131.

Even thus one recollection beats again  
Upon the doors of my sad heart, and there  
Waits like a comrade, friend, or soul to share  
My tears, and all my suffocating pain.

Winter, on such a night, wove long ago  
On that dead bough his icy winding-sheet,  
And through this room, as through a garden sweet,  
A stream of humble happiness would flow.

Just as tonight, the lamp would cast its rays  
Before the ikon; from the altar-screen  
Dead ivy peered; light floating wisps were seen  
Of incense, which the blessing hid in haze.

And round a tallow candle, yellow and bright,  
While all the room was filled with smoke and scent,  
We children, like some conclave, sat intent;  
For snowball-time had come, to our delight.

Behind thin veils of vapor, faintly blue,  
The stove would blaze; the flame, at fullest heat,  
Upon the ancient carpet at our feet  
Gay gleams and tremulous bands of brilliance threw.

On a soft sheepskin Father there reclined,  
Pointing his pipe, the smoke curled forth in rings;  
His meditations strayed on distant things;  
Vague were his drowsy looks, and dear and kind.

And on the sheepskin, just below him there,  
Watched Mother, as though our joy to symbolise;  
Glanced up at us, with kindness in her eyes,  
And sewed the shirts, for Christmas Day was near.

Then would the knocker rattle, and Father call  
"Peter! — it must be Peter! always he  
Loves, of an evening, talk and company.  
Open, and let him in!" — Then ran we all

Swift as the wind, and drew the bolt; and lo,  
There the old neighbor, mountain-high, would stand  
Before us, with the lantern in his hand,  
And shaking from his coat the fallen snow.

We rushed into his arms; and Mother, she  
Would meet him, with her modest glance; and now  
He'd come into the light, and wipe his brow,  
And sit by Father, asking, How was he?

On all the faces in our room there shone  
Some holy, happy light. In practised style  
The old man, stroking his moustache the while,  
Launched on a story of days long past and gone.

The window quivered in the icy blast,  
And we, until the veteran's tale was done,  
Drank in each word, and mute was everyone,  
Trembling with joy, and every heart beat fast.

Then, bright and gay as morning, Father soon,  
The gusla in his sinewy hands, began  
The lovely chant of Strahinic the ban,  
And sang it loud, to some heart-moving tune.

That song, or so I dreamed, in every line  
Became an overbrimming cup of dew  
That shook and shone, and on my hair would strew  
Flake upon flake of something soft and fine.

Ah, happy hours, so distant and so dear!  
And you, loved faces, vanished in the past!  
The room is blank, my heart is overcast;  
Joy comes my way no more; ye are not here.

Now, too, the ikon's lamp burns low; the time  
Is late on Christmas Eve; but now the room  
Is like a pit of silence, in the gloom.  
I seem a withered leaflet, swathed in rime.

No soul is with me. Whilst I wait in vain  
In this dead mirk, in stony silence, now  
I only hear the frozen walnut-bough  
Tell of its presence, beating on the pane.

But while dull sorrow still my heart distresses,  
As frost will grass upon some hilltop bare,  
From all my books, and dusty table there,  
I hear a rustling, as of fairy tresses.

Look, how my dreams, my years of longing, all  
The books I wrote of old, fly open wide!  
How they are shifting, quivering, side by side,  
And on my ear their murmur seems to fall!

Was this a dream, or sober truth? Behold,  
Birds from each leaf and opened page, as though  
From branches, flutter lightly to and fro,  
And all about my room their wings unfold.



Now all grow bright — and bright they all remain . . .  
One whirls about the candle-flame; another  
Before the picture there of my dead Mother  
Trembles, like someone weeping, racked with pain.

And some are like the earliest lilies, white,  
With golden, soft breast-plumage, others blue  
But crimson-throated, like the dawn in hue,  
As though one drop of blood had fallen, bright.

And some, with silken rustle of pendulous wing,  
Poise down upon my withered heart; and there,  
Another, with a wing-tip light as air,  
Has brushed my forehead, warmly twittering,

As though to wipe the shadow of grief away.  
But hark, in turn they all begin to sing  
And all their voices shake and quiver and ring,  
Like some new lovely rainbow, bright and gay.

— “Nay, grieve not, to what purpose wilt thou fret?  
Thy songs are we — songs of all friends of thine  
Whose souls amongst the stars with ardour shine,  
We are thy sacred offspring, living yet!

“Softly we fall on all sick hearts that pine,  
Like dew on lonely plants; to millions here  
Uncounted, wrapt in cold and darkness drear,  
We bring from Heaven a warmth and light divine.

“We league all souls in one fraternity;  
We knit the living to the dead; and they  
Who long have gone beneath the turf to stay  
Shall bide with us forever — next to thee!

“Those troops of blessed souls — embrace them all!  
And when, at thy appointed hour, thou diest,  
Our tears upon the grave wherein thou liest  
Shall, like warm drops of golden sunshine, fall.”

— The last note sounds; and ever stronger glows  
Throughout my room, the lamp, with trembling light.  
The ancient corner-clock ticks hoarse tonight.  
I weep for gladness, and my eyelids close.

# MARTIN KERPAN OF VERKH

By FRAN LEVSTIK

TRANSLATED FROM THE SLOVENE BY ANTHONY J. KLANČAR

## A NOTE ON FRAN LEVSTIK

Fran Levstik (1831–1887) did for the Slovenes what Vuk Karadžić and Ljudevit Gaj did for the Serbs and the Croats, he reformed the Slovene language and style at a time when Germanization reached its greatest effect. Born in Lower Carniola (Doljenska), which gave to Slovene literature such men as Primož Trubar, Josip Jurčič and Josip Stritar, he began as a lyric poet and became the heir and successor of Francè Prešeren.

His knowledge of Slovene was equal only to that of Fran Miklošič. Coming from a place (Spodnje Retje near Velike Lašče), still unmarred by the hand of civilization, Levstik was the first to place Slovene literary criticism on a firmer foundation. His program for a national literature, set forth in his travel book *Popotovanje iz Litje do Četleza* (1858), aimed at safeguarding the language and popular poetry of the Slovenes. This he also did through his extensive philological writings, among which the most important is his *Die slovensche Sprache nach ihren Redetheilen* (Laibach, 1866). Immensely interested in Slovene philology he made the first scientific study of the Slovene dialects. His observations on the accent in Slovene served later as the basis for Matija Valjavec's monumental work.

In order to demonstrate to the rising generation of novelists and story writers the beauties of Slovene when correctly used, Levstik wrote *Martin Kerpan* (1858), here translated for the first time into English. Based on a popular legend, it is a poignant expression of the spirit of revolt latent in the Slovene people. Martin Kerpan, a strong, healthy peasant, symbolizes Slovenia in her relationship to Vienna, he personifies the exploited slave, conscious of his plight and seeking his rights in a world of privilege and physical degeneration.

MOČILAR would sometimes tell me how people long ago used to live and carry on their occupations. One Sunday afternoon as we were sitting on a bench under the shade of a linden tree, he told me the following story:

In Inner Carniola there stands a village, Verkh by name. In the olden days an enormous man, called Kerpan, lived in this little village. He was so tall that never again will the world see such a man. Though he was an indolent person, yet he carried English salt from the sea on his little mare. Carrying salt in that remote period was already strictly forbidden, and the frontier guards were continually on the alert to catch him in an unguarded moment, for they were afraid to fight openly with him just as later on they were afraid of Štampilhar.<sup>1</sup> Kerpan, however, always managed to keep out of their way and took care that they never succeeded in outwitting him.

But one winter things began to happen. Snow was lying around for miles. Only a single narrow snow-path, available to the inhabitants, led to the other villages for, contrary to conditions at the present time, there were then no roads in that vicinity. In our day the situa-

<sup>1</sup> Jože Štampilhar (1739–1796), an extraordinarily strong peasant contrabandist.

tion is entirely different for there is now, thank God, a path to every kitchen garden.

At that time Kerpan was carrying a few hundredweights of salt down the narrow snow-path on his little mare when suddenly a beautiful carriage came clattering up to him. Its occupant was the Emperor John who was then on his way to Trieste. Kerpan was a simple fellow and did not recognize him; besides there was little time for him to scrutinize the features of the monarch. He did not even have time to take off his hat, but quickly picked up the little mare with her burden and carried her to one side of the road so that the carriage would not run over her

Do you think this hardened in any way Kerpan's arteries? No! It was no more of an effort for him to accomplish this act than for another man to carry a chair.

The Emperor, seeing this feat, ordered the coachman to stop the horses. When the coach came to a standstill, he asked the giant, "Who are you?"

"They call me Kerpan," the giant answered. "My home is in Verkh at the Holy Trinity, a two hours' walk from here."

"What are you carrying in that pack?" the Emperor asked.

Kerpan was quick to reply, "What am I carrying? Some German tinder and grindstones, sir!"

The Emperor, wondering at this statement, said, "If those are grindstones, why then are they in sacks?"

It did not take Kerpan long to think of another answer: "I was afraid they would break because of the cold and so I wrapped them up in straw and packed them in sacks."

The Emperor, pleased by the giant, continued: "And you know how to handle such things? Of course you do since you moved your little mare so easily. In truth, it hasn't much flesh on its body, but at least it has bones."

Kerpan grinned and said, "I know your horses have more flesh on them than mine, but I wouldn't trade my little mare for all four of yours that you have harnessed there. As far as moving my mare is concerned, sir, I can carry two mares like that and walk two hours with them. Or even longer, if necessary."

"This is worth remembering — and bidding," mused the Emperor.

A year passed and Kerpan continued to carry his freight over hill and dale.

Now it so happened that a terrible giant named Berdavs came to Vienna. The giant challenged all the heroes of our kingdom to battle,

just as Pegam<sup>2</sup> had done in the old days. It may be said for the Emperor that he had among his people no cowards who would have forced him to say, "Nobody dares to challenge the giant." — but any one who tried to fight the giant was sure to go down in defeat. The giant was not the man to have a merciful heart, for he killed everyone he overcame.

This began to worry the Emperor and caused him to think: "See here! What's going to happen to us? What's going to happen if Berdavs cannot be overcome? He has already killed my nobles of the highest rank! Confound it anyway, nobody is a match for him!"

Thus the Emperor continued to complain. His coachman, overhearing him, approached him with great humility as he stepped before the great lords, and said: "Don't you remember, Your Majesty, what happened two winters ago near Trieste?"

"What happened?" the Emperor asked him somewhat ill-humoredly. "Whom are you talking about?"

"Kerpan who carried German tinder and grindstones on his little mare," the coachman replied. "Don't you remember how he moved the little mare in the snow, as if he were putting a dish on a table? If Kerpan can't beat Berdavs, no man can. That's all I have to say."

"Yes, of course," said the Emperor, "we will send for him at once."

They, of course, sent a big beautiful coach for Kerpan. At the moment Kerpan was in front of his cabin, loading salt on his little mare. The frontier guards had in the meantime discovered that he was setting out on his business again. They came upon him and attacked him. There were fifteen of them, but Kerpan had no fear. He scowled at his assailants, grabbed one and thrashed the others with him. As a result of this thrashing they all took to their heels.

Just as this was going on, a beautiful coach drawn by four horses, drew up. The Emperor's messenger, who had been a witness of this encounter, stepped out of the coach and quickly said to Kerpan, "Now I know I've hit it right. You're Kerpan of Verkh at the Holy Trinity, aren't you?"

"Yes, I am Kerpan of Verkh at the Holy Trinity," he said. "But what do you want? If you want me for the salt, I advise you to be quiet. There were fifteen of my assailants and still I wasn't afraid, thank the Lord, and I'm not afraid of any one of you. That's certain!"

To this caustic reply the messenger, who did not know exactly why Kerpan talked about salt, said, "Lock up your mare quickly in the

<sup>2</sup> Pegam (Czech), in Slovene folk song, a reference to the Czech Vitovec who in the service of the Celje counts fought against the Emperor Frederick III.

stable and put on your Sunday clothes. We're going to Vienna to see the Emperor."

Kerpan looked at him doubtfully and replied, "Whoever goes to Vienna had better leave his belly home. . . . That's what I heard old people say. But I intend to carry my belly with me wherever I carry my freight, until I die carrying my salt."

"Don't think I'm joking," the Emperor's servant said to him.

"Certainly not, and it wouldn't be healthy, either," said Kerpan.

"Everything I've told you is true," the messenger replied. "Don't you remember how you moved your little mare for a coach two winters ago? The gentleman in the carriage was the Emperor, and it was nobody else but he! Understand?"

Kerpan wondered at this and said: "The Emperor? — You mean the Emperor?"

"The Emperor! The Emperor! Listen! A terrible giant called Berdavs has come to Vienna. He is so strong that nobody is a match for him. He has already killed enough warriors and lords to fill a graveyard. So we decided if any living Christian can overcome him, Kerpan can do so. You are the last hope of the king and the city of Vienna."

These words greatly consoled Kerpan. Everything he had heard pleased him very much and now he said: "If there's nothing else but that confounded Berdavs, listen to what I have to say! Fifteen Berdavs for a small meal is for me what pushing a stone through a puddle of water, over which a seven-year-old child can jump, is for you. Only take care that you don't lead me by the nose!"

Saying this, Kerpan quickly unloaded the salt from the mare, put it in the stable, went into the cabin and put on his Sunday clothes so that he would not be ashamed to be presented to the Emperor. When he had changed his clothes, he ran out and got into the coach. Then the two men started in haste for Vienna.

When they arrived in Vienna, the whole city was in mourning. People crawled about, looking as downcast as ants whose ant hills have been set afire.

"What's the matter with you people?" Kerpan asked. "You're all so sad."

"O, Berdavs! Berdavs!" cried the great and the small, men and women alike. "He has just killed the Emperor's son who was heart-broken with mortification because the Crown had no hero brave enough to fight the giant. He went to try his luck with Berdavs, but what's the use! Like the others, he too fell. Up to this moment nobody has come back alive from the fight."

Kerpan told the coachman to drive on quickly. They finally arrived at the Emperor's court which, they say, is very large and beautiful. A guard always stands by the gates, night and day, summer and winter, even in extremely cold weather. The guard quickly announced Kerpan's arrival according to the custom when anyone of royal birth arrives.

The order had been given day after day for the past fortnight that nobody be announced and that everything remain quiet until the time when such and such a man should arrive. So they anxiously looked forward to having Kerpan in Vienna. Why shouldn't they have done so? They were at their wit's end to know what to do in a situation so desperate and, in fact, seemingly hopeless.

The Emperor, hearing the shouting, knew at once who had arrived and so he rushed out to meet the giant whom he escorted into the upper chambers of the palace. It was wonderfully beautiful in those rooms, even more beautiful than in church. Kerpan just gaped about in wonder at so much regal magnificence.

Presently the Emperor asked him: "Kerpan of Verkh! Do you still remember me?"

"Why shouldn't I?" Kerpan replied, "It's about two years since we saw each other. Well, you look nice and healthy, as one can see by your face."

"What good is one's dear health," the Emperor replied, "when everything else goes wrong! Perhaps, you've already heard of the giant? What will be the outcome if events don't take a more favorable turn? See, he's even killed my son!"

"What else could happen! We'll take his head, of course!" Kerpan said.

"If we only could! But I don't think there is a hero under the sun who could take off Berdavs' head!" the Emperor replied sadly.

"Why not? I've heard it said that all people know everything. Everything can be found in the world, and we can't find a hero to fight Berdavs! Weak as I am I'll thrash him, if God grants it, so soundly that he'll never come back again to bluster about Vienna."

Nothing could have pleased the Emperor more than this! Something, however, still worried him. So he said: "You have convinced me that you are strong, but consider the fact that he has used weapons since his youth, while you until the present time have carried only grindstones and German tinder about Carniola. Perhaps you have never even seen a spear or a sword other than those in the pictures of the Way of the Cross in your village church. How do you mean to fight him?"

"Don't worry," Kerpan said, "how and with what I'll fight him. That's my business. I'm not afraid of sword or spear or any other of the giant's weapons whose names I don't even know, granting that he had any of these in his possession . . . ."

All this appealed to the Emperor, and he quickly ordered a pot of wine and some bread to be brought to Kerpan, saying: "Here, Kerpan, eat and drink! Then we'll go to pick out your weapons."

This seemed to Kerpan a very slight reward. A pot of wine to such a hero! He kept quiet, nevertheless, because he was filled with wonder. What more did he want? He had, of course, heard that the lords all had dainty appetites because they ate the very best food whenever they felt inclined. But a simple man, such as Kerpan, always had other things up his sleeve! He, therefore, drank the wine in one gulp and quickly got up. The Emperor noticed all this and, because he was a shrewd man, he also saw at once that a larger portion should have been allotted to one with such a strong body. That is why they gave him every day thereafter, as long as he was in Vienna: two hams, two-fourths of a ram, three capons and, since he did not eat crumbs, the crusts of four loaves of bread made of white flour, butter and eggs. Furthermore, he was supplied with as much wine as he could drink.

When the Emperor and Kerpan came to the armory, that is, the place where such weapons as sabres, swords, breast-plates, helmets and other odds and ends of war are kept, Kerpan made several attempts to choose a weapon, but he crumbled to bits everything he took in his hands, for he was indeed an extraordinarily strong man. The Emperor almost shuddered from terror when he saw this but he summoned up courage enough to ask, "Well, will you pick out something soon?"

"From what can I pick?" Kerpan replied. "These things are mere toys. They wouldn't do for the giant you call Berdavs, and they won't do for me, Kerpan. Where have you anything better?"

The Emperor began to wonder and said: "If these things won't do for you, I don't know what else will be suitable. We haven't anything bigger and better."

"I have an idea," said Kerpan. "Show me where the smithy is."

The Emperor quickly took him to the smithy which was also to be found in the court, for monarchs have all sorts of things, even a smithy, so that they can always have a hammer and anvil available in case a horse gets unshod or there is something to be forged or repaired. Kerpan selected a piece of iron and the heaviest hammer in the place. The blacksmith always had to swing this hammer with both hands but in Kerpan's hand it sang as if he were sharpening a scythe.

"That bronze rascal!" all who saw him said. It now even seemed a distinction to the Emperor to have such a strong, strapping man about the palace.

Kerpan forged and forged. He worked the bellows with all his might and finally made something so large that it resembled no particular weapon but it was more similar to a cleaver than to anything else. When he had finished, he went into the Emperor's courtyard and chopped down a young, bushy linden tree which stood spreading its branches over a stone table where in summer the lords and ladies assembled as the tree was a refuge from the rays of the sun. The Emperor who was always at his heels, quickly ran up to him and cried: "Kerpan! What are you up to now? May the devil let you burn! Don't you know that the Empress would rather part with all our horses than have this linden tree chopped down! And you've cut it down! What *shall* we do now?"

But Kerpan of Verkh answered him fearlessly: "What is done is done. Why didn't you show me another tree, since you're so particular about this one? What shall we do? A tree is a tree! I must have wood especially for my own use — the kind I'll need for the fight."

The Emperor remained silent because he saw that there was no use crying over spilt milk. Still, he worried about his future excuses to the Empress.

Kerpan first made a handle for his cleaver. He then cut a pole half a fathom long and made a very large club from it. Thereupon he went to the Emperor and said, "I have my weapons now, but I haven't a horse. Surely we won't have to fight on foot."

The Emperor, still somewhat uneasy about the linden tree, said, "Come and take whatever horse you wish. I know you are only boasting. When shall I be Pope in Rome? — When you will kill the giant. If you mean to do anything, take him and chop off his head, if you are really any good, so that my country will have peace and you will have great renown!"

Kerpan was rather angry now, but he swallowed his anger and said: "As far as Berdavs is concerned, I know he isn't a plaything. It won't be like chasing a sparrow who is afraid of every stick and stone out of the bush. How many heroes have you on whom you can depend? Remember, Your Majesty, I'll do what I promised, even if all the backbiters, intriguing against me, burst from anger. If people only always kept their promises as I mean to keep mine, provided God does not strike me dead, no one on earth would know the meaning of a lie. But the world is wicked and does not know that God is great and man is small. Let's go now. Let's go pick out the horse.



Still, I do not want one that will squat on all fours under my weight, before the giant, to your humiliation and to my annoyance. The Viennese would laugh and you would say: 'Look at him. He's even ruined my horse!'"

The Emperor became motionless from terror. He listened to this wisdom coming from the lips of Kerpan and followed him. When they reached the stable, the monarch asked him, "How will you be able to tell whether the horse is good or not?"

"By the simple fact that he won't, if he's any good, let me pull him by the tail over the threshold," Kerpan replied.

"Just try it!" the Emperor said. "You've already made trouble enough for me with the Empress, you sly old rascal. I'm warning you; take care that they don't kill you. These horses are somewhat spirited."

Martin Kerpan, nevertheless, pulled the first one, then the second one, and all the others, over the threshold, including the horse that the Emperor himself rode only twice a year, that is, on Easter and on All Saints' Day. This especially must have irked the Emperor.

"You haven't any horse I like," Kerpan said.

"If these don't satisfy you, you will have to fight on foot. You aren't an ordinary man! I know there isn't a horse in the Empire you couldn't pull out of the stable, you clown!" said the Emperor sullenly.

"That's not so!" Kerpan said, "I have a little mare at home that none of your heroes can pull over the threshold. I'll bet my head on that, if necessary, so that the Viennese and Berdavs won't say I'm lying."

"Not that mare you *danced* with in the snow."

"Yes, that's the one, that's the one!" Kerpan retorted.

The Emperor became angry and said: "It is perfectly clear to me now that you are either a fool or are trying to make one of me! Take care, Kerpan! My arm is long!"

"Even if it is as long as you say, still it can't reach the giant's belt, much less pluck his beard," Kerpan replied with a laugh. "But let's leave such joking to idle people who have no other work except to annoy their neighbors with their jokes. Let's talk rather about Berdavs who has still his head on his shoulders. Send someone quickly to get my mare, or let me go myself. But then I don't know whether I shall ever come back again? — For God, however, everything is possible!"

Having heard Kerpan's wish, the Emperor quickly sent to Verkh for the little mare. When they brought her to Vienna, Kerpan said

to him: "Get all the heroes of Vienna together now, if there are any more of them still left! As weak as my little mare may seem, there isn't one among them who can pull her even to the threshold, much less drag her over it!"

Riders and hostlers and all who knew the effect of fear in handling a horse, whether he is spirited or gentle, made attempts without success, for nobody could even move the little animal. She threw out on a dung heap everyone who touched her.

"Hang it!" they said. "Small mare, great strength!"

The day came for Kerpan's fight with the giant. It so happened that it was also St. Erasmus' Day.<sup>3</sup> Kerpan took his club and cleaver, mounted his little mare, and rode out of town to the meadow where Berdavs fought his challengers. Riding on his little mare, his long feet dragging on the ground, Martin Kerpan was certainly a strange sight. He was wearing an old, broad-brimmed hat and a thick homespun coat. It is needless to add that he was afraid of no one. In fact, the Emperor himself liked to listen to him when he was saying something very audacious.

When Berdavs saw the rider, his foe, he began to roar with laughter. "Is this that Kerpan — the man from the distant village of Verkh at the Holy Trinity — whom they sent for to fight me? It would have been better for you to have stayed at home by the stove, so that you wouldn't grieve your old mother, if you still have one, or your wife, if Allah has blessed you with one. Get out of my sight, and be quick about it, while I still have some pity in my heart for you. If I get angry, you'll soon lie covered with blood on the ground like the Emperor's son and a hundred others like him!"

"If you haven't yet made your peace with God, do so at once," Kerpan replied, "I don't intend to wait too long. I'm in a hurry to get back home to my stove. Your words have awakened in my heart a burning desire for my cabin and my stove, but I won't go until I cut off your head. I beg your pardon! My lord, the Emperor, gave me this task. Previously I had neither heard of you nor of your greatness, nor of all this bloody fighting. Come nearer so that we can shake hands. We have never met before this time and probably will never shake hands again. They say that God does not like to have anyone come before the Judgment Seat with anger in his heart."

The giant was, of course, greatly surprised at these words. Thereupon he quickly rode up to Kerpan and gave him his enormous hand. Kerpan squeezed it so hard that blood began to rush from the giant's finger nails.

<sup>3</sup> June 2.

Berdavs gave a low groan and still said nothing, but he thought to himself: "This fellow is big and strong. Well, what of that — a peasant is a peasant. At least he doesn't know how to fight like the heroes."

The two combatants turned their horses about and rode away swiftly in opposite directions. Berdavs raised his sword high in the air as a preparation for chopping off his foe's head in one stroke. Kerpan, moreover, quickly covered himself with his club and let the giant thrust his sword deep into the soft linden wood. Before the giant could unhorse him, Kerpan jerked Berdavs off his horse to the ground, laid him flat on his back as though he were putting a baby in a cradle, stepped on his neck, saying, "Well, hurry up now and say a little Our Father or two and repent for your sins. You can't go to confession any more now and I can't wait very long. I'm in a hurry to get back to my stove. You see, I can hardly wait to hear the bell in Verkh at the Holy Trinity ring again."

Having said this, Kerpan slowly raised his cleaver and cut off the giant's head. He then returned to the city.

The Viennese, who until now had watched the fight only from afar, went to meet him. The Emperor himself came to greet him and embraced him in the presence of all the people who were shouting at the top of their lungs: "Kerpan has saved us! Thanks to Kerpan as long as Vienna shall stand!"

It made Kerpan feel very much gratified to think he had won so much fame. He carried himself on his little mare as though he were about to invite friends to dine with him. Indeed, he could well afford to do so for even here in Carniola, if anyone kills a worm or a snake, he does not know on which bush to hang it so that it may be seen by more people.

When all the princes, generals and lords of the land had assembled with Kerpan in the palace, the Emperor himself was the first to speak: "You just choose anything you want! I'll give you whatever you want for conquering so great a foe and saving the country and the city from such a great scourge and disaster. There isn't a thing in the Empire I wouldn't give you for the asking. You may even have Jerica, my only daughter, — if you're not already married."

"I was married, but I'm not now," Kerpan replied. "My wife is dead and I never looked about for another. I don't know how it is to be badly off and to be displeasing in the sight of God and honest people. I have already seen your daughter. Perhaps she is as sensible as she is beautiful but as she belongs to a rich family, she's used to luxuries that I can't afford to give her. We, however, are not quite

such beggars in Verkh at the Holy Trinity. We, too, have smoked meat hanging off spits all the year round. But I don't know how it'll be now.

"Once Marjeta and I carried grapes in back-baskets to Trieste. On our way back, she was taken suddenly ill. This annoyed me so much that I haven't the words to tell you! I'd sooner have both of my shoulder straps break in church as I'm about to light the candles for Mass. But there was no way out. I had to put her in one of the baskets, put the basket on my shoulders and march off with her.

"I managed well, for Mretačka was as small as a girl of thirteen years — although she was really thirty when we were married. She was, therefore, not heavy. Wherever I came, they asked me what kind of goods I was selling. It's beastly business to carry a woman around the world in a basket! Just suppose something like that should happen to your daughter and me on the road? The road from here to Verkh drags on like chicken gut. Being a poor man, I have no basket and my little mare has only one saddle! It wouldn't be strange if your daughter became ill, for we all know that soft women like her aren't used to the plop-plop, plop-plop of horses' hoofs from five o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening. If one thinks this matter over carefully, he'll soon see that it is better for the princess to stay with you and for me to remain a widower even if I am not exactly reconciled. But man should not refuse whatever burdens God may inflict upon him."

The Empress never forgot the incident of the bushy linden tree, spreading its branches over the stone table in the garden. This was really the reason for her absence, but she listened behind doors as is the habit of women who want to know everything. When she heard the Emperor offering their daughter in marriage to Kerpan, she burst into the room and shouted to the latter: "You won't have her! No, you won't! You chopped down my linden tree and I won't give you my daughter! My dear husband, you must have water on your brain — I can't say anything better for you — to say such things when you yourself know they are nonsense. And you, too, gentlemen, ought to be ashamed of yourselves. It isn't decent to have a peasant fight for you! My linden tree would still be standing there today and the giant would have lost his head too, if you amounted to anything. But I know! Since men have become so effeminate, every woman who marries is mad!"

"It's true, Kerpan, you saved the Empire. It's also true that you have saved Vienna. For that reason you are going to get a barrel of

wine containing fifty small *veders*,<sup>4</sup> a hundred and five loaves of bread and twelve rams. We'll also give you forty-eight hams. Now listen closely! All these things you may take home to Carniola, if you wish, but you must not sell them here or on your way back home. When you return to Verkh at the Holy Trinity, you may do whatever you please with them."

"And now as there is no longer any Berdavs to annoy us, it wouldn't be a bad idea for you to saddle that famous little goat you call a mare and go back nicely to Verkh. Give my regards to all the people of Verkh, especially the burgomaster's wife!"

Having said this, the Empress went back at once to her room. All the lords were very much ashamed. Why shouldn't they have been? She had given them such a severe scolding, just as they deserved! Kerpan made such fierce grimaces that he resembled a thunderstorm. His eyes flashed underneath his angry brows as though the sky were flashing beyond the little town of Mokrice. His brows bristled up like two brooms. Good God, how strange they all felt around him! Even the Emperor seemed timid as he looked sidewise at him. Imagine, the Emperor! However, because they had been such friends, he slowly ventured to say to him, "My dear Kerpan, just be quiet. We'll make everything right!"

Kerpan paid no attention to these remarks. Putting his club on his right shoulder and his cleaver on his left, he went to the door, saying, "May God have you in his keeping! And no offence!"

With these words, he raised the latch and started to leave.

Thereupon, the Emperor ran after him and called to him, "Wait a minute! Let me explain! God forbid! Surely you aren't a jelly fish!"

"What is it?" Kerpan replied. "Don't you think I've heard enough of this already? My beard would reach to my belt, or even to my toes, if I didn't shave myself twice a week. But then who would sweep the floor after me if I didn't do so myself? Who sent for the coach and four? You or I? I didn't need Vienna but Vienna needed me! Why do you treat me like this now? Must I swallow your complaints about the meat and bread I ate? I have already eaten the bread, black and white, of many a mother and drank the wine of many a father, but I'll never get such service, even here, as I get in Razderto at Klinčar's place. There isn't anything worse in this world than giving something and then begrudging it! Whoever does not wish to give anything, let him keep it for himself! But who'd have thought that there are still laws about linden trees! Was that little tree your God, or

<sup>4</sup> An old Slovene measure of 10 pots containing 14.15 liters.

what? That kind of wood grows behind every bush in Carniola, but Kerpan isn't to be found on every corner — not even in every court; thank the Lord! Then again you give such gifts that one can't even get to them. It's just as though you'd tie a mouse to a cat's tail in order to make the cat turn around without being able to catch the little animal. Fifty small *veders* of wine, a hundred and five loaves of bread, twelve rams, and forty-eight hams! Such provisions aren't really bad, but what's the use? I can't sell them, and it doesn't pay to carry them from Vienna to Verkh! But I'll do something that nobody has ever dreamed of! I'll bring all the planks in Vienna together in the courtyard and if these are not enough, I'll begin on the trees. I'll cut down everything that comes under my hatchet, whether it be a full-grown or a small-leaved linden, a dogberry or a snow-ball tree, underneath a stone table or underneath a wooden one. I'll then build a cabin in the middle of the courtyard and lie in bed until the barrel is empty and I have eaten everything. But let another Berdavs come to Vienna again and then you can just send your coach and servant, or even your daughter, for whom I have little or no use, to fetch me and see what you will bring back from Verkh at the Holy Trinity! If that person be Kerpan, he certainly won't eat meat and bones but you will have to stuff him with oak straw. Then even the sparrows won't be afraid of him, much less the giant! I meant to go without a word of parting but since you stopped me, please don't be angry if I said anything bitter to you. Surely you remember what the late Jernejko of Gole said: 'Must I feed one with a loaf of bread whenever I quarrel with him? Whatever makes a person angrier, that's what I snap back at him.' And now good-bye!"

Upon hearing this, the Emperor said, "Be patient now, Martin! At least, don't be so impatient. You won't go from this house. Believe me, you won't! I'm master here, understand!"

"Every man is as God made him," Kerpan replied. "Every man has a burden of his own. If one hasn't a hunched back, he has a snout! My behavior doesn't suit you; I can see it doesn't. Let's not talk about my staying here. Even my little mare, which they call a goat, is not used to dry fodder. At home she can graze in the forest, on the cowpaths, along the roads!"

At this moment, the Minister Gregor, who held the keys to the imperial coffers, — for they have a separate servant for everything in royal courts — joined them.

"Do you know, Your Majesty," said the Minister, "that your jester Štefan is dead? Yesterday we had an eighth-day Mass said for him. May God grant him celestial light! Štefan and Kerpan! In many

ways there is a striking resemblance between them. What do you say? Perhaps this man can take his place. You never can tell. He's a sly-boots. He's fat and ridiculous too and just as glib. There isn't a fellow like him in all Christendom!"

"Do you know this, Master Gregor?" Kerpan replied, "I was your fool once but I won't be again. The small and the great would laugh at me and my homespun humor, if I'd accept your offer! — It's all right now that I remember! I almost forgot what I have had on the tip of my tongue for a long time. Your Majesty, remember you once met me with my little mare?"

Emperor: "Quite right, quite right!"

Kerpan: "And what was I carrying?"

Emperor: "Grindstones and German tinder."

Kerpan: "That was when you were going to Jerusalem."

Emperor: "That's not the truth! I was going to Trieste. I know as much about Jerusalem as I do about the appointed hour of my death."

Kerpan: "And I know just as much about grindstones and German tinder. You know, I wasn't telling you the truth at that time, for which I am very sorry. I was carrying English salt. I wasn't exactly afraid of you or your coachman, but so it goes when a man turns from the right path. Let him be ever so strong, still he may be frightened at the mere rustling of branches."

"Don't you know it's forbidden to do that?" the Minister Gregor said. "This is a dangerous man. He is a menace to the country. Seize him and lock him up!"

"Who'll do that?" Kerpan asked. "Perhaps you will, you long-legged beanpole! You who are as dry as a spit! You, who with all the authorities to help you, hardly make half a handful! I can throw you with one hand over the roof of St. Stephen's church standing in the middle of the town! Don't waste your breath!"

"You just tell me, if you want anything else," the Emperor said. "You and I won't be enemies, not if God grants it. And you, Minister Gregor, let him alone. I know how it is!"

"Listen to me then," Kerpan went on to explain. "I know my fight with Berdavs has made me famous. Who knows? Perhaps some of the loafers in Vienna will write stories and poems about this fight. Perhaps even such stories and poems might be recited at some future time when neither our bones nor our dust remain, provided Master Gregor does not have something else written in the books. But let him do as he likes. Now, if you please, give me a letter that will hold good for every lord in the kingdom. You must also stamp it with

your seal, so that I'll be able to carry my English salt freely all over the world. If you grant me that, and if I ever bother you about anything else as long as I carry my freight, you may call me the worst scamp you ever saw!"

The Emperor was ready at once to do what Kerpan wished but the Minister Gregor could not be made to agree with him. The Emperor, however, did not listen to him but said, "Gregor, take your pen and write down what Martin said!"

Though the Minister Gregor looked surly, yet he did what the Emperor commanded him to do, for everyone is somewhat afraid of an Emperor. When the letter was written and sealed, the Emperor said to Kerpan: "Martin, will you sell me your bread, wine and all those other things? It'll be easier this way I'll speak to the Empress about it, so that it will be all right. I'll give you a bag of ducats and you will leave the goods here. Who would lug this around from Vienna to the Holy Trinity?"

"I know a bag and a half with an additional crown-piece would be a fair price, if I were selling it to my brother; but let it go at your price. I don't mind since it's you and as long as I won't have any trouble with the Empress because of this. I don't like to crawl on my belly before lords! At least I have witnesses that you assumed responsibility for all the trouble that might result from this sooner or later," Kerpan replied.

"Don't be afraid," the Emperor assured him, "I'll smooth this matter out myself, without your help. Here's the bag and here's the letter too. But you aren't going from this castle tonight, if you really intend to go at all. The day is already far spent and night is falling."

"Many thanks," Kerpan said, "most of all for this little letter which I shall throw into the teeth of anyone who will try to stop me on the road. I won't refuse the bag, either. Who knows what may hit one in the unknown darkness of the night? Perhaps it might come in handy yet. People always say: 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush!' But I won't stay here over night, if you don't mind. I feel a strong urge to be in Verkh at the Holy Trinity again. I'd like to ask you for something else. That is, if you'd send someone with me to take me to the road. The city is big. There are so many houses. I have never seen so many before in all the time I have been carrying my salt, although I have already been to Reka, Kopre, Verkhnika, and Ljubljana. But in those places there were never so many streets. The coachman and I drove fast and I know as much about the road I came on as I should if I had my eyes blindfolded, although I looked



right and left. But it isn't given to every man to know always where he is."

The Emperor promised him his servant, gave him his hand, and told Gregor to do likewise. The Minister made no objections, but his face was yellow with rage because of the letter.

Kerpan swung his club and cleaver over his shoulder and these were his last words to the Emperor: "If any Berdavs or anybody else should ever come to Vienna, you know where the place is that they call Verkh at the Holy Trinity. I'll give your regards to the burgo-master's mother and the people of Verkh. Goodbye!"

"Pleasant journey," the Emperor said, but the Minister Gregor said nothing.

## SIR JOHN BOWRING (1792-1872) AND THE SLAVS<sup>1</sup>

By MILOŠ SOVA

THIS PAPER deals with those periods of Sir John Bowring's life which are connected with Slavonic countries and literatures, and chiefly with Bohemia and the Czech literature. The ten years of his life, between 1820 and 1830, when he was publishing the various volumes of his *Specimens of Foreign Poetry*, will be our chief concern. His career as economist and high Civil Servant is very interesting indeed, but as it is outside the scope of the present sketch we shall dwell only on those of its aspects which have a direct bearing on the subject of our study.

John Bowring was born on 17th October 1792 in Exeter, of an ancient Devonshire family of wealthy tradesmen, engaged in the wool business. There was always a Non-conformist tradition in this family, an intense love of liberty and independence of opinion. His grandfather and John himself were Unitarians. This fact accounts, it seems to me, besides other reasons, for the interest Bowring took later in history and literature of Bohemia, the classical country of religious thought with its conflicting tendencies. On leaving school, he entered a merchant's house in Exeter, where he was able to acquire a good working knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, Dutch and German, all of which he spoke with fluency. Later on, he acquainted himself with Danish and Swedish, and acquired a book-knowledge of Russian, Polish, Serbian and Czech (Bohemian). He learned also Magyar and an unbelievable number of eastern languages. He had an excellent command of English and an indisputable ability of rendering the general sense of foreign thought and feeling in his poetical translations. In 1819-20 he travelled abroad on commercial business; he visited France, Belgium, Holland, Russia and Sweden. In 1822 he was arrested in France by the Bourbon government and put in prison at Boulogne where he stayed for six weeks. He prepared there the second part of his *Specimens of the Russian Poets*, the first having been published after his return from Russia in 1821. Released from prison on Canning's intervention, he was prohibited from re-entering France. In 1830, however, after the July revolution which put Louis Philippe on the throne, he had the satisfaction of visiting Paris once more as bearer of a congratulatory address from the citizens of London to the citizens of Paris.

About 1821 Bowring made the acquaintance of Jeremy Bentham,

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from a lecture delivered in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Sir John Bowring's birth, at the Czechoslovak Institute in London.

the 73-year-old leader of the "philosophical radicals," cosmopolitan in taste and culture. The influence of Bentham's strong and independent mind was very great upon Bowring, who published later his *Deontology, or Science of Morality*, and became the joint-editor of the *Westminster Review*, founded in 1824. It has not, I think, been sufficiently realised to what extent the doctrine of the philosophical radicals was responsible for promoting effective democracy in Great Britain, from 1820 to 1835. Workers were allowed to set up unions (1824), London University was founded in 1829, Catholics were emancipated in the same year, the Reform Bill was passed in 1832, the penal code was humanized, reforms in popular education were started. The *Westminster Review* took the lead in all these questions. James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill, was — as Sir John Bowring calls him in his *Autobiographical Recollections* — "the big gun" of this *Review*, whose object was to crush aristocratic influence, be it Whig or Tory.

We must bear in mind all this when we consider Bowring's first impressions of Russia and the Slavonic world in general.

## I

The two volumes of his *Rossiskaja Antologija, Specimens of the Russian Poets*, published in 1821 and 1823, are the harvest and the outcome of his Russian journey. In St. Petersburg Bowring stayed in Friedrich Adelung's house, where he met many Russian writers of the time; among others Karamzin the historian, of whom he speaks in high terms, and the fabulist Krylov. He makes some ironical remarks on the outward appearance of the Russian La Fontaine, who "amused him very much by the dry spirit of jest and fun which runs through all his compositions." It is interesting to compare Bowring's translation of one of Krylov's fables (*Swan, Pike and Crab*) with Sir Bernard Pares's remarkable rendering.<sup>2</sup> Both read quite well, but Pares's translation is much closer to the original.

<sup>2</sup> Penguin Books 390, 1942; p. 43. Bowring, *Spec.* I, p. 134

Krylov:	Bowring:	Pares:
Вести с поклажей воз взялись	I once observed . . . Drawing a treasure (!)	Set out to drag a trolley down the road
Из кожи лезут вон	All their power, their will exerted . . .	They nearly burst their skins . . .
Кто виноват из них, Кто прав—судить не нам; Да только воз и ныне там.	Who of the three was wrong? And who was right? — It might be all — it might be none — it might!	And which was right or wrong I neither know nor care. I only know the truck's still there.
By leaving out the last verse, Bowring spoils the whole effect and misses completely the point of the story.		

On the whole, it may be said that Bowring's translations render poetically the general sense, agree in metre, measure and rime with the original — which is a great quality indeed — but fail sometimes to grasp certain fine points of meaning which may be important. There are, of course, amplifications and embellishments which, in my opinion, are due to the general poetic trend of the Romantic period. We must not forget that for nearly all his translations from Slavonic sources Bowring used German or literal English translations as well, and it would be an arduous though interesting task of literary detection to trace these productions to their original sources.

The *Russian Anthology* has specimens of the more known poets of that time, such as Derzhavin, Lomonosov, and Zhukovski, who is represented with his fine poem *The Minstrel in the Russian camp*, glorifying the heroes of the Russian war against Napoleon; as well as Karamzin, Batyushkov, Dmitriev, Muravyov, Khemnitzer and other less known to-day. Some Russian folk-songs are included. The second volume is dedicated to Tsar Alexander, Autocrat of all the Russias, who was known for his liberal ideas. It has a very interesting introduction which provided an excellent ground for the young, philosophical radical for voicing many of his progressive notions. He saw a country "bursting into civilization," a mighty people whose political and military achievements left a strong impression on his mind. He had already noticed (*Spec.*, I, xxxv) that a middle class, though neither numerous nor powerful, was growing up in Russia, bridging over the gap which separated the nobility from the backward masses of illiterate peasantry. Jeremy Bentham's influence is clearly to be seen in Bowring's remarks on despotism and strong government, on the futility of military, glory, and, above all, on the all-pervading influence of knowledge and enlightenment upon human felicity.

In the first volume of the *Westminster Review* (1824, p. 80–101) the article bearing the title *Politics and Literature of Russia* — although anonymous, as was usual at that time — is almost certainly due to Bowring's pen. Two contemporary works on Russia are reviewed in this article: M. de Pradt's *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe relativement à l'Europe* (Paris, 1823) and A. Bestuzhev's and C. Ryleev's *Polyarnaya Zvezda, The Polar Star. A Glance at the ancient and modern literature of Russia, down to 1823*. The article contains an unconcealed animus against the Holy Alliance, that "monstrous confederacy of triple tyrants whose eye is omnipresent, whose arm is now omnipotent." The narrowmindedness and brutality of Grand Duke Constantine in Wilno is exemplified by the incarceration, for a futile motive, of a Polish student of the University of Wilno. The incident

may have been related to Bowring by his friend Krystyn Lach-Szyrma, a Polish writer living in Edinburgh in 1820–1823 as tutor to the young Count Adam Czartoryski.<sup>3</sup> Szyrma, who had a good command of English, was a former student of Wilno University and of its rector Malewski. He brings us straight to the Polish field of Bowring's occupations.

## II

Szyrma's *Letters on Poland*<sup>4</sup> were certainly the most obvious source of Bowring's *Specimens of the Polish Poets* (*Wybor Poezyi Polskiej*), published in 1827. Bowring himself acknowledges his debt of obligation to Szyrma, to whom also must be traced the information on the state of learning in Poland, "which gave birth to Copernicus, and which has been to Russia what Greece was to Rome." Szyrma was a frequent guest of Bowring's in the autumn of 1823, before leaving England.<sup>5</sup> In his Advertisement Bowring explains the delay of four years which has attended the publication of the *Specimens*. Communication with Polish friends was difficult and, on certain subjects, dangerous. Casimir Brodziński, who was Lecturer in Polish Literature in the University of Warsaw was not able for political reasons to help Bowring as much as Čelakovský, his Czech friend, did later on, for Czech poetry. It is probable that Brodziński supplied him with some specimens translated into German; the *Legionist* and *Wiesław* are both to be found in the *Specimens*.

In the Preface Bowring shows much comprehension for the Polish cause. Incidentally he attributes to Polish cultural influences the surprising fact of Russia's rise from darkness to might and glory. He examines the fate of the Poles in the three parts of partitioned Poland, in Austria, in Prussia and in Russia, with much acuteness and understanding. Prussians respected property — at that time — but they tried to eradicate the language; Austria's policy was one of spoliation and despotism. Russians left to the Poles most of their ancient institutions and privileges. "What the Poles suffered from Russia," he says, "was in the shape of individual oppression by barbarous governors and brutal civil and military officers." It is interesting to note

<sup>3</sup> Szyrma's account of his English journey, *Anglia i Szkocya* (Wars, 1828–29) was reviewed by Bowring in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, v (1830), No. 10, art. xiii, "The Present State of Literature in Poland." Szyrma took part in the Polish rising in 1830–31 and came once more to England as an exile. He died in 1866.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters literary and political on Poland, comprising observations on Russia and other Slavonian nations and tribes* (Edinburgh, 1823). These letters were addressed to John Wilson, editor (with Lockhart) of *Blackwood's Magazine*. Cf. Hel Hleb-Koszańska, *Krystyna Lacha-Szyrmy Letters on Poland* (Wilno, 1932).

<sup>5</sup> Szyrma, *op. cit.*, iii, 200.

that Bowring did not comply with his friend's request that the *Specimens* should be dedicated to Emperor Alexander whom Szyrma held in high esteem.<sup>6</sup> In 1827, two years after Alexander's death and the Decembrist rising in St. Petersburg, he was probably no more inclined to pay any tribute to a despotic government.

It is rather difficult to say anything about the intrinsic value of Bowring's Polish translations. Szyrma praises the rendering of Kochanowski's song *To Sleep* and of Niemcewicz's *Duma of Głinski*. The introductory chapter on the language and literature of Poland provides useful information. Šafařík's *Geschichte der slaw. Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten* is referred to very frequently. Specimens are given from the poets of the classical period such as Kochanowski, Sarbiewski, Gawiński, Krasicki and the contemporary Niemcewicz and Casimir Brodziński. The rendering of the latter's fine poetic idyll *Wiesław* remains far behind the original.

Both Szyrma and Brodziński were full of enthusiasm about the popular poetry of nations, quite in keeping with Herder's ideas and the vogue of Ossian on the Continent. Bowring agreed with their views. His attention was drawn to, and entirely absorbed by, the Serbian folk songs.

### III

Bowring certainly knew Goethe's translation of *Hasanaginica*, i.e., the Complaint of the Wife of Asan Aga. Being on friendly terms with Sir Walter Scott whom he saw at Abbotsford, he might have known his friend's unprinted translation of the famous song.<sup>7</sup> He also knew Talvj's *Volkslieder der Serben*, published in Halle in 1825–26 as translations from Vuk Karadžić's original work. Talvj is the pen-name of Therese Albertine Louise von Jacob, who lived in Russia in her childhood, became Mrs. Ed. Robinson in America, and published a *Historical view of the Slavic language in its various dialects* which is a rather clumsy replica of Šafařík's *Geschichte* and appeared in Buda in 1826. Bowring's *Narodne srpske pjesme, Servian Popular Poetry*, was issued in 1827 in London and was dedicated to Vuk with whom Bowring corresponded.<sup>8</sup> Through Kopitar, the Imperial librarian in Vienna, a Slovene with markedly loyal Austrian feelings Bowring received Šafařík's work which served him in many respects also for his Polish Specimens. The *Servian Popular Poetry* was

<sup>6</sup> Letter of 19th April 1825; see Fr. Chudoba, *Listy psané J. Bowringovi ve věcech české a slovanské literatury*. Král. česká společnost nauk, Praha, 1912.

<sup>7</sup> See Drag. Subotić, *Jugoslav Popular Ballads* (p. 222), Cambridge Univ. Press, 1932.

<sup>8</sup> See Chudoba, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–39, and V. M. Jovanović, *J. Bowring i srpska narodna poezija* (Belgrade, 1908).

favorably reviewed by Goethe in his periodical *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum*. Bowring himself considered it as his most successful translation. But it is obvious that he follows completely Talvj's German rendering without even mentioning his indebtedness to it. Several of his songs were translated — or rather re-translated — into French and appeared in the *Globe*. When Prosper Mérimée published his famous *La Guzla* (July, 1827) which is a literary mystification,<sup>9</sup> Bowring wrote to him two months later, asking for the original verses which of course had never existed. In his well-informed work, Subotic deals in an ample way with this curious chapter of the Romantic period abundant in literary forgeries of which the Czechs possess a magnificent specimen in the *MSS* of Queen's Court and Green Hill.

## IV

With P. J. Šafařík we enter now the Czech field of Bowring's literary interest. In his reply to Bowring's letter, Šafařík drew the attention of the distinguished foreigner to the *MS*. of Queen's Court; mentioning Hanka's edition and Svoboda's German translation of the year 1819, and offering his help for a suggested Czech Anthology.<sup>10</sup> It has not been realised, however, that the first of Szyrma's *Letters on Poland* contained a translation in prose of *Zaboy, Slawoy, Ludeck* and a free poetical translation of *Zbychon, a Bohemian Tale*, from the Queen's Court *MS*.<sup>11</sup> Some information on the literature of Bohemia was given at the same time, but both scanty and inaccurate. Szyrma did not know anything about the old and important Czech medieval literature, he said that, "being greatly Germanized, the Czechs had now no literature at all." The great Czech scholar Joseph Dobrovský was mentioned as being "the first literary character of Bohemia"; but it was pointed out that he wrote mostly in German. This is probably the first source of Bowring's information about Bohemia.

In January, 1827, Bowring wrote to Kopitar asking him for Dobrovský's *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache u. Literatur* and other Czech books which he needed for the projected Czech Anthology. At Kopitar's request, Dobrovský complied with these wishes and chose some Czech books to be sent to Bowring. There is no doubt that the learned Abbé Dobrovský, the founder of Slavonic philology, was recommended by Kopitar as being the undisputed authority on Czech language and literature. He undoubtedly was, but the very

<sup>9</sup> See V. M. Jovanović, *La Guzla de Prosper Mérimée* (Paris, 1911).

<sup>10</sup> Chudoba, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19.

<sup>11</sup> From W. S. Majewski's and Cas. Brodziński's Polish translations in *Pamiętnik Warszawski* (1820), pp. 89 and 393.

name and mediation of Dobrovský was the cause of unexpected events, as we shall see.

Prof. O. Odložilík published in 1929 an interesting paper entitled *Dobrovský a anglický slavista John Bowring* which is a valuable contribution to a curious, although by no means inspiring, chapter of Czech literary history in the 'twenties of the nineteenth century. The root of the trouble was the animosity between Dobrovský and Jungmann. The old; sceptical school of Dobrovský, who was feared and disliked by young writers because of his sharp criticism of their literary productions, was opposed by the new generation of poets gathered around Jungmann, who was a fervent patriot of a romantic and uncompromising type. Dobrovský was called "ein slavasierender Deutsche" — wrongly, of course — by Jungmann and his young followers, among whom Čelakovský played a prominent part. When they learned about Bowring's project they were delighted, but at the same time disappointed by the fact that it was Dobrovský who was to supply him with information. In May 1827 Dobrovský sent books to Bowring through Kopitar. At the same time Jungmann dispatched in a sealed parcel books of his own choosing, in all probability informing the English writer of Dobrovský's sceptical attitude of mind.<sup>12</sup> On his own initiative Čelakovský wrote to Bowring and offered his help, which was gratefully accepted.

The whole incident may be followed through the letters of Bowring, Kopitar, Čelakovský, Kollár and Hanka; and indirectly through the correspondence of Čelakovský and Kamarýt on the one hand, and of Kopitar and Dobrovský, Šafařík and Kollár on the other. Unfortunately we do not possess any letters of Bowring to Dobrovský; and of Dobrovský's letters to Bowring we know only the passage quoted by the latter in his *Cheskian Anthology* of 1832 (p. 7, 8).<sup>13</sup> In this letter, which was written in Latin, Dobrovský declares openly that the *Elegia amantis sub Vyssehrado* (*Vyšehrad Song*) and the *Libušin Saud* (the Green Hill *MS.*) are not to be translated, because they are forgeries whose author is known to him. The Queen's Court *MS.* is undoubtedly genuine, says Dobrovský, although in his opinion it is by no means as ancient as "Bohemian enthusiasts" would like to have it.

In his first letter — which we do not possess — Čelakovský must

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jagić, *Briefwechsel zwischen Dobrovský und Kopitar 1808-1828*, Berlin, 1885, p. 601. . . . Jungmann addidit obsignatum volumen an Lord Bowring (sic) quod ridiculum est . . . Vielleicht verklagt er Sie sogar darin, sed monui anglum, esse illum ultra-Slavum (inter nos), etc. — Letter of K. to D.

<sup>13</sup> Reprinted by Jungmann with polemical notes in *Časopis Českého Museum* (1832), pp. 241-243. See also Chudoba, *op. cit.*, p. 20.



have informed Bowring that Dobrovský, being a philologist, could not be a judge in matters of poetic taste. This indirect evidence is quite obvious from Bowring's reply stating that "he was aware that the Abbé's merits were those of a linguist, and that there was a most obvious line of distinction between dry verbal discussions and the free flow of poetical thoughts." Later on he informed Čelakovský of Dobrovský's letter in which the *Vyšehrad Song* and the *Libuřin Saud* were exposed as undoubted forgeries.<sup>14</sup> He told him of his intention to contrast both opinions, because, the world must judge, and it (i.e., Dobrovský's opinion) "can hardly in fairness to either be passed over in silence." He actually took this line later, unwilling — of course and unable — as he was to decide between such authorities.

In the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (February, 1828) appeared an article by Bowring, intended to review Jungmann's *Historie literatury české* (1825) and Šafařík's *Geschichte der slaw. Sprache u. Literatur* (1826), but developing into a good account of Czech language and literature with many translated specimens. This is indeed the first outline and, strange to say, in its relative completeness the only one up to now of the history of Czech literature written by an Englishman. It may be considered as the first draft of the *Cheskian Anthology*, published four years later. Bowring's dependence on Dobrovský's *Geschichte* and Čelakovský's excellent outline of Czech literature made for him in one of the letters<sup>15</sup> is obvious. It is natural that his article can not provide a serious basis for study now, a hundred years later; but it would still convey useful information in the light of the translated specimens which are, of course, the most important feature of such a work.

At the outset he states that the art of translation is really understood only in Germany, which has the means and the disposition for doing justice to the literature of foreign lands. In Britain, the "false coin of Pope, and Hoole, and Mickle, is allowed to pass current among us", there is, he went on, no understanding of foreign poetry. Bowring's essay provides a frame for his translations. Specimens are given from the Queen's Court *MS.* (*Benesh Hermanow, Jelen*), from Čelakovský's *Slovanské národní písně*. We find also some specimens of medieval poetry, a good translation of Šnajdr's ballad *Jan za chřta dán*, etc. The main stress is laid on popular poetry, which was considered at that time by many poets of the Romantic period as being superior

<sup>14</sup> Čelakovský read wrongly *porgum* and connected this unexisting word with something very unpleasant, as we may judge from a rude term applied by him to Dobrovský, in his letter to Kamaryt. See Fr. Bílý, *Korrespondence a zápisky Fr. L. Čelakovského*, p. 329 (ČA 1907–1935, Prague).

<sup>15</sup> See Bílý, *op. cit.*, II, 589–598.

to the poetry of art and civilization — at any rate, more representative of the true "soul" of the nation. Some information is given on the Czech language; for example, Bowring's regret that any Slavonic nation should have abandoned the Slavonic alphabet which "is decidedly the best and the simplest organ for the communication of Slavonian sounds, especially the consonants."

Bowring has not a very high opinion of Šafařík's *Geschichte*, which seems to him to be a dry record of bibliographical facts. He goes the length of saying that Šafařík has produced a very dull volume. He might have known Dobrovský's sharp criticism of Šafařík's work (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, xxvii [Vienna, 1827], 37, 1-28), but there is no doubt that the words quoted above express his own judgment. He bestows much praise on Kopitar, who is mentioned as the first of Slavonic scholars. Bowring does not seem to appreciate Dobrovský. He is aware of the fact that all Slavs look up to him with respect as one of the glories of their race, but it seems to him that "his critical and philosophical merits are perhaps not on a level with his knowledge." He must have possessed both the edition of 1792 and that of 1818 of Dobrovský's *History of the Language and the Literature of Bohemia*. He says that the work is full of information on remoter periods, but records very imperfectly the progress of letters in more modern times. This is undoubtedly true and we know the reason for it: the condition of Czech letters in the early years of the nineteenth century was desolate, and Dobrovský was greatly embarrassed when he had to make a presentable choice of new writing.

Bowring's article has a political side which is very interesting. In the first volume of the *F.Q.R.* (July-November [1827], Miscel. Literary Notices, p. 292) a short notice under the heading "Austria" stated that for a long time vain attempts had been made to abolish the Bohemian language in Prague. It was pointed out that the government had become eventually convinced of its lost labor, because it was impossible to root out the idiom of a whole kingdom. The foundation of a theatre for the performance of national dramas was mentioned. The notice was taken undoubtedly from the *Revue Encyclopédique* (May, 1827) article on "Prague, théâtre bohémien," p. 541. The French article provoked a reply from the German edition of the *Journal of the Bohemian Museum* (Nov., 1827), p. 49 seq. It is highly probable that a similar record in Miscel. Lit. Notices (No. III, *F.Q.R.*, 1828, p. 375) is also due to Bowring.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> "It appears by a letter from Bohemia that the circulation of the Scriptures in that country is prohibited. Many families are leaving the Romish Church and embracing the Reformed doctrines . . ." This statement must have aroused the anger of Kopitar, who was a fervent Catholic.

In his long essay on Czech literature he speaks with admiration of Kollár and his sonnets in *Slávy Dcera* (Daughter of Sláva or Slavia). He is surprised that "language so free and sentiments so lofty should have been allowed to circulate in Bohemia." He realizes that because of its allegory the political tendency of the poem has not been perceived: "his are truly the thoughts that breathe and words that burn, and we should have called them dangerous . . ." Bowring's criticism of the Germanizing tendencies of the Austrian governments, his apology for John Hus, John Žižka and King George of Poděbrady have a strong appeal to our mind. He speaks of the "silly determination to root out the language of the country," and complains that in all seminaries of instruction — where teaching is given only in German — the reformers and heroes of Bohemia are represented as heretics and rebels. His dislike of the Holy Alliance makes him utter an exclamation which has an unholy savor for us now, a hundred years later: "What system of police can penetrate into the bosom of every family, into the recesses of every village, into the study of the learned, and the cottage of the lowly?" These were, of course, the "idyllic" times of the Metternich régime. In its condemnation we see clearly the disciple of Bentham; and the English Dissenter for whom Bohemian history, seen through the looking-glass of its ancient literature, revealed interesting facts.

When Bowring's article became known in Prague, the reaction to it was not the same in both camps. Čelakovský and his friends were highly pleased with his critical attitude toward Dobrovský, but at the same time a little uneasy about the possible consequences of the daring criticism of the Habsburg régime. Kopitar, whose Austrian patriotism was known to, and resented by, the Czech writers<sup>17</sup> was very angry. He was concerned about Kollár, whose position as minister of the independent Slovak protestant Church in Budapest was precarious.<sup>18</sup> He wrote a rather rude letter to Bowring, reproaching him on account of the allegedly misrepresented picture of Austrian affairs and asking him also to rectify or, at least not to repeat his criticism of Dobrovský in the forthcoming volume of the *Czech Anthology*. He pointed out that the latter had the reputation of being too critical, quite in contradiction to Bowring's reproach in this respect. He stated categorically that *Libušin Saud* was a forgery and that Dobrovský's opponents were young men without any scien-

<sup>17</sup> See a letter of Dobrovský to Kopitar (Jagić, *op. cit.*, p. 173). Causa gentis nostrae, nisi Deus adiuvet, plane desperata est. Hanc iuvare velle Vindobonenses Tu Tibi persuadere potes? — Cf. also Weingart on Dobrovský, *The Slavonic Review*, VII, [1929], 666.

<sup>18</sup> Letter of Kopitar to Hanka (Jagić, *Neue Briefe*, p. 76): "Kollarium dicit non fuisse intellectum a censore Budensi . . . Kollár kann für das kleine Vergnügen des Bowringischen Kompliments blutig büssen. Rien n'est si dangereux qu'un ignorant ami . . ."

tific credit at all. His letter and the next one, written a month later (28th Sept. 1828), were left unanswered, but Bowring complied to some extent with Kopitar's wishes. He wrote an appreciative obituary of Dobrovský's death in 1829 and did justice to Dobrovský's merits in the field of Slavonic philology in his *Cheskian Anthology* (pp. 78, 79). He argued, nevertheless, that Dobrovský was a grammarian, not a poet — which is quite true — and that he had the verbomania in him. "Words to him were interesting because they breathe of antiquity, and not because they are instruments for touching the strings of pain and pleasure"; and we must recognize that there is much to be said in support of this judgment.

The Czech inspiration of Bowring's opinion of Dobrovský's "critical and philosophical merits" is beyond any doubt, as we have seen. It has not been realized, however, that the very wording bears a striking resemblance to Szyrma's judgment, which he might have known. In his letter to Lelewel, Szyrma speaks slightly of Dobrovský's Slavonic periodicals *Slawin* and *Slowanka*,<sup>19</sup> and criticizes his *Geschichte* (edit. 1818), where the history of Czech literature stops at 1520, saying that the work lacks judicious plan and discerning criticism.<sup>20</sup> We know to-day that Dobrovský's *Geschichte* lays the foundation of Czech literary history and criticism; but it is equally true that the learned philologist was much more interested in language and its historical development than in the evolution of ideas, the cultural background, and the aesthetic values of Czech literary documents. We see clearly that the term, "critical merits" has not the same meaning for both sides; and we are able to explain the misunderstanding which ensued, though we must admit that Bowring had not a happy hand in this affair, dependent as he was on opinions of his correspondents. The old Dobrovský was very annoyed and grieved; not on account of Bowring's criticism, which he could easily dismiss, but because of the unfairness of his literary opponents, who did not refrain from bringing a subject of home squabbles to a foreign arena of discussion and from misinforming a well-intentioned foreigner. He died soon afterwards, but this regrettable incident contributed to spoil the last months of his life.

<sup>19</sup> Polish literature is not mentioned at all in these periodicals. The reasons for it are explained by Jagić, *Encyklopedija słowj. filol.* (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 121 seq. Dobrovský's criticism of Kadłubek and other ancient chroniclers is responsible for the dislike some Polish writers took to the patriarch of Slavonic philology. See Jagić, *op. cit.*, and Marj. Szykowski, *Józefa Dobrowskiego związki z Polską*, in Dobrovský's *Sborník*, pp. 295-331 (Praha, 1929).

<sup>20</sup> "I tu brak rozsądnego planu i trafnej krytyki . . ." See H. Hleb-Koszańska, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

An abridged version of Bowring's article appeared in *Revue Britannique* (March, 1828, pp. 225-250) under the title "Littérature et Poésie de la Bohême," which cannot, however, be responsible for the brief account of Czech literature in the *Globe*.

## V

Four years passed away between Bowring's article and the publishing of the anthology. In April 1830 an article by him on the Queen's Court *MS.* appeared in the *Westminster Review*. In the meantime his financial affairs deteriorated, his publishers went bankrupt, he lost nearly all his fortune. He was obliged to ask for at least 100 subscribers in Bohemia, for a book which cost 8 shillings (4 Austrian florins). Čelakovský was not able to secure more than 40 subscriptions. For a time their correspondence was interrupted, and Bowring's increasing public activity prevented him from giving much thought and the necessary polish to the book which was issued at last in 1832. The work had aroused many joyful hopes among Czech writers and was impatiently expected; but it was a very modest book, rather badly printed and on poor paper. It bore the title *Wýbor z básnictví českého. Cheskian Anthology: being a History of the Poetical Literature of Bohemia, with translated specimens*. It was introduced by an original poem in honor of Čelakovský.

In some respects the first draft, i.e., the essay in the *F.Q.R.*, is superior to the Anthology. Besides translations given already in the essay we find here *Jaroslav* and the lyrical pieces of the Queen's Court *MS.*, the *Love Song of King Wenceslas*, the *Taboritan Hymn*, some pieces of the *Třeboň archives* from the fourteenth century — the *Beggars' Song*, *Píseň veselí chudiny*, e.g., — new folk songs from Čelakovský's *Slovanske národní písně* (48 in all), new sonnets of Kollár (41 altogether), Puchmajer's *Ode on Žižka*, specimens from M. Z. Polák, V. Hanka, J. Jungmann, P. J. Šafařík, Fr. Turinský, the already mentioned Šnajdr, and Žofie Jandová — who was, of course, Čelakovský himself. The translations are preceded by short biographical notices based on Jungmann's *History* and Čelakovský's information. Much praise is bestowed upon Hanka for his "discoveries." Bowring notes (pp. 82-84) a paper on Czech prosody which appeared in *Krok*, the scientific periodical of Presl and Jungmann. According to the erroneous theory of Jungmann and his school, perfect hexametres on the Greek and Latin model could be produced in the Czech language. Verses measured by feet instead of syllables were to be given preference. This "discovery" did not escape the observation of Dobrovský as Bowring wrongly supposes; in fact, Dobrovský opposed

this theory, pointing out that the Czech prosody was based mainly on syllabic stress.

There are other obvious errors and inaccuracies both in Bowring's article and in the Anthology. Some of them were criticized by Palacký in his review of the article in the *Journal of the Bohemian Museum* (July, 1828, pp. 132-136). He pointed out that Comenius had nothing to do with the Unitarians or Socinians in Poland; he was not a Unitarian-bishop, but the bishop of the Unity of Bohemian (Moravian) Brethren. Comenius' *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart* was wrongly supposed by Bowring to be "an account of travels into divers countries of Europe" — a mistake for which the title of a German translation was responsible. Many important authors were left out. They had been mentioned in Čelakovský's outline as being the most representative of Czech literature, and Bowring could have found information on them in Dobrovský's, Šafařík's and Jungmann's works. He failed to do so, his intention being to write a history of the "poetical" literature of Bohemia. Palacký pointed out that Bowring did not do justice to Dobrovský. On the whole, however, he recognized that the essay was a praiseworthy work, the first of that kind in English. Čelakovský himself was rather dissatisfied with the Anthology. Many topics were superficially treated or disconnected. His letter to Kamarýt and Kamarýt's reply voice clearly the disappointment, which was undoubtedly shared by other Czech writers.

What about the merits or the shortcomings of Bowring's poetical translations from Czech? We know that he availed himself of German translations of A. V. Svoboda (for the Queen's Court *MS.*), Čelakovský (for the folk songs), and perhaps Šnajdr (for the *Bell*). Šnajdr's ballad *Jan za chrta dán* (*John is for the Greyhound Gone*) is a very good translation indeed, keeping to the original metre and rime. He might have known Svoboda's German translation,<sup>21</sup> but careful examination shows that he worked on the original Czech text:

... ještě podnes stará studně	<i>An ancient well</i>
a v ní zvon.	Has held from immemorial time,
•	A hidden bell.
Zvonu však již oko lidské	That bell is veil'd from human eyes,
nezhlídně,	For ever there;
aniž vás kdy k modlibě hlas	And never shall its voice again
pobídně.	Summon to prayer.

<sup>21</sup> "These words are intended to convey the sound of a bell" (*Anth.*, p. 150). "Jahn, für die Dogge gegán — Klang der Glocke mahrend" says Svoboda (*Monatsschrift des böhm. Museums*, March, 1828).

That was the case also with Kollár's sonnets. He used Wenzig's excellent translation as well,<sup>22</sup> but started mostly from the Czech original, using the alternate rime (*abab*) instead of Kollár's monotonous scheme *abba*. There are of course many mistakes in his translation. Kollár's allegory and complicated poetic style did not lend themselves to an easy rendering. The simplicity and the ease of Czech folk songs had a strong appeal for Bowring, who praised popular poetry above all; but it cannot be said that his rendering was adequate. Amplifications and embellishments were frequent, and even obvious mistakes are to be found.<sup>23</sup>

I do not think it necessary to enter into details on this purely literary side of the question. The Bowring episode had, however, its political implications. We have already heard of Kopitar's reaction. Šafařík was worried undoubtedly because of Bowring's criticism of his *Geschichte*, and wrote an angry letter to Kollár. Civic courage was not the strong point of Kollár. He must have been surprised to hear that *Slávy Dcera* was a dangerous book and that his were words that "burn." In spite of his fiery protests against German and Magyar oppression, he was a loyal Austrian citizen. We must make some allowance for his extremely uncomfortable situation in Budapest. The newly awakened Magyar nationalism started the oppression of non-Magyar nationalities, and it is only too natural that Kollár looked for support of his cause in Vienna's governmental circles. In spite of journalistic attacks on Kollár<sup>24</sup> the Austrian government was not very much concerned about Panslavism as long as it remained, as with Kollár, a purely literary movement without any political implications. This fact Bowring was of course not able to realize. "I should be really unhappy if Kollár should experience any sort of inconvenience from what I have said," he wrote to Čelakovský, "but how can he be made responsible for opinions of mine?" He pointed out that there was freedom of speech in England which is obliged "to take a stand somewhat advanced in the political contest." From what we know about Emperor Francis of Austria and Count Metternich, we may imagine the enormous contrast between the two

<sup>22</sup> The twelfth sonnet of the 1st Canto (*Slávy Dcera*) follows very closely the German translation. — Čelakovský himself made a choice of Kollár's sonnets for Bowring (See Bílý, *op. cit.*, I, 363). With the exception of Nos. 33, 37, 72, 79, which are patriotic, the sonnets belong to the erotic type.

<sup>23</sup> The translation of *Ty hvězdičko tmavá* is typical in this respect. See Č. Zíbrt, *Bibliografický přehled českých národních písní* (Č. A., Praha, 1895), p. 65.

<sup>24</sup> See Kollár's *Výklad ku Slávy Dcere* (1832), p. 345 — The 100th and 103rd sonnets of the fourth Canto mention Bowring, in the former his name is given among those of foreign friends of Slavism, in the latter he is admitted to the Slav Eden, but only to the last place in it(!).

political climates, and it would be distressing to make any comment upon the present situation of Bohemia in this respect. In the atmosphere of 1943 we understand perhaps a little better the fears of our writers at that time. Čelakovský, who was a liberal-minded man of strongly antigovernmental feelings, expressed his approval of Bowring's criticism — for which incidentally he had supplied information in his letters — to his friends Kamarýt and Plánek,<sup>25</sup> and it is significant that Palacký, who had no liking for Čelakovský on account of the Dobrovský affair, did not say anything about, or against, the political side of Bowring's article. No doubt he greeted this foreign voice of protest in his inmost feelings, and so did the other Czech writers of this period.

We cannot get rid of a feeling of uneasiness when we consider the petty intrigues of our literary life at that time, the amount of mutual distrust, the lack of fair play, the impact of despotic methods upon the minds of men of lesser moral courage. And yet, when we consider the enthusiasm, the unyielding energy and idealism which uplifted the hearts of all Czechs of that period of national revival, friends and enemies alike, pointing the way towards a better future, we cannot but feel relieved, forgive the shadows, and admire these men.

There is no doubt, it seems to me, that Bowring was rather disappointed by the outcome of the whole affair. "We desire — I hope so — to see you all as happy and as free as may be — at least as free as would add to your happiness . . ." he writes to Čelakovský. This seems to me to reveal exactly his feelings on the subject. In the *Anthology* he says (p. 87) that "the minstrel of Bohemia may neither record the struggles of his ancestors for liberty, nor dream of the day when self-government shall give to his country whatever of happiness she is capable of enjoying." The first part of the sentence was inadequate; the second undoubtedly true. The general tone of the Preface to the *Anthology*, and some of the opinions expressed in it are more cautious now and bear testimony of the changed atmosphere. We find no more such a whole-hearted blame of the Germanizing tendencies of Austria as was that in his essay, voiced in the following words which have a peculiar meaning for us today: "Like other despots he (Joseph II) found ready flatterers to approve his projects and willing instruments to give them effect." In his essay he had reproduced Jungmann's pessimistic view on the possibility of a higher cultural life in Bohemia, but pointed out that there were many signs of a brighter future; and that the indifferent attitude of the greater part of Bohemian nobility towards the nation's needs was of little account,

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Bílý, *op. cit.*, I, 354, 357 and 372, 381.



that class of society having contributed only to a very small extent, anywhere in Europe, to the advancement of learning and literature. We do not find anything of this kind in the *Anthology*. His outlook is more pessimistic. Commenting upon the arbitrary suppression by the Austrian police of Hanka's fifth volume of *Starobylá Skladanie* he says, "those who have no hopes for the future should be permitted to indulge in the memories of the past."

What were the practical results of this little book, both on the Czech and the English side? We know already of Čelakovský's disappointment. We must not forget that the English language was little known in Bohemia at that time. Nevertheless, the feeling of satisfaction of having Czech literature presented for the first time to the English public prevailed. Palacký reviewed Bowring's opinions on the subject of the Queen's Court *MS.*, together with those of Edgar Quinet, in J. de Carro's *Almanach de Carlsbad pour 1834* ("Mélanges médicaux, scientifiques et littéraires"). Hanka reprinted Bowring's translation in his "polyglot" edition of the *MSS* in 1842. Čelakovský did not send Bowring any critical comments of Czech periodicals on the *Anthology*, which the latter had asked for. Their intercourse comes at an end with Bowring's letter of October 23rd, 1833, from Paris. When J. V. Frič, the then 17-year-old nephew of Čelakovský and future Czech revolutionary and exile, came for the first time to London in 1846 on his adventurous trip, he paid a visit to Bowring. He notes in his *Paměti*<sup>26</sup> that the "illustrious friend of the Slavs" was no longer interested in Czech poetry, studying eastern languages in view of his appointment to a post in China.

On the English side, the public felt a little annoyed by Bowring's uninterrupted series of strange and unfamiliar foreign literatures. Fun had been poked at him already in 1830, when he published his *Poetry of the Magyars*. It may be said that the book got no response from the public and was forgotten very soon. Romanticism, which was interested in *couleur locale* and foreign countries, passed away. The forthcoming period of Imperialism and Colonial policy was out of sympathy with far-away, forgotten, submerged countries of Central and Eastern Europe. A. H. Wratislaw's rather extensive interest in Czech literature and history had very little following. It was Czech music, with Antonín Dvořák at its head, that made the Czech nation known to the English-speaking world. This music, which is of a very high kind indeed, is as "national" as the modest popular poetry which inspired Bowring. At the beginning of the twentieth century we may notice an increase of interest in Czech poetry. With his fine transla-

<sup>26</sup> II, pp. 77, 78.

tions (*Modern Czech poetry*, London, 1920) Paul Selver continues, in a sense, Sir John Bowring's tradition in England.

## VI

Sir John Bowring was not a scholar, and he may hardly be called a pioneer of Slavonic studies in England. He was too versatile in his interests. But he liked the Slavonic world, not only because he appreciated the freshness and the peculiar charm of its poetry, especially of its folk-lore, but also because of the special political conditions in which the Slavs lived at that time and which provided an excellent opportunity for him to voice the progressive ideas of the philosophical radicals in his own country. In this light we must consider the Prefaces to his various Anthologies. As far as our nation is concerned, we cannot help looking upon his modest work on Czech literature, however imperfect it is, with a feeling of sympathy. He had a keen understanding of our troubles and needs, at a time when the very name of Czechs was unknown to the greater part of Western Europe.

The "philanthropy" of Bentham's disciple is very congenial to us in these times of terror and fear. A man, who as far back as 1823 declares in a book dedicated to the Tsar Autocrat of all Russias that "principles of good government require the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the greatest possible sum of political influence and power left in every individual's hand as far as consistent with the interest of the whole," — such a man has a strong appeal to the Czech mind. "In human improvement and happiness we have each and all of us a common interest and heritage." For these words which I quote from the preface to the *Cheskian Anthology*, we shall keep Sir John Bowring in grateful memory.

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## THE ERA OF REFORM IN HUNGARY<sup>1</sup>

By R. W. SETON-WATSON

RECENT RESEARCH has shown that the system which prevailed in Austria during the long reign of Francis II (1792–1835), and which is so widely associated with the name of Metternich, in reality owed even more to the monarch himself than to his famous Minister. This system may be summed up in the two words “Legitimacy” abroad and “Stability” at home. Under it Austria, which since the middle of the eighteenth century had been subjected by two enlightened sovereigns to a far-reaching process of reform and renovation in every branch of public life, and had in half a hundred ways shot ahead of many states governed on less paternal lines, now became, from 1792 onwards, the least progressive, the most hidebound and stagnant of all European states, and apart from the brief and stormy interlude of 1848 did not really escape from this stagnation till the very beginning of the sixties. Expressed in purely political terms, the great achievement of Francis was to keep Austria in a strait waistcoat for two generations, and to make it impossible for her ever wholly to recapture the ground which she had lost. Political life was brought to a complete standstill, and the censorship rendered even intellectual development very difficult. The Monarchy was surrounded by a sort of Chinese wall, and every effort was made to isolate it from the literary and political influences of the West and even of Germany, while economic intercourse was also retarded by elaborate customs restrictions and an antediluvian trade policy.

There was, however, one place where even the repressive regime of Francis could not carry all before it; and this of course was Hungary, which has a record of almost unbroken constitutional development such as is unique on the Continent of Europe, and which, in spite of repeated infringements and suspensions of its rights, has always managed to reassert them in the long run.

It may seem at first sight paradoxical, but it is probably true, that the greatest disaster in modern Hungarian history, namely the triple partition of the country which followed the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the Turkish conquest — saved it from the fate of Bohemia, which was reduced to submission by the Habsburgs in the first half of the seventeenth century, at a time when monarchical absolutism was most arrogant and went hand in hand with Centralisation, Germanisation and the Counter-Reformation. By the time that Hun-

<sup>1</sup> Reference may be made to two articles entitled “Metternich” and “Internal Austrian Policy,” in Nos. 51 and 52 of the *Slavonic Review*.

gary was finally reclaimed from Turkish rule, we are on the eve of the eighteenth century, the age of reason is about to replace the age of proselytism, the long wars are producing a spirit of exhaustion on both sides, and the requirements of the foreign situation on successive occasions make it necessary for the Crown to rely upon Hungarian loyalty, and so to buy it by political concessions.

In 1687 the Hungarian Diet, under the impression of the recovery of its capital, consented to transform the Monarchy from an elective to an hereditary basis, and to abolish the ancient right of lawful insurrection against a sovereign who infringes the Constitution, which had been upheld ever since the Golden Bull of 1222. In 1723 the recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction by the Hungarian Diet —, i.e., of the succession in the female line through the last Habsburg Maria Theresa, and of the permanent link between the Kingdom of Hungary and the hereditary provinces of the Austrian Arch-House — is generally recognised as the germ from which the Dual System of 1867 was eventually to spring. It marks the origin of Common Affairs between the two halves of the Monarchy, no longer upon the old absolutist or haphazard basis, but as part of a conscious system, grafted upon ancient constitutional rights as a necessary compromise.

During the 40 years of Maria Theresa's reign, the central bureaucracy is reorganised on modern lines, and the machinery of common affairs steadily improved; and in Hungary Parliament is only summoned when circumstances render this inevitable — in fact, only three times in the entire reign. But none the less, the real groundwork or bulwark of the Hungarian Constitution — the *Comitat* or county unit, with its representative assembly and its elected local officials — remained untouched, and upheld a tradition which was at once constitutional and national.

Joseph II, not content with the more gradual and more solid methods of his mother, was bent upon reforming and modernizing his dominions at lightning speed. Despite all his defiance of tradition or established institutions, he was a born autocrat, and set the absolute power of the Crown above all the philosophy which he had imbibed. In his eagerness to centralize his dominions and to use the German language as the most practical instrument to that end, Joseph found a foremost obstacle in the ancient Hungarian Constitution and the national feeling upon which it rested and which was now on the eve of a new revival. Determined not to be tied down by the commitments which came to him from his predecessors, he refused to be crowned in Hungary, and so avoided the oath to the Constitution. He did not allow the Diet to meet, he removed to Vienna the Crown

of St. Stephen — the symbol of Hungary's rights — he proclaimed German as the official language of administration, and then struck at the root of the tree by abolishing the county assemblies and their autonomous system, imposing officials nominated by the Crown, and re-dividing the country into ten districts or *Kreise*. The whole judicial system was remodelled: the peasants were emancipated, seignorial courts abolished, an edict of tolerance proclaimed, education reorganized, and Hungary's economic system brought into line with that of Austria, of which Joseph frankly intended her to be the colony.<sup>2</sup>

But his impatience and tactlessness united every vested interest and almost every class or group of men in his dominions against him, while the fact that he had simultaneously embarked upon vast designs abroad and had become involved in an unsuccessful Turkish war, a revolution in the Netherlands, and a dangerous disagreement with Prussia, placed him in 1790 in a position of utter isolation and forced him to recall almost all his reforms and die a broken and disappointed man. Once more, Hungary had become the key to the situation. The indignation against Joseph's violations of Hungarian liberties had become widespread throughout the country, and was increased by the unsuccessful campaigns in the south, of which Hungary had to bear the brunt: and indeed Hungary was on the verge of revolution, even without the encouragement sent by Prussian emissaries and the massing of Prussian armies on the Northern frontier. It is the proof of the statesmanship of Joseph's successor Leopold II that he succeeded in extricating himself from so perilous a situation in less than two years, by the triple expedients of peace with the Turks, direct personal overtures to the King of Prussia (rendered of course easier by the common danger from France), and thirdly by restoring the Hungarian Constitution, sending back the Holy Crown, and convoking Parliament at Buda, for the first time in the capital since the Turkish conquest.

In these ten years a real public opinion had developed in the Hungarian noble class, and the meeting of Parliament in 1790 was the signal for a memorable demonstration of national feeling. Many counties furnished their delegates with instructions of a most drastic character, the assembly of Pest actually declaring the dynasty forfeit owing to the illegalities of the late reign, and that of Zips suggesting that it would be necessary to elect a new family to the throne. But there was nothing that could be called a party of reform or innovation. Even the fieriest patriots were above all concerned to get back

<sup>2</sup> Marczali, *Ungarische Verfassungsgeschichte* (Tubingen, 1910), p. 115.

to the old basis and to reaffirm the existing Constitution. They asked nothing better than to restore harmony between Crown and nation, and this Leopold was only too ready to do, though he took skilful advantage of every discord between the magnates and the lesser nobility, or between both of them and the towns, and also used the Serbs and their recent "Illyrian" aspirations as a convenient lever.

The storm gradually subsided, but the Laws of 1791-1792 are the chief landmark of constitutional development between the Pragmatic Sanction in 1723 and the series of innovations between 1825 and 1848, with which we are here concerned. Henceforth the King is bound to be crowned within six months of his accession, and till then does not enjoy his full prerogative. And it is to be remembered that the Coronation involves an Oath to the Constitution — which is why Joseph refused to be crowned, and why in the twentieth century Francis Ferdinand was planning a swift and radical revision of the constitution in a sense acceptable to himself, within the respite of six months which this law left to him. Law X reaffirmed the old position, but in more explicit terms. Hungary, while indissolubly linked with the hereditary provinces of Austria, "is yet a free Kingdom, independent in its whole form of government — every kind of authority included — and is not subject to any other country of people," nor can it be governed "save by its own lawfully crowned Kings, according to its own laws and customs." The King can levy neither taxes nor recruits without Parliament, and all officials must take oath to the Constitution as well as to the Crown.

Among other notable legislation of this parliament may be mentioned the series of laws in favor of religious toleration, and those which made *landless* nobles eligible even for the highest offices in the land, and for the first time made the lower posts in the central administration open to persons of non-noble birth. On the other hand the dominant influence of the nobles ensured that nothing whatever was done for the peasantry beyond confirming the *Urbarium* and the right to change his habitat. No breach was allowed in the noble privilege of exemption from taxation.

One thing, however, the Diet did not succeed in effecting. As a rebound from Joseph's Germanising tendencies, there was a widespread demand for the adoption of Magyar, instead of Latin, as the official language — "the national language," as it was increasingly the practice to describe it. But the Court was definitely hostile, and refused its consent both to this and to the suggestion that the national dress should be prescribed by law, at any rate for the noble class.<sup>3</sup> It also

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

expressly forbade the use of Magyar by the Court authorities in their documents and correspondence. All that could be obtained in this field was the institution of a Chair of Magyar Language and Literature at the University of Pest, and similar posts at the chief Gymnasias. The great events in contemporary France were of course not without their effect upon Hungary, but it is not possible to make more than a passing allusion to the growth of Jacobin societies at Pest, and the savage repression by which the small group of idealists round the Abbot Martinovics was rooted out in 1794-1795. But the most remarkable feature about the movement, of which the Parliament of 1790-1791 was the highest point, was its spontaneity. The foreign influence was there, but it was not the real impulse, unless it should be maintained that there was infection in the air, and that the growth of national feeling in its modern sense was purely a product of the French Revolution — a view which hardly takes account of all the evidence available. The fact is that political opinion in Hungary sympathised with the French Revolution in its first days, just as it sympathised with the earlier revolt in the Netherlands. But as soon as it assumed a radical and even terrorist form, sympathy rapidly changed to acute alarm and aversion, not merely at the Court, but among the great mass of the noble class, small no less than great. And then when the Revolution adopted an aggressive foreign policy, awakening Magyar feeling rallied Hungary round the throne.

During the long wars conditions were far from favorable to a constitutional movement. Hungary was still essentially feudal, Vienna and the Court exercised great attraction upon the magnates; the lower nobility were, with certain rare exceptions, rough and uncultivated, though keenly attached to their ancient privileges; while the peasantry were still in the middle ages and the middle class only in process of becoming a serious factor, save for the Germans of the towns, who had for centuries lived their own life, enjoying their own charters, and having but little influence upon the political development of the country as a whole. Speaking generally, conditions were extraordinarily primitive and patriarchal. A few enlightened individuals were making plans for new roads, drainage, modern agricultural methods, and stock breeding. But such things were in their infancy, and in many country districts barter was the common form of exchanging the commodities of life. None the less, despite every obstacle, and despite the extreme reaction of Francis in his hereditary dominions, Hungary asserted herself sufficiently for it to be impossible to suppress her institutions altogether. The necessities of war and the way in which they aggravated the desperate state of the finances,

compelled Francis to summon Parliament, and check his strong inclination to abolish the constitution — a course more than once urged on him, though always opposed by Metternich. Hence in 1796, in 1802, in 1805, in 1807, in 1808, in 1811, Parliament is summoned, and on more than one occasion airs its grievances very frankly.

In 1802, especially, there was a struggle round the royal prerogative and the unity of the Army. Archduke Charles and the high military regarded the Constitution of Hungary as a serious handicap to the greatness of the state, and wished to place the army on a more modern footing, suited to the strain to which the Napoleonic danger was subjecting it. The obligation of military defence against invasion was the very foundation of all noble rights, and the levies thus formed were known as the "Insurrectio"; but this did not include an obligation to fight abroad, and so in the stress of war with Prussia Parliament voted also a certain number of new regiments, recruited for life from among the peasantry by voluntary enrolment of the eighteenth century type, helped out by trickery and something very like the English press-gang. These war contingents were now increased on the basis of a compromise with the Crown: but the discontent due to the Crown's attitude smouldered on and expressed itself in many bitter pasquills and satires.<sup>4</sup>

In 1805, however, Francis adopted the tactics of demanding money without even attempting to meet Hungary's urgent demands for the removal of grievances. The Palatine Joseph in vain urged concessions, for instance the union of Fiume to Hungary as a trade outlet on the Adriatic. Francis remained adamant, and only avoided a struggle because the imminent danger from Napoleon rallied the whole nation behind the throne. Francis at least had the sense to take his brother's advice that if he had to evacuate Vienna he should throw himself into the arms of the Magyars, and not go to any other province. And so Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava) becomes the centre of events after Austerlitz, and the scene of a disastrous Treaty. Two incidents which caused a great sensation in their day may just be mentioned in passing. The one is Napoleon's famous proclamation to the Magyars, promising independence, constitutional and religious liberty — due to the confidential reports of his agents (notably Lacuée), that they would break away from Austria. In point of fact, despite much discontent and plain speaking, there was no real basis for a revolutionary movement; and the Town Council of Pressburg, even though Davoust was in occupation of the town, refused to print

<sup>4</sup> E. Wertheimer, *Gesch. Oesterreichs und Ungarns im ersten Jahrzehnt des 19. Jhdts.*, I (Leipzig, 1884), 180.



the proclamation, which won no support of any kind. The other incident was the curious message sent to the French by Count Pálffy in the name of the Palatine, who was in real despair at the situation, and wished his brother to abandon the Russian alliance and make peace with Napoleon. That this was his mood is shown by a letter (dated 14 November 1805) in which he assured Francis of his readiness to die on the field, but added that he felt that for all their misfortunes only they themselves were to blame.<sup>5</sup> Pálffy seems to have gone far beyond his instructions and to have discussed on the possible basis of Hungary proclaiming a separate neutrality and withdrawing her troops. As soon as he heard of this, Joseph indignantly repudiated the idea and informed Francis. But meanwhile the French published the facts in order to sow trouble between Austria and Russia, and for that very reason it was thought necessary to say as little as possible in reply.

Joseph, however, like Charles, continued to press for peace as the Monarchy's only hope, and once it was confirmed, kept urging constitutional concessions to Hungary as the surest means of strengthening the Monarchy internally. But as usual nothing was done, and it was at least something that even existing rights were not tampered with. It was at this time that Talleyrand volunteered his advice to Austria to look eastwards for compensation for her losses — that is, to entrench herself still more on the Danube and acquire Wallachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Bulgaria. This advice of course had an obvious motive: Talleyrand wished to set Austria and Russia by the ears, and force Austria into the position of protecting what was left of Turkey against any further attack from Russia. But it was also at this time that no less a person than Friedrich von Gentz propounded his "Plan for founding a new Austrian Monarchy" "Vienna," he wrote on 4 August 1806, "must cease to be the capital, the German states must be regarded as *Nebenländer* (of secondary importance), frontier provinces: the seat of Government must be set up deep in Hungary (*tief in Ungarn*): a new constitution made for this country. With Hungary, Bohemia, Galicia, and what is still left of Germany, one can still stand up against the world, if one wishes." It is unnecessary to add that any such radical idea would have been abhorrent to such a mind as Francis, and that nothing whatever came of this.

During the next interval of peace Charles continued to press upon Francis the plea for a closer union between Hungary and Austria: but his motive was above all to obtain larger armies. And indeed the constant need of recruits and of money to finance them is the one fact

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 343.

to which Hungary owed the summons of its Diet during that period. Otherwise we may safely assume that it would not have survived. In 1807 he called Parliament, and again disregarding Joseph's suggestion that he should forestall its *gravamina* instead of waiting for them, demanded fresh recruits and dismissed a prominent General, Count Vay, who was also a deputy — for having dared to criticise the Crown. Parliament's attempt to bargain he treated as "a real scandal. The King says, I need so many: the Estates say, We will only give so many, and under such circumstances as these!"<sup>6</sup> And the very moment the recruits and subsidies were voted, out of consideration for the grave crisis he insisted on dissolution.

Next year Francis was at an advantage. He brought his third wife, Maria Ludovica, to be crowned, and the Magyar nobles, roused to sentimental enthusiasm, voted 20,000 recruits and allowed themselves to be dismissed without any real discussion. In the new war crisis of 1809 Hungary contributed notably to the defence of the Monarchy. Yet again there was a lull of some years before the final struggle with Napoleon; and during this lull the Palatine Joseph submitted to his brother a very remarkable Memorandum on the subject of Hungary, arguing that it was the most important part of the Habsburg state, and that as its constitution was out of date and required revision, the right moment had come for tackling this problem by bringing the whole Monarchy into line. Either the revised Hungarian Constitution could be applied to the German and Slav provinces also — this the centralist solution; or Hungary could be given full autonomy, with a Ministry of its own. He would prefer the first alternative, because it would win public opinion in Europe by conforming to the spirit of the age. It was the best way to avert upheaval and calm the feelings of alarm which defeat, bad finance and falling credit had produced. Above all, with his long experience as Palatine, he warned Francis not to risk a *coup d'état*, which would be even more dangerous now than it had been under Joseph II. Francis's snubbing reply was that he intended "to bring Hungary as near as possible to the constitution of the other provinces."<sup>7</sup>

In 1811 Parliament was again summoned, and this time there was an open breach between Crown and nation. The primary cause of the trouble was Francis's utterly illegal attempt to enforce the "Finanz-

<sup>6</sup> V. Bibl, *Der Zerfall Oesterreichs*, I (Vienna, 1922), 167. It should be noted in passing that this was the first occasion on which the idea of an extended franchise was raised, Paul Nagy, the chief orator of his day, urging that the Diet had the duty of caring for the rights of that large population which was scarcely represented in the two Tables. He was greeted with the characteristic shout of "*Ne stultizet*" (Don't talk rot), but the first seed had been sown.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

patent" upon Hungary also. Indeed he was seriously thinking of abolishing the Constitution altogether and went the length of consulting Napoleon on the point, and he was only held back with some difficulty by Metternich and Wallis, and dissuaded from so extreme a step. But he expressed himself very openly, and allowed a memorandum of his to the Police Chief, Baron Haager, to be published — a very unusual step in those days. One passage from it is worth quoting: — "I shall in no way depart from what I find fit to decide for the good of my Monarchy, and in Hungary just as little as elsewhere shall I tolerate defiance, infringement of rights and illegality (*Trotz, Verengung von Rechten und Widerlichkeit*); nor shall I allow the Hungarian Estates to nullify (*vereiteln*) my paternal designs for the welfare of my states as a whole, and thereby to undermine their happiness."<sup>8</sup> There was a protracted struggle all through the winter of 1811–1812, Parliament refusing to assume a guarantee for the new paper money, Francis at first leaving its message unanswered because it was "too silly and impudent (*dummdreist*)," and insisting that the King alone could decide what was necessary. When at last the Estates refused the subsidy in the form in which it was demanded, and instead of cash offered only hay and corn, there was a real breach. On 20 May 1812 he dissolved Parliament and imposed the Finance Patent by arbitrary decree — ostensibly as an urgent and provisional measure till the next Parliament.

Thirteen years were to elapse before the next meeting of Parliament. The final effort of the Allied campaigns of 1813–1814 was followed by a period of lassitude and political inaction at home — in Hungary no less than in other parts of the Monarchy. Francis's fear of any kind of constitutional movement, and the tendency to lump liberal, constitutional and revolutionary views as more or less identical, led him to postpone summoning Parliament as long as possible, and from the year 1817 onwards reaction grew even stronger. It is only necessary to allude to the Wartburg celebrations in Germany and to the series of Conferences by which Metternich and his allies tried to bolster up Legitimacy, and put the intellectuals everywhere into leading-strings. With the advent of Sednitzky as Chief of Police in 1817 there was also a noticeable stiffening of internal controls and precautions, and the Viennese police extended its interference more and more to Hungary also, though of course this was quite illegal. Meanwhile the position of the Palatine Joseph was thoroughly undermined at Court; he was left in office, but could effect nothing, and it is also significant that from the death of the Archduke Ambrose in

<sup>8</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1811, p. 1280, cit. by Bibl, *ibid.*, I, 209.

1809, the Primatial See of Hungary, one of the most influential offices in the country, was left vacant for ten whole years.

In the absence of any central body which could voice opinion, the real national feeling took refuge in the County administration, which had always been the bulwark, or better said, the backbone of the Hungarian Constitution. In their Assemblies grievances were aired, and in some of them not all the pressure of the central authorities, not even the advent of Royal Commissaries with special powers, could silence criticism or prevent the framing of memorials and petitions. In many, however, it was found possible to organise the so-called "Sandal Nobility" (*bocskoros nemesség*) — penniless and illiterate, but enjoying noble privileges — into a kind of venal clique which drowned all discussion and intimidated all critics.

At the same time, while the County Associations were with difficulty keeping alive the constitutional tradition, we have the beginnings of that remarkable literary renaissance of the Magyars which throws into the shade that of all their neighbours, excepting only the Poles. Despite the censorship, a certain number of journals are established, all as their names indicate, with a definite emphasis on the literary side — *Magyar Muza*, *Magyar Múzeum*, *Urania*, *Orpheus* and others in the closing eighteenth century, and then in 1813 *Erdélyi Múzeum*, the organ of the Transylvanian literary group, and in 1817 *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Learned Collection) — founded in the same year as the *Časopis* of the Bohemian Museum in Prague.

But above all, a number of writers of real distinction are coming to the front, of whom the most notable were: Francis Kazinczy, who had been arrested for his share in the alleged Jacobin movement of 1794, and who was only released from confinement in 1801, but afterwards concentrated all his efforts upon work for the revival of the language; Berzsényi, who wrote a famous poem "To the Magyars," and whom we find complaining bitterly in 1817 in a letter to Kazinczy, that so many magnates "call their mother tongue the language of gypsies";<sup>9</sup> Kölcsey, author of another famous National Hymn, and other poems; and the brothers Kisfaludy, Alexander the poet and Charles the first real dramatist of modern Hungary, who wrote with the definite aim of kindling the national spirit and promoting political liberty, and planned at least one of his plays as an exposure of the wrongs of the Hungarian peasant. Magyar was rapidly becoming a medium of modern literary expression and making an increasing bid to oust Latin from official usage and German from the language of fashion

<sup>9</sup> Mihály Horvat, *Funfundzwanzig Jahre aus d. Gesch. Ungarns von 1823-1848*, I (Leipzig, 1867), 57.

and social distinction. There was a growth of intellectual interests and of resentment at the interference of the Censorship and the ban upon foreign travel.

From the year 1820 onwards, there is a long, steady trial of strength between the Crown, with its arbitrary designs, and Hungarian opinion as concentrated above all in the County Assemblies, whose power of passive resistance are very remarkable. From time to time one County, more outspoken than another, protests to the Throne against its distrust of Hungary, as exemplified in the veto upon Parliament and various illegal measures. In 1821 owing to the general financial crisis, Francis proceeded by decree to increase the Military Tax which had been originally voted in 1812, it must be paid in coin, or if in paper, then at two and one-half times the nominal value. There were many protests against this illegality and some counties resisted, taking their stand on elaborate legal arguments. In many cases Royal commissaries were sent to enforce submission, and sometimes armed force was required. The *vis inertiae* displayed by the Counties — those “bas-tions of the Constitution,” as Kossuth afterwards called them — gradually impressed the Court; and it is worth noting that the officials of the Hungarian Chancellory itself were also almost unanimous in their disapproval, and in advising the Court to change its policy. On one notable occasion, when an action for treason was brought, the high legal officer whose duty it was to draw up the indictment, insisted on leaving blank the references to the laws on which the case was based, on the ground that no such laws could be quoted.

In the summer of 1825, then, Francis had the wisdom to summon the Hungarian Parliament once more to Pressburg. That he did so was certainly in very large measure due to Metternich who, with all his contempt and dislike for parliaments and constitutions, was never tired of insisting that Hungary must be treated on different lines from the other provinces. He had a somewhat lordly contempt for Hungary as “a real Boeotia, in which Puddlingtonians and students play the part of Imperial Estates”; but he also saw that its noble politicians differed essentially from the democrats of the West. A small incident which he describes in one of his letters from Pressburg reveals his attitude. There was indeed the first germ of a Liberal Opposition under Paul Nagy, who claimed that the peasants also should be represented. But one day when he expressed this sentiment,<sup>10</sup> he ran the danger of being ejected, and Vay, one of the loudest of the constitutional demagogues, as Metternich calls him, “declared

<sup>10</sup> Metternich, *Nachgelassene Papiere*, iv, (Vienna, 1880-1884), 196, H. von Srbik, *Metternich*, I (Munich, 1925), 466-467.

he would rather be flayed than assume a single burden for the noble class, as the Fourth Estate would very soon do if it obtained power."

The summons of Parliament produced great jubilation, and Francis wisely played a very conciliatory part, made a friendly speech from the throne, and had his fourth wife crowned. Then followed a whole month of vehement criticism, led by Nagy and Antony Deák, and culminating in an Address of Grievances — recapitulating the various infringements of the Constitution, and insisting on triennial Parliaments and various other safeguards. The Crown replied by pleading special circumstances which had prevented the summons, and some of its phrases gave great offence. At last, thanks to the mediation of the Palatine, a second Rescript was issued, explaining away some of the most objectionable phrases, reaffirming the Laws of 1791, and recognising the Crown's constitutional obligation. In January 1826 there was an Address of thanks, and the real crisis was over. It is significant that on this occasion there appears the definite request that henceforth all laws should be drawn up in Magyar as well as in Latin, in two parallel columns.

This first Parliament after the long interregnum continued to sit for nearly two years: its discussions were for the most part arid and need not concern us: it did not produce much legislation. Its real importance lies in the fact that it was in a sense the rehearsal for the real play: many of the actors of the future make their first appearance and have time to study their parts. Its most remarkable incident was the debate during which the foundation of a Hungarian Academy was proposed — an idea which was widely approved, but for whose execution money was lacking. After an eloquent harangue from Paul Nagy there was a momentary pause, when a man who had hitherto taken no active part in the proceedings stood up and offered his entire income for a year to the cause of an Academy. This was Count Stephen Széchenyi, a wealthy magnate, as yet a young Hussar officer who spoke German better than his mother tongue, and who was in the next two decades to earn the name of "the Greatest Hungarian." This offer roused intense enthusiasm, many other wealthy nobles followed his example, and the Academy was soon an accomplished fact — (it was actually inaugurated in 1830). The impetus thus given to the study and revival of the Magyar language increased with every year.

The Diet of 1830 marks a fresh advance. It was summoned under the impression of the July Revolution, which alarmed even the Opposition leaders like Paul Nagy, and it was thought tactful by Francis to utilise the occasion for the coronation of his unfortunate son Ferdinand V as King of Hungary. Another chief aim of Francis was to ob-

tain a further increase in the number of recruits, and this was at last granted, though on the express condition that they could only be used if the Monarchy were attacked, and not against the liberties of the peoples or for the purpose of quelling a foreign Revolution — provisos whose discussion was of course extremely distasteful to the Crown and to Metternich. As a counter-concession, too, the Diet was allowed to pass Article VIII, which contained not unimportant linguistic concessions:

1. The Council of Lieutenancy was henceforth to reply in Magyar to any documents received in that language.
2. The Curia was bound to hear all cases in Magyar in which the appeal was made in Magyar.
3. Public offices and the post of advocate were henceforth restricted to those with a knowledge of Magyar

At the same time Magyar became optional in all district courts.

Cholera prevented Parliament from meeting in 1831, but in 1832 it was again summoned and continued to sit till 1836. Nagy, the great leader of the early days, is already falling behind, and new men are coming to the front: Edward Beöthy, who had a great vogue in his day and has been called the "Magyar Danton," and now for the first time the two greatest names of the mid-century, Kossuth and Deák. Deák replaces an ill brother as a typical squire delegate from the County of Zala, and his strong intellect and calm, reassuring and persuasive tactics made from the first a deep impression. Kossuth at first merely acts as proxy for an absent magnate (in the curious manner that was tolerated under the old unreformed Constitution), and really first won his name by a new system of Parliamentary Reports (*Országgyűlési Tudósítások*) — summarising the speeches and proceedings, which were not as yet published, and circulating these reports by hand. This was ere long to become the test case of political freedom in Hungary.

Although the Diet sat so long, it was once again not very fruitful in legislation. But it is significant of the inevitable trend of events that the general attention centered more and more upon the status of the peasantry, the need for a revision of the Urbarium, and the need for alleviating the lot of the serf and removing some of the countless restrictions which noble privilege imposed upon him. The Court and the great magnates opposed the abolition of feudal rights and seignorial jurisdiction, though more and more of the middle nobility rallied to the idea, but they at least consented to a number of modifications. Henceforth the peasants acquired the right to go to law in their

own name, the dues and feudal rights to which they were subject were fenced round much more carefully, and their personal liberty and property could only be affected by regular legal sentence. The peasant now had the right to move elsewhere if he had fulfilled his obligations for the year, and might sell his interest in his holding (it was not as yet his property, of course).<sup>11</sup> Another important change was that the expenses for the Diet were no longer to be borne by the *plebs*, as hitherto, but were placed exclusively on the shoulders of the *populus* or nobility, — nobility in Hungary, it should be unnecessary to remind the reader, being identical with political rights.

Lastly, a fresh stage was marked in the language question. The use of Magyar was extended to courts of second instance, though still as an alternative to Latin. Magyar verdicts became compulsory. The laws were to be published in Latin and Magyar jointly. The registers were to be kept in Magyar in every parish where the services were held in Magyar — a provision which was soon made the excuse for forcing Magyar upon essentially non-Magyar parishes. This involved a compulsory knowledge of Magyar for all clergy. Magyar also became optional for all official documents whatsoever. This last law was passed shortly before the close of the session. In March 1835 Francis had died and Ferdinand had succeeded — not without a considerable struggle between him and the Diet as to his title. He announced his succession as Ferdinand I (which was correct for the Emperor of Austria): but the Diet insisted, and won its point, that in Hungary he was Ferdinand V, and that the other title implied a violation of Hungarian legal continuity. During the reign of this poor phantom Hungary was more than ever a world of its own, and its development has to be treated quite separately from that of Austria. Between 1836 to 1848 it enters upon a new phase, gathering momentum and volume as it goes. Till then it may be said to have been essentially Conservative, concerned in the main to return to the old paths, to reassert ancient privileges, to safeguard and fence them round against fresh infringements; henceforth there is an increasing tendency to revise and reform, and in the process to challenge certain principles which had till then been regarded as the very foundations of the Hungarian Constitution, with which all patriots had believed it to stand or fall.

Before sketching very briefly this last stage of development, it is necessary to say something more of the man who dominates the first ten years of the Reform Movement and remains one of the foremost figures right on till 1848 — Széchenyi. He may fairly be said to repre-

<sup>11</sup> J. N. Mailáth, *Gesch. d. Magyaren*, iv (Regensburg, 1852-1853), 206.



sent the Magyar aristocrat at its best and most ideal, with all the enthusiasms and limitations of his class. His character combines that passionate love of country and blend of the romantic with the legal which is so typical; in his case it is deeply tinged with melancholy, which ends in the terrible tragedy of a private asylum. There must have been a predisposition in his blood, for his father died prematurely because he took so keenly to heart the unsatisfactory state of Hungary. After seventeen years in the army, Stephen Széchenyi felt impelled to enter the political arena, and he has put on record in these words the goal which lay before his eyes. "The mission of the Hungarian nation, as the only heterogeneous nation in Europe, is to represent the peculiar qualities hidden in the Asiatic cradle and hitherto never brought to maturity. This race, though it has more than once ravaged the fairest regions of our globe and in its wrath, as the scourge of God, left traces of blood behind it, assuredly has as many good and noble qualities within it as any powerful family of the human race. Our task is to preserve its peculiarities like a relic, to purify its forces and virtues, and so make it contribute to the glorification of mankind." In less high-sounding language, Széchenyi made it his aim to vindicate the traditional rights of Hungary, but at the same time to broaden their foundations by wise reforms, not only in the political, but above all in the social and economic sphere. His knowledge of German and also of English conditions made him realise how backward and isolated his own country still was. "Our nation," he said, "is sunk in deep sleep, and it is time for it to awaken"; indeed he thought it necessary "to arrest it on the very edge of the gulf", if it was to avoid utter ruin. It was useless to mourn over a great past; and here he coined the famous phrase: "They are wrong who say the Magyar has been; I like to say, he is still to be." It was a winged word which roused the party of reform to action.

His initiative for the Academy had given him great and sudden prestige; and this he used in airing his views in a series of lengthy political tracts. The first — *Hitel* (Credit) — appeared in 1828, and its effect has been compared by a Hungarian of the next generation to that of Junius in England. It was received with horror by the old-fashioned local defenders of the constitution as an exclusive privilege, and it was doubly distasteful because it came from a great magnate. But it rallied all the progressive elements within the nobility and they grew more numerous with every year. His doctrine was self-help, modern methods in all departments of life, the abolition of antiquated and primitive conditions in agriculture, finance, law, such as only prevented the country's great natural resources from develop-

ing. Meanwhile on the practical side he had founded a Club — the germ of the future National Casino — and a horse-breeding society, the germ of an Agricultural League, which, despite their extremely exclusive character, played a vital part in popularising among the aristocracy a belief in the absolute necessity of reforms.

Then, in answer to a detailed criticism of his first book by a leading Conservative, Count Joseph Desewffy, Széchenyi issued another equally famous tract, entitled *Világ* (Light), in which he pleads the need for administrative reforms and the modernisation of the still essentially medieval constitution. The screams of horror which Széchenyi's proposals aroused in the traditional Old Conservative camp, living in a world of its own and knowing nothing of the outside world, could not, however, very long conceal the fact that Széchenyi, so far from being a revolutionary, was essentially Conservative and, in particular, bent upon keeping on good terms with the Court. He soon fell apart from Baron Wesselényi, the great Transylvanian patriot, with whom he was on intimate terms and whom he had persuaded to travel with him through France and England, but who was far more drastic in his opposition and ere long became involved in open conflict with the authorities.

None the less, Széchenyi's next work, *Stadium* (1831), which set itself to define the path of practical reform and to summarise the various measures needed to make Hungary a modern state — the abolition of Aviticity (i.e., the inalienability of noble land), the right of non-nobles to buy land, the equality of all citizens before the laws, the abolition of Guilds and monopolies, the readjustment of the incidence of taxation, the building of roads and public institutions — this programme, which did not go beyond the alphabet of Western politics, caused alarm to the censor and was prohibited by Count Reviczky (Hungarian Aulic Chancellor since 1827). Its doctrine, of course, none the less continued to percolate through the high circles in Budapest to which the active Széchenyi belonged. And once more one of his more practical ideas had an epoch-making effect. Always keenly interested in the improvement of road and river communications, and also bent on winning for Pest its true position as Hungary's capital — as the natural centre, not like Pressburg on the very periphery towards Vienna — Széchenyi combined these two ideas by promoting a Society for a Suspension Bridge over the Danube between Pest and Ofen (Buda). This had a very important political result; a toll had to be levied on all passengers across the bridge, and this was the first real inroad upon the exemptions from all tolls and other dues hitherto enjoyed by the noble class. This had been foreseen

by Széchenyi, and was an additional reason why he deliberately desired the bridge. (It was the work of an English engineer named Clark, selected by Széchenyi and Count George Andrásy, on a special journey to England.)

One more notable fact about Széchenyi. He is the last great Hungarian, until the decisive period of Deák and the Ausgleich of 1867, who dares to proclaim as a political dogma not only that Hungary must draw nearer to Western civilisation, but also that "Hungary can flourish only if she reforms her institutions and code of law in harmony with the interests of the other Austrian provinces."<sup>12</sup> We are now on the eve of a period when such a view savors perilously of heresy, and when not even all the prestige of "the greatest Magyar" will suffice to make it popular, in the teeth of the new demagogy. Here too we see the negative folly of the Court in not consenting to work with Széchenyi and thus forestall the whirlwind by wise preventive and precautionary measures.

During the closing period of the Diet of 1832 to 1836, the relations of Crown and nation were embittered by events in Transylvania, which were naturally followed with close sympathy at Pressburg — especially now that voices were being raised in favor of union. The Transylvanian constitution had been treated even more cavalierly than that of Hungary. When it was abolished by Joseph II the Diet had already not met for 17 years, and though it was summoned in 1790 and passed no less than 64 laws, among others one providing for an annual meeting of the Diet, it was none the less not called again till 1809. As it then disagreed on agrarian questions, it was soon dismissed and actually not called again till 1834 — i.e., nine years after the Hungarian Diet again began to meet. The result was that the pent-up feelings of all these years vented themselves and found very emphatic expression in Baron Nicholas Wesselényi, the leading Magyar patriot of Transylvania, who also sat as a magnate in the Upper House at Pressburg. He and his friends were violent and unconciliatory, and caused special offence by the device of lithographed reports of the Diet's proceedings, to evade the veto on publication. The Imperial Commissioner, Archduke Ferdinand, soon dissolved the Diet and governed without it, thereby greatly strengthening the agitation in favor of Union with Hungary and constitutional reform.

With the two Diets sent about their business, and a new Chancellor, Count Pálffy appointed in place of Reviczky, the Government set itself to suppress as far as possible the growing agitation of public

<sup>12</sup> A. Springer, *Gesch. Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden 1809*, 1 (Leipzig, 1863-1865), 477.

opinion. It began by arresting several of the most ardent young Reformers, and Ladislav Lovassy in particular was sentenced, on a charge of *lèse-majesté*, to ten years in a fortress. Various other trials were instituted, but all were thrown into the shade by those of Wesselényi and Kossuth. The inquiry against Wesselényi actually lasted for three years, and there was no difficulty in convicting him of drastic statements both in word and writing. He had indeed never been tired of expressing contempt for the panic attitude of the authorities. "They stubbornly turn their backs to the rising sun," he said, "and see in their own shadows a dreadful spectre." Otherwise they would realise that there was hardly any country where there was so little fear of a real revolution. "But they are frightened, and take a hare moving in the bushes for a robber."<sup>13</sup> In the end he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, but before the actual trial an incident had occurred which raised his already great popularity to almost fabulous heights. In the winter of 1838 the Danube was blocked with ice and caused serious floods in Pest, and Wesselényi, a man of Herculean strength and size, performed prodigies of valor in rescuing those in difficulty.

The other conviction was to have even more memorable consequences. Louis Kossuth, who had first won a name at Pressburg by his rough parliamentary reports, now came to the front as one of the leaders of an openly democratic group, and as the pioneer of Hungarian journalism. As Parliament was not there for the time being, he organised in the same primitive way as before a series of "Municipal Reports"<sup>14</sup> (summarising debates and decisions in the County Assemblies which, as we saw, were the stronghold of political life). He tried to lithograph them, but this was at once forbidden, and it is amazing that though they could only circulate in written copies, they should have had so deep a political effect. As a matter of fact, there was an arrangement by which the Haiducks, or official messengers, of the various County authorities, carried copies from one destination to another when the post was closed to them. Finally a direct prohibition came from the Palatine himself, but Kossuth went on, being encouraged in this by the County of Pest, which declared the veto to be illegal, took him under its protection, and issued a protest to the Government and to other County authorities. This challenge the Government rather reluctantly took up in May 1837. Kossuth was arrested, kept for a year in solitary confinement and then sentenced to three years' imprisonment — raised on appeal to four. It was during this period of isolation that Kossuth, by the aid of a dictionary, a

<sup>13</sup> Horvat, *op. cit.*, I, 449.

<sup>14</sup> *Törvényhatósági Tudósítások.*

grammar, and a copy of Shakespeare, acquired that mastery of English which was to stand him in such good stead during his later period of exile.

By now the national movement had assumed proportions which could not be checked by mere repression, and incidentally the tide of national feeling was steadily flowing into every corner of the Monarchy at the same moment — among Slovaks, Rumanians, Croats, Serbs, Czechs, Poles, Ruthenes, Slovenes, to say nothing of the Italians. What gave the Magyar movement its peculiar strength was not merely its central geographical situation — to the very end it enjoyed a great strategic advantage over the other races — but the fact that it possessed certain powerful instruments to its hand, and notably the self-governing county administration, which was now more active than ever, and also the support of many influential members of the higher nobility, whose great wealth and territorial power made it difficult for the Government to touch them.

The folly of Vienna in rejecting Széchenyi's policy of a moderate aristocratic reform, resting on racial culture and material reforms, now became apparent. "The greatest Magyar" (it was no other than Kossuth who coined the phrase) now fell between two stools. He was entirely unsuited to lead the new movement, and while his prestige still weighed with all thinking men, especially in practical and material affairs, three new currents made themselves felt in politics, with none of which he could identify himself. The first was the Liberal opposition, relying on the experience of the veteran Nagy, but transformed by the wisdom, profound constitutional knowledge and rare moderation of that fine flower of the Magyar gentry, Francis Deák. The second was the group of younger "Moderate Conservatives" under Count Aurel Desseffy, and Count George Apponyi, and Baron Jósika for Transylvania, who were attached to the Crown, but still hoped to convince it that certain concessions were essential, if the tide was to be stemmed. The third, and most vociferous, was the Radical Opposition, whose chief figure after his release was Kossuth, but which had the support of several important magnates, like Count Louis Batthyányi, Count Ladislas Teleki and Baron Joseph Eötvös. A further feature is the growing influence of Magyar Protestantism in this new period — not only of Calvinism, which has sometimes been called "the Magyar creed" (a Magyar hit), and was strong round Debreczen and in Transylvania, but also of the Lutherans of the North (to whom Kossuth, being of Slovak birth, belonged). In this situation the Government summoned Parliament again for June 1839; it lacked the courage to refuse. The great feature of this

Parliament was its definite vindication of freedom of speech. After long and passionate debates the Government consented to a compromise. In return for the voting of the recruits on which the Crown set such store, an amnesty was granted to political offenders in April 1840, and Count Mailáth replaced the unpopular Pálffy as Hungarian Chancellor. Besides this, the language question entered on a new phase. For the first time in Hungarian history the Address to the Throne had been framed in Magyar instead of Latin, and now by article VI of 1840 Magyar became the official language of the Government and administration. Its knowledge became obligatory for the clergy of all denominations, and after a lapse of three years all registers throughout the country were to be kept in Magyar only. By these provisions Magyar passes from the defensive to the aggressive; the claim is no longer for predominance, but for exclusive sway, in administration and justice, in the schools and in the army alike. There is a speedy outburst of acute Chauvinism, which declines to recognise the rights of any of the other races which have shared Hungary for so many centuries.

Meanwhile it may be said that with one swirl of the tide the Hungarian Parliament is invaded by all the complicated problems of modern life, and there is a conflict between tradition and reform. The old tumultuous methods of voting, often by proxy, often by acclamation, sometimes with many persons present who have no right to take a part, prove too chaotic to be upheld. All the rival groups lay increased stress upon such essentials of the modern parliamentary tradition as voting on a division, party discipline, and the majority principle. Not least of all, the system by which, under the old Constitution, Parliament consisted not of deputies freely elected and voting in the sense approved by their constituents, but of delegates sent up for the local Assemblies and strictly bound by instructions from them, proved a serious obstacle to the reformers, who none the less relied so much upon the county system in their defence against Vienna and centralism. Another feature worthy of mention is the role of the Towns. The 49 "Royal Free Towns" only had a collective vote, equivalent to that of a single county, and as their voices were raised against this, the Counties opposed on the double ground 1) that the Towns were a foreign element, German or Slav, in the life of the country; and 2) that they could not in any case be admitted to a larger share of political power until the narrow old municipalities were purged by a reform of the guild system and by the emancipation of the Jews. Thus we see national prejudice called in as a means of

upsetting oligarchic privilege — parallel with a whole series of economic laws dealing with credits, trade, factories, etc.

In the years which follow this Parliament a fever seems to have seized the body politic of Hungary. The reforming party extended its agitation into all spheres of public life, and proclaimed its resolve to bring backward Hungary up to the level of the West. The nobles' immunity from taxation was more and more the institution against which attack was concentrated; and the prospect of change in this direction filled alike the lesser landed and the landless nobles, the peasantry and the townsmen, and the growing intellectual middle class, with hope and new ambitions. Meanwhile the literary movement developed further; some of the greatest names of the century begin to appear — Vorosmarty, author of the National Hymn and many famous lyrics: Arany the balladist, Madách, the author of "The Tragedy of Man," a Faustian drama of humanity; Petöfi, the apostle of romanticism and freedom, a blend of Burns, Byron and Victor Hugo.

Above all, perhaps, the foundation of the *Pesti Hírlap*, Kossuth's new daily newspaper, in 1841 — with the grudging sanction of the Government — opens a new era in which the old order, as Hungary has known it without essential changes since the Middle Ages, is directly challenged, and in which the Nobility is frankly told: "With you and for you, if you consent: without you and against you if necessary." The new democratic, even demagogic, tendencies of which Kossuth becomes increasingly the mouthpiece, are distasteful to Széchenyi who, in the last of his famous tracts, *Kelet Népe* (The People of the East) warns against democracy and puts forward a program of moderate progress. It is in effect his declaration of war upon Kossuth. But he is from now on definitely in political decline, and when in 1843 he is farsighted and moderate enough to protest against the orgies of Magyarisation by which the super-patriots were so rapidly alienating sympathy among the other races, he is regarded by them as no longer one of them, and loses influence. At the same time the premature death of Desewffy deprives the Conservatives of their ablest party leader, and Kossuth of his chief journalistic rival, for his brilliantly edited *Világ* might have done much to stem the tide of radicalism in the coming years. Meanwhile Kossuth raised the economic problem also, preached a radical change in the old customs system, with its special favor to Austria as against Hungary, wished to promote a new Hungarian industry and made propaganda for direct sea relations with the outside world, with the watch-

word "To the sea, oh Magyar" (*Tengerre, Magyar*). And at the same time there seemed to be the makings of a veritable "Kulturkampf" in the clash of the rival churches, the demand for the removal of the remaining religious disabilities, and the delicate dispute about mixed marriage and secularisation.

The Diet of 1843 meets after elections of a violence rarely equalled, and the struggle is resumed anew. The liberal program is steadily taking shape — a responsible Cabinet, annual Parliaments in Pest, enfranchisement of non-nobles, equality of taxation, equal access to public office, abolition of serfdom, compulsory education, the jury system, equality of cults, a national Army, a national Bank, liberty of the press and abolition of the preventive censorship. It is a program which shows an increasing alignment with the West, and it is also the measure of Hungary's backwardness. Széchenyi made a famous speech in favor of equal taxation for all, which was much applauded, but not voted; but many nobles voluntarily inscribed themselves on the taxation roll. New laws regulated mixed marriage and opened all offices to non-nobles and enabled them to purchase noble lands. But the most memorable legislation of this Session was undoubtedly the new linguistic Law — Article 11 of 1844 — far the most stringent hitherto, and bearing within it the seeds of future trouble. Magyar now became the exclusive language of the legislature, the Government and all official business. It was also proclaimed to be the exclusive language of public instruction, though this far-reaching innovation was still left to be dealt with in future by a special law, and other provisions were included which aimed at the Magyarisation of Croatia. This was a challenge which led direct to the internecine war of 1848.

We are now at the stage where the issue is unhappily confused. The Magyars, unquestionably the torchbearers of constitutional liberty in all the Danubian countries, become at the same time advocates of racial uniformity and assimilation in its extreme form, and try to apply to the other races of the country, which still form a decided majority of the population, the very methods which they resent so intensely when applied by the Germans to themselves. This is the central tragedy of the year 1848, in which the Magyars might have assumed the leadership of south-eastern Europe, but showed themselves lacking in the necessary constructive statesmanship and breadth of outlook.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



## ANTTI JALAVA AND HUNGARIAN-FINNISH RAPPROCHEMENT

By JOHN ILMARI KOLEHMAINEN

IN FINLAND during the three decades following 1875 there was no more steadfast, indefatigable, and influential an advocate of Hungarian-Finnish rapprochement than Antti Jalava.<sup>1</sup> This pioneer's unflinching interest in the nation of Magyars stemmed primarily from philological and nationalistic considerations. Jalava, born at Masku, Finland, on July 18, 1846, devoted himself early in his career, as a student at Turku and Helsinki, to the study of the Finnish language. He became familiar with the Finno-Ugric concept of Finnish-Magyar kinship,<sup>2</sup> which had been formulated and popularized by such Finnish scholars as M. A. Castrén, Oskar Blomstedt, E. A. Ingman, and others, accepted the theory, and became its staunchest supporter in Finland. Jalava's personal contacts with Blomstedt, then docent of Finnish-Hungarian languages at the University of Helsinki, reinforced the young idealist's interest in the linguistic and racial kinship of Finn and Magyar. The visit in 1869 of a group of Hungarian scholars, among them the eminent philologist Pál Hunfalvy, seemed to have kindled higher the aspirations of Jalava.

Antti Jalava also became associated early with a group of zealous and aggressive Finnish nationalists. This so-called Fennoman Movement, committed, under the leadership of Yrjö Koskinen, O. Donner, and others affiliated with the *Kirjallisen Kuukausilehti* coterie, to the early triumph of the Finnish nationalist cause and an immediate reduction in the privileged status of Swedish in the country,<sup>3</sup> came also to be the guardian of the Finno-Ugric elements. The alliance of the Fennoman and Finno-Ugric forces was well-nigh inevitable. The nationalists, to begin with, had to answer numerous Swecomans critics who, pointing to the inferior status of the Lapps, Ostiaks, Voguls, and Samoyeds, insinuated that the Finns likewise were incapable of attaining a high level of civilization and were unworthy of a separate cultural and political existence. What was more natural for the Fen-

<sup>1</sup> This article owes much to Viljo Tervonen's excellent detailed study, "Antti Jalavan Unkarin-harrastuksia," *Suomalainen Suomi* (Helsinki, 1939), 67-75, 130-142.

<sup>2</sup> The precise nature and degree of Finnish-Magyar kinship, whether racial or linguistic, remain highly controversial questions. For studies in English, see Kaarlo Hildén, *The Racial Composition of the Finnish Nation* (Helsinki, 1932); Uno Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric and Siberian Mythology: Introduction* (Boston, 1927); E. N. Setälä, *The Language Fight in Finland* (Helsinki, 1919); W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (New York, 1923); C. S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (New York, 1939). The literature in Finnish is voluminous.

<sup>3</sup> The best guide in English is John H. Wuorinen, *Nationalism in Modern Finland* (New York, 1931).

noman than to identify the Finns with the Magyars who had, indeed, attained a position of prestige and power, "whose voice is heard at those conference tables where the political questions of Europe are settled"? The achievements of the Hungarians, insisted Jalava, were irrefutable testimony that the "Turanian race, from whom some all wise and haughty writers have desired to steal all potentiality for progress and cultural advancement, will compare favorably in this instance to those of any race whatever." Closer ties should be forged with the Magyars for they are, after all, "our only civilized kin in the whole wide world. . . . Centuries have passed since the two brothers, Finn and Hungarian, left their common home in the distant regions of the Altaic Mountains; their roads soon separated . . . and only with the birth of a new era of knowledge did they come to recognize each other again."

Jalava was convinced that Finnish nationalism, now in its "birth pangs," could learn much from the history of a kindred people who, "notwithstanding thousands of obstacles, have shaken from their necks foreign influence and have established for themselves an independent national existence." From the pages of Hungarian history the Finns could learn "what is to be done and what is to be avoided", they should mirror the Magyars' "burning love of country, their national self-consciousness"; they should emulate their Southern brethren "who, like steel tempered by fire, have only been rejuvenated and refortified by misfortune and suffering." They should contrast the dominant status of the Magyar tongue in Hungary with the shabby position of the Finnish language at home: "We, on the other hand, are yet today, as in centuries past, in that degrading position wherein we allow a small, not even a seventh, part of our population [the Swedish-speaking elements] to oppress us with their alien nationalism and insolently trample under their feet our most holy national rights." Jalava's role became crystal clear to him: it was to interpret and impel, to fashion from Magyar materials — its history and culture, its heroes living and dead — a meaningful guide and a challenge, a symbol and a hope, for the beloved Finnish nationalist cause.

The Backman stipend for foreign study, awarded to Antti Jalava in 1874, made possible his first visit to Hungary. Of his arrival in Budapest in 1875 he later wrote: "For many years I had had a keen desire to be able once to come greet our brothers far to the south and now that my hopes were realized, great was my joy. I do not know whether it was my imagination or reality, but everything here seemed more familiar to me than elsewhere, and the first Hungarian words which I heard at the railway station reminded me by their sound of

my mother tongue." Jalava studied in Budapest during the academic term but in the spring eagerly departed for the rural regions of Hungary. In truth, Jalava had come to the Magyar country not merely for scholarly pursuits but also to absorb as much as he could of all phases of Hungarian life and institutions. His curiosity concerning the scene about him was that of a journalist rather than that of a learned specialist; this attitude Jalava had developed during his eighteen month tenure as editor of the Finnish newspaper *Uusi Suometar* in 1869-70. He never quite overcame, fortunately, his journalistic techniques nor were his connections with the paper severed until his death in 1909. While Jalava was enjoying his initial sojourn in Hungary, he sent back to the *Uusi Suometar* a series of articles dealing with a variety of subjects ranging from politics to the *csárdás* dance.

The first visit meant, too, the renewal of old acquaintances and the making of new friendships. Jalava spent several happy days at the homes of his friends Pál Hunfalvy at Tiszfoldváry and General Arthur Görgei at Vicegrád, he later met other Hungarian scholars like Budenz, Barna, and Armin Vámbéry. Jalava's friendship with Görgei, it might be noted, deepened with the passing years; each had a fond respect for and mutual admiration of the other. The Finn, on the one hand, wrote a number of articles on Görgei's role in the making of the Hungarian nation; his historical sketches written in commemoration of the venerable leader's eightieth and ninetieth birthdays were widely read in Finland. Görgei, on the other hand, attempted to master the Finnish language. In a letter to Jalava dated December 27, 1896, the Hungarian philologist J. Szinnyi (who met the Finnish admirer of his people in Finland during 1879-81 and whose relations with him became extremely close and warm) wrote as follows: "General Görgei has truthfully begun to learn to read Finnish. He came recently to see me but I was away at the university. I returned the visit the next day. . . . He had just received a copy of *Finland in the 19th Century* which I had sent him and he was displaying it with great joy to his old colleagues."

Most of the Hungarians with whom Jalava came into contact during his first visit seemed to have taken a fancy to the eager and inquisitive student. One of Jalava's pupils, later returning to Hungary in his master's footsteps, wrote: "Wherever I came to a place where Antti Jalava had been before me, there I felt as though racial kinship flared forth as if kindled before." Jalava returned to his northern fatherland in 1876 captivated by the charms and beauties of a sister nation and its hospitable inhabitants. On five other occasions —

1881, 1886, 1896, 1899, and 1903 — he returned to the country of the Magyars, always in the hope of increasing his knowledge of their language, customs, and history. And always, as during the first visit, long accounts of his experiences and observations went back to the columns of the *Uusi Suometar* for the edification of the Finns.

Jalava's specific contributions to Finno-Hungarian rapprochement were numerous. He was, firstly, author of six general works on Hungary published in Finland during the years 1876-1907. The first of these was *Unkarin maa ja kansa* (Hungary: Land and People), a compilation of selected articles originally written for the *Uusi Suometar* during Jalava's first trip. The published volume covered many subjects: Hungarian history, government, education, literature, agriculture, religion, all interspersed with delightful stories of Magyar life, charming visits, friendly hospitality, enticing gypsy music, thundering toasts of "éljen Finnország!" and "éljen Magyarország!" But throughout the book there recurred the same underlying theme: the Finns must pattern their lives on the Hungarian model; they must become imbued with the same passionate feeling of national consciousness. *Unkarin maa ja kansa* enjoyed wide popularity in Finland and was also warmly received in Hungary; Budenz, for example, wrote to the author saying that his work would play an important role in bringing the two nations closer to each other. Five years later, in June, 1881, Jalava's second contribution, *Unkarin Albumi*, was published. This volume, in the preparation of which Jalava received the invaluable assistance of J. Szinnyi, was primarily an anthology of leading Hungarian writers as Sándor Petöfi, Mihály Vörösmarty, János Arany, and Mór Jókai, translated by Jalava, A. Genetz, Julius Krohn, Paavo Cajander, and Uno von Schrowe. It also contained original contributions by Jalava and Szinnyi, the latter doing an article on the Finno-Ugric concept, the former a study of Count Istvan Széchenyi. Although popular response to the volume was disappointing, it was nonetheless welcomed by Finnish and Hungarian scholars. One reviewer, A. Genetz, spoke of it as a "good addition" to the eradication of the "gulf of ignorance and unfamiliarity which for hundreds of years, perhaps thousands, has separated the related peoples, Finns and Hungarians."

Upon the completion of *Unkarin Albumi*, Jalava began work on a third book, a treatise on Hungarian agriculture; this was published in 1882-83 under the title *Unkari I-II*. His chief source appears to have been Sándor Heksch's *Illustrierter Führer durch Ungarn und seine Nebenländer*; Szinnyi again aided his Finnish colleague. The Hungarian, for one, thought that the volume was excellent and ex-

pressed the hope that similar works might also appear in other languages; apparently *Unkarin I–II* was translated into the Swedish. In 1901 Jalava brought out, again under the sponsorship of the Finnish Nationalist Society, a volume on the Great Men of Hungary; this was followed in 1902 with a book in the same series on F. Déak. In 1907 Jalava contributed his *Kansallisyhteis toiminta Unkarissa* (Nationalist Activity in Hungary) as the first volume to be published under the newly organized Finnish League. In this, his last volume, as in the earlier books, the ardent Fennoman urged his countrymen to heed the lessons of Magyar history and to follow their brethren in the achievement of national pride.

Numerous were the articles penned by Jalava for the *Uusi Suometar*. The first of these, it will be recalled, were reissued in 1876 in *Unkarin maa ja kansa*; a series called "Facts from Hungary" appeared thirty-eight times between 1879 and 1898. To his death Jalava continued to make the *Uusi Suometar* known (and in some quarters disliked) for its coverage of Hungarian affairs. His catholic interest was manifested in these articles: many dealt with the leading literary figures of contemporary Hungary; some were concerned with the famed triumvirate of Magyar philologists, Hunfalvy, Budenz, and Gabriel Szarva; the Hungarian theatre and stage were frequently discussed; and often enough, the articles would purposely return to the soldiers of Magyar freedom, Kossuth, Déak, and Görgei. Moreover Jalava opened the columns of the *Uusi Suometar* to Szinnyei who during the years 1880–83 wrote some eleven articles on Hungary under the pen-name of "Hungary's Matthew."

Another notable contribution made by Jalava to the improvement of Finno-Hungarian relations was in the translation of the works of several important Magyar literary figures. Among these were Edvard Tóth's play *Kylän-Heittio* (*A falu rossza*) in 1877, Jókai's *Uusi tilanhaltia* (*Az új földes úr*) in 1878; Jókai's two novels *Rakkaita sukulaisia* and *Rakkauden narrit* in 1879–81; and Berczik's *Hauskoja hetkiä* (*Vig órák*) in 1902. To these translations Jalava usually added introductory notes and sketches of the authors; he rendered a similar service to his pupil's, E. N. Vainio's, translation in 1889 of Jókai's *Unkarilainen Naboó* and to his daughter's translation in 1901 of Rákos' *Lahonneita puuristejä* (*Korhadit fakerezzstek*). Following in the footsteps of earlier translators as Runeberg, Kellgren, Ingman, and others, Jalava made it possible for the Finnish reading public to become familiar with and learn to admire the literature of the Magyars; Jókai, in particular, was the favorite of Jalava who felt that he had no peer anywhere.

Not only as good-will ambassador, author, journalist, and translator, but also as teacher and pedagogue did Jalava toil for the closer harmony of the Finnish and Hungarian peoples. In October, 1880, he began to give instruction in Hungarian at the University of Helsinki; in the spring of the following year he was given a permanent post which he retained until his death in 1909. At first students flocked to his classes; later the number dwindled to a handful. The reasons for this decline were suggested in a frank letter to Hunfalvy on April 10, 1881: "I had nearly thirty students when I began the course but the number has gradually diminished until there remain but five. The reason for this was that apparently many had thought they would discover much more external similarity between the two related languages than in reality exists and that they thus would be able quite readily to learn Hungarian." The students, moreover, were not pleased with their teacher's custom of assigning extensive readings to be prepared at home: "This did not please those 'liberos studiosos' who are accustomed only to listen to lectures." The enrollment in Jalava's classes was thus never large; ten students, for example, were receiving instruction in the fall term of 1907, nine students in the following spring term. But he was not discouraged; five serious and energetic students a year, he explained to Hunfalvy, would in time result in the presence of an enthusiastic and influential group of pro-Magyar Finns. Several of his pupils, indeed, turned out to be outstanding Finno-Ugric scholars, among them K. E. Jaakkola, Matti Kivekäs, and N. E. Vainio. The basic instruction text was the *Unkarin kielen oppikirja* written in 1880 by Jalava and Szinnyei; the former also established an "Academic Reading Society," hoping thereby to stimulate interest in Hungary and for which he ordered in 1881 two Magyar newspapers, the *Vasárnapi Ujság* and the *Politikoi Ujdonság*. Jalava was called upon frequently to lecture to groups off the campus; in the summers of 1901-02 he lectured on Széchenyi and Déak before the summer sessions of the Finnish public school teachers.

Developments in 1882 threatened to cut short the laudable efforts of Jalava and Szinnyei. In that year Armin Vámbéry published in Budapest a provocative volume that undertook to destroy the Finno-Ugric concept and to relate the Magyar tongue to Turkish rather than Finnish origins. Written in a popular style, warmly praised by the Hungarian press, the Vámbéry thesis swept through the country despite the learned opposition of Hunfalvy, Budenz, and Szinnyei. The latter was alarmed by the spread of this heresy; writing to Jalava on June 20, 1883, he reported that the "Finnish bridge, constructed so

energetically during the past years, has now cracked badly because of Vámbéry and a few journalists." Szinnyei prayed that the friendship between the two kindred peoples would continue as before and that the atmosphere would be cleared after this storm. News of the Vámbéry publication reached Finland which was inevitably drawn into the "Hungarian-Turkish war." The Vámbéry thesis received the support of the Swedish elements in the Finnish population while the Fennomans rallied to the defense of the Finno-Ugric concept. The initial step was taken by Jalava who in early 1883 asked Szinnyei to contribute an article to the *Uusi Suometar* on the question "Does the Hungarian language fall within the Finno-Ugric group?" This contribution, so reported Jalava to Szinnyei, was "sympathetically read in nationalist circles but without doubt has awakened anger among the Swedoman elements. . . . To sundry Scandinavian articles a decent person disdains to reply." Swedish reaction to the Szinnyei article was, as Jalava had predicted, critical and bitter. The *Helsingfors*, in an article "Fennomanerne och Vámbéry," minced no words: the Szinnyei importation was prejudiced and without value; Vámbéry had given a resounding blow to the Finno-Ugric concept. The new view, continued the paper, "will naturally cause uneasiness in Fennoman circles. . . . For that joyous tiding — that the Finns are related to the Hungarians — which has aroused some interest in Europe has now been sentenced to receive a severe blow." As for the Szinnyei article, it would undoubtedly continue to circulate "in a Münchhausen fashion" from one "Finnish-minded" newspaper to another. Similar opinions were expressed by such papers as the *Nya Pressen* and *Helsingfors Dagblad*.

In order to combat more effectively Vámbéry supporters in Finland, Jalava and Szinnyei resolved to publish in Finnish the latter's *A magyar nyelv rokonai* which appeared in 1883 under the title of *Suomen kielen heimolaiset*. The Fennomans, at least, were favorably impressed with the volume. "All those with whom I have discussed the book," wrote Jalava to his colleague, "have said it is particularly good and necessary." Jalava himself began assiduously to defend the Finno-Ugric concept in lengthy, well written articles in the *Uusi Suometar*; Szinnyei was performing a similar service by contributing to the Hungarian press. While struggling with the supporters of Vámbéry on the one hand, Jalava had to contend, on the other, with Finnish organs as the *Valvoja* that held that the Finno-Ugric concept, whether true or false, was not a particularly important matter for the Finns. After all "Hungary can never have the importance for Finland as such great civilized countries as Germany, France, Eng-

land, and Italy. . . . The Hungarian language will never become as familiar to us as are the German, French, and English." The *Valvoja* advised the *Uusi Suometar* to de-emphasize "its exaggerated Magyar fixation." Jalava met the arguments by recalling that their chief proponent, A. Genetz, had himself earlier spoken in behalf of closer cultural ties between Hungary and Finland; furthermore, insisted Jalava, even if the Hungarians were not related to the Finns, the latter could still learn a great deal from Hungary, particularly as to "how we should proceed in our aspirations for national independence."

The years of service rendered by Antti Jalava did not pass unnoticed by the Hungarians. In 1877 he was elected to honorary membership in the Hungarian Historical Society; three years later came his appointment as corresponding member of the Kisfaludy Society. In 1902 came his crowning recognition, election to the Hungarian Scientific Academy. "I cannot . . . see that I have in any way deserved this great honor," read the pioneer's modest and humble statement of acceptance, "for as great and ardent as my love has been for all that which is Hungarian, small and insignificant have been my talents in translating that love into scientific work which a membership in the Academy rewards." But the signal honor went, in truth, to a deserving man who had given himself unselfishly and courageously to a good cause. Szinnyi spoke for every Hungarian when, in notifying his Finnish colleague of his election, he said, "Be calm, accept this token of our esteem, a token which is as richly deserved as it is joyously bestowed."

HEIDELBERG COLLEGE



## A MAGYAR MISCELLANY (IV)<sup>1</sup>

TRANSLATED, IN THE ORIGINAL METRES, BY WATSON KIRKCONNELL

SÁNDOR PETŐFI (1823–1849)

### *THE SAD WIND OF AUTUMN*

Autumn's sad wind is talking to the trees;  
He murmurs rather, one can scarcely hear him.  
What does he tell them? At his grieving voice  
They shake their dreaming heads and seem to fear him.  
The day is midway between noon and dusk;  
I rest upon my couch, and on my knee,  
With her bright head soft-pillowed on my breast,  
My little bride is sleeping silently.

My left hand clasps my drowsy darling's breast  
Whose pulse-beats in my heart their echoes wake.  
My right hand holds the missal of my faith —  
A tale of battles fought for Freedom's sake.  
That story's words, like comets all ablaze,  
Go sweeping through my soul in ardor free.  
With her bright head inclined upon my breast,  
My little bride is sleeping silently.

When, slavish nation, you for despots fight,  
It is through love of gold or fear of knout.  
But at the winsome smile of Liberty,  
Her faithful champions march to battle out.  
And cheerfully for her, as one they love,  
Blows, wounds, and death they meet, and will not flee.  
With her bright head inclined upon my breast,  
My little bride is sleeping silently.

How many lives have fallen for your sake,  
O holy Liberty! And still in vain.  
But soon the last great battle of them all  
Will usher in the wonder of your reign.  
In that great day, you will avenge your dead,  
And your arresting hand will ruthless be.  
With her bright head inclined upon my breast,  
My little bride is sleeping silently.

Before my eyes a frightful scene extends,  
A bloody panorama of to-morrow.  
There all the foes that struck at Liberty

<sup>1</sup> A selection of Hungarian poetry, translated by Professor Watson Kirkconnell, under the title "A Magyar Miscellany," was published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, ix, No. 27; xvi, No. 47; and xvi, No. 48.

Drown in a sea of their own blood and sorrow.  
 Loud thunders swell the beatings of my heart  
 And lightnings through my brain flash fierce and free.  
 With her bright head inclined upon my breast,  
 My little bride is sleeping silently.

MIHÁLY BABITS (1883-1939)

*ESCAPE*

To flee? But whither? To our eyes how small  
 This old earth has become! If you should flee  
 Up to the stars, you could not leave your eyrie.  
 With us we bear the wall that seals us in,  
 Blind as the seed that sprouts, and here we sleep  
 In two old arm-chairs, like souls gone astray  
 In the great labyrinth of the Universe,  
 Two little links that bounced and rolled to lodge  
 In this good corner in forgotten peace.  
 Let us remain here calmly, my dear wife.  
 Let us cast anchor on this friendly reef,  
 Faithfully relish through the quiet years  
 All these domestic objects, join ourselves  
 To these the neighboring and familiar links  
 Of the great Chain — and then let us set out,  
 Passing our groping hands along these chairs  
 And modest tables, like a sightless man,  
 Who, in dim happiness, seeks out the voice  
 That peoples with a soul his vibrant darkness.  
 The spirit's fingers with their Magi-nerves  
 Caress with gliding touch the polished surface  
 Of this our furniture and can divine,  
 Behind the dead shell, Life, forever One,  
 Creative, ageless, beyond time and space,  
 Since there is naught so solid or so smooth  
 But it can penetrate, as with crooked fingers  
 The seedling through the seasons scrapes away  
 The granite epidermis of the rocks.

THOMAS FALU (b. 1881)

*HOTEL ROOM*

Wolf-paced, one walks the corridors;  
 A door grates shyly here and there.  
 Sweet perfumed shadows greet the sense,  
 Women in silks, with fragrant hair;  
 Someone is weeping, someone yawns,  
 And someone softly sings an air.

Who was here yesterday? Some wretch?  
Or one whom hardship could not bow?  
Did he arrive here timidly  
And leave with flushed, courageous brow?  
And did he through this window glance  
Into the night, as I do now?

Who next will come, to-morrow night,  
And find a refuge from life's showers?  
Who will debate, where I have lain,  
Through dark, interminable hours?  
Who will renew my broken dream  
With all its tapestry of flowers?

ISTVÁN HAVAS (b. 1873)

*BUDAPEST*

*(Sonnet)*

Aquincum, city of the Caesars, gave,  
As mother, character and form to thee;  
That flower of Turanian chivalry,  
The Magyar, was thy father, proud and brave.  
In thee the ancient East has blent its wave  
With the ancient West's imperial pedigree;  
And in thy great heart double pulses be,  
The conflicts of two worlds within it rave.  
A stalwart faith has built thee what thou art,  
Based thee in concrete, reared thy frame of steel;  
The scholar with the worker plays his part  
In blending thought with marble, for thy weal;  
As in its wars of old, the Magyar heart  
Toils for the nation in consuming zeal.

MIHÁLY SZABOLCSKA (1862-1932)

*LITTLE ROSE DEMETER*

O Lord, Thou'st made the winter snow;  
Thou givest wings to storms that blow;  
Thou keepest all things in thy sight;  
But didst Thou know she died last night —  
Our little Rose Demeter?

Surely Thou dost remember her!  
Life in her soul was all a-stir.  
Ever her smiling eyes were sweet;  
Ever she sat in this front seat,  
Did little Rose Demeter.

Her prayers to Thee rose fresh and warm,  
 This innocent who knew no harm.  
 Her stricken mother, years in bed,  
 Taught her to praise Thee, One, she said,  
     The Father of all orphans.

The city is not far away,  
 And yet they found her dead to-day.  
 To get her mother's drugs in town,  
 She'd pattered in. A storm came down  
     On little Rose Demeter.

Her small, dead hands were clasped in prayer,  
 Holding the physic-bottle there;  
 And well I know that as she died  
 Amid the snow, to Thee she cried,  
     Did little Rose Demeter.

And I, the priest, as here she lies,  
 Must tell my flock that Thou art wise,  
 Yea, infinitely kind and good;  
 That in Thy grace at death she stood,  
     Our little Rose Demeter.

My God, rebuke my sudden grief,  
 And help me in my unbelief,  
 Lest I in pagan sobbing bow  
 And melt in guilty mourning now  
     For little Rose Demeter!

SÁNDOR SÍK (b. 1889)

*CHILDREN IN THE STREET*

A muddy street with filthy walls;  
 A foul November in a slum;  
 And on the pavement-edge there bawls  
 A troop of urchins; frolicsome  
 With spindle-legs and tattered clout  
 They kick an old rag ball about.

Past party-walls and metal flues  
 There glides a momentary ray  
 Of gleaming sunlight to suffuse  
 The frisking asphalt-beetles' play;  
 And music in its light declares  
 Another fairer world than theirs.

It tells of chirping meadow-grass  
And forest-glades with berries growing,  
Gardens with apples fair as glass,  
Lambkin and colt and calf a-lowing;  
Goslings and puppies play in glee  
With brown-faced boys for company.

How many merry children there  
Run gaily, chasing butterflies!  
Barefoot through soft, green grass they fare  
Or wrestle with exultant cries.  
On fat white bacon they are fed  
And buttered slabs of finest bread.

Such is the song the sunbeams sing  
Of warm, red-blooded, sunlit life.  
But the slum lads, unnoticing,  
Shout, pant, and kick in playful strife.  
To all its notes they are immune:  
To them it is an alien tune.

But Jesus yonder, robed in white,  
His vigil in a doorway keeps:  
Betimes he smiles to see the sight,  
Betimes he looks on them and weeps, —  
And his five wounds are touched with woe,  
And blood and tears in pity flow.

## REVIEWS

ROBERT A. HALL, JR., *An Analytical Grammar of the Hungarian Language* Baltimore.  
Linguistic Society of America, 1938.

THIS BOOK has been on the market for more than five years, during which time it has gained the reputation of being the only scientific grammar of the Hungarian language in English. The term "scientific grammar" may be subject to various interpretations; according to the spokesmen of the linguistic school to which the author adheres, it should be the product of observing, recording, and classifying the "facts of speech." In this review I shall not concern myself with the author's method — that is, with his classification of the facts of Hungarian speech. After all, any method which produces acceptable results is a good method. That is why I intend to discuss here only the accuracy of the author's observation and recording.

A considerable percentage of the facts of Hungarian speech, as observed and recorded by Hall, may present themselves in some future century; as far as the modern or the historical language is concerned, they are non-existent. This review must confine itself to certain limits, and hence I can offer here only samples of the facts of speech upon which the *Analytical Grammar* is based. On p. 50, for example, in his discussion of syncopating verbal roots, the author makes the following statement:

Verbs of the first class lose the vowel of the final syllable (e g., *emel-* 'to raise' ∼ *eml-*; *dobol-* 'to drum' ∼ *dobl-*) in accordance with the principle enunciated above, in the following forms: Present Subjective 1. sg. and pl., Present Objective 1. sg. and 2. sg.; Present Objective 3. sg., 2. pl. and 3. pl. only when the root is of front-vowel harmony; Future Subjective and Future Objective throughout; Perfect Subjective and Perfect Objective throughout; Present and Future Participles.

Aside from the fact that the stem-forms *eml-* and *dobl-* cited above do not exist, not one statement made in this paragraph is correct. I shall list below each one of the forms described by the author: once as observed by Hall; once as it actually occurs.

	HALL:	HUNGARIAN.
Pres. Subj. Sg. 1.	<i>emlek</i> 'I raise' <i>doblok</i> 'I drum'	<i>emelek</i> 'I raise' <i>dobolok</i> 'I drum'
Pres. Subj. Pl. 1.	<i>emlunk</i> 'we raise' <i>doblunk</i> 'we drum'	<i>emelunk</i> 'we raise' <i>dobolunk</i> 'we drum'
Pres. Obj. Sg. 1.	<i>emlem</i> 'I raise it' <i>doblom</i> 'I drum it'	<i>emelem</i> 'I raise it' <i>dobolom</i> 'I drum it'
Pres. Obj. Sg. 2.	<i>emled</i> 'you raise it' <i>doblod</i> 'you drum it'	<i>emeled</i> 'you raise it' <i>dobolod</i> 'you drum it'
Pres. Obj. Sg. 3.	<i>emli</i> 'he raises it'	<i>emeli</i> 'he raises it'
Pres. Obj. Pl. 2.	<i>emlitek</i> 'you raise it'	<i>emelitek</i> 'you raise it'

Pres. Obj. Pl. 3.	<i>emlik</i> 'they raise it'	<i>emelik</i> 'they raise it'
Fut. Subj. Sg. 1.	<i>emleni fogok</i> 'I shall raise' <i>doblani fogok</i> 'I shall drum'	<i>emelni fogok</i> 'I shall raise' <i>dobolni fogok</i> 'I shall drum'
Fut. Obj. Sg. 1.	<i>emleni fogom</i> 'I shall raise it' <i>doblani fogom</i> 'I shall drum it'	<i>emelni fogom</i> 'I shall raise it' <i>dobolni fogom</i> 'I shall drum it'
Perf. Subj. Sg. 3.	<i>emlett</i> 'he raised' <i>doblott</i> 'he drummed'	<i>emelt</i> 'he raised' <i>dobolt</i> 'he drummed'
Perf. Obj. Sg. 3.	<i>emlette</i> 'he raised it' <i>doblotta</i> 'he drummed it'	<i>emelte</i> 'he raised it' <i>dobolta</i> 'he drummed it'
Pres Pple.	<i>emlő</i> 'raising' <i>dobló</i> 'drumming'	<i>emelő</i> 'raising' <i>doboló</i> 'drumming'
Fut Pple.	<i>emlendő</i> 'to be raised' <i>doblandó</i> 'to be drummed'	<i>emelendő</i> 'to be raised' <i>dobolandó</i> 'to be drummed'

To make certain that the reader will not accept his observations on faith, in footnote 17 on p. 50 the author cites the non-existent paradigms thus: *emli* 'he raises it,' *emlitek* 'you raise it,' *emlik* 'they raise it.' Again, on p. 60 he cites the following non-existent forms: *emlek*, *emlunk*, *emlem*, *emled*, *emli*, *emlitek*, *emlik*; *doblom*, *doblod*. These are the facts of speech upon which the "principle enunciated above" (a statement on p. 49, describing the behavior of syncopating verbs) is based. Since the author cites no other examples of this class to illustrate the linguistic phenomenon which he is discussing, the reader may well wonder whether syncope exists in Hungarian at all.

Hall's treatment of the possessional stem is equally untrustworthy. On pp. 33-34 he makes the entirely unsubstantiated statement — not supported even by the facts of speech — that "the suffixes of the third person singular and plural . . . are preceded by a glide -j- . . . after most nouns ending in -b, -d, -f, -k, -p, -t, except monosyllables." I shall list here only a few common monosyllabic stems which end in these consonants and which are followed by a "glide" -j- plus the singular or plural third possessive suffix. Thus: *rab* 'prisoner': *rabja* 'his prisoner,' *rabjuk* 'their prisoner'; *zab* 'oat(s)': *zabja* 'his oat(s),' *zabjuk* 'their oat(s)'; *vád* 'accusation': *vádja* 'his accusation,' *vádjuk* 'their accusation'; *gróf* 'count,' *grófja* 'his count,' *grófjuk* 'their count'; *zsák* 'sack': *zsákja* 'his sack,' *zsákjuk* 'their sack'; *nap* 'sun, day': *napja* 'his sun, day,' *napjuk* 'their sun, day'; *pap* 'priest': *papja* 'his priest,' *papjuk* 'their priest', *lap* 'sheet': *lapja* 'his sheet,' *lapjuk* 'their sheet'; *csap* 'faucet': *csapja* 'his faucet,' *csapjuk* 'their faucet'; *tat* 'ship's stern': *tátja* 'its stern,' *tátjuk* 'their stern(s)'. The same -j- "glide" — according to the author — occurs also "after monosyllabic nouns ending in -g, -l, -m, -n, -r" (p. 34). With this statement he rules out, for example, the existence in Hungarian of the following monosyllabic nouns: *fal* 'wall': *fala* 'his wall,' *faluk* 'their wall'; *nyom* 'trace': *nyoma* 'his trace,' *nyomuk* 'their trace'; *szín* 'color': *színe* or *színe* 'his color,' *színük* or *színük* 'their color.' On the same page (p. 34) appears the noun *öccs* 'younger brother.' No such noun exists. The stem *öcs-* occurs

in compounds such as *ócskos* 'little younger brother,' and in possessional forms such as *ocsém, ocséd, ocsénk, ocsétek* 'my, your (sg.), our, your (pl.) younger brother'; the form with the long consonant *-ccs-* [č:], cited by Hall, is the altered stem of the third person possessional forms *öccse* 'his younger brother' and *öccsük* 'their younger brother,' where it is the result of the assimilation of the initial *j-* of the suffix to the final *-cs* [č] of the stem.

On pp. 37-39 Hall presents a set of "pure (*rein?*) relational suffixes" with comments. For example: "... *-ként* 'as' (manner); not used with personal possessive suffixes." Consequently, the phrase *uradként tiszteld* 'honor him as thy lord' cannot exist, because in its noun the personal possessive suffix *-d* is followed by *-ként*. Further down on the same page: *-vá -vé* 'to'; not used with personal possessive suffixes." This obliterates the extremely common idiom *fiává fogadta* 'he adopted him,' because in its noun the personal possessive suffix *-a* (> *á* before additional suffixes) is followed by *-vá*. As if to atone for his inclement dismissal of the possessive suffixes on this page, on p. 40 the author has recourse to them to construct non-existent paradigms. For example: *kivülem* 'outside of me, except me,' *közöttem* 'to myself.' No such forms exist. This sort of thing goes on *ad infinitum* in the *Analytical Grammar*. Thus, on pp. 72-73 the verbal infinitive *hinni* 'to believe' is twice recorded as *híni* which happens to be a collateral form of the verbal infinitive *hívni* 'to call.' On p. 72 the noun *irodalom* 'literature' is recorded as *írodalom*; on p. 82 the verb *tízóraizni* 'to have a midmorning snack,' as *tíz-ora-izni*; on the same page *étel-ital* 'food and drink,' as *étel-itel*; on p. 83 the verb *egyetértetni* 'to agree,' as *egyet-értetni*; likewise *szépművészet* 'fine arts,' as *szép-művészet*; not to mention the seven additional incorrect recordings on the same page. Incidentally, *agyon-ütni* (p. 83) — Hall's form for *agyonütni* — does not mean 'to beat on the head,' but rather 'to kill, slay.' Furthermore, the words *segédeilen* (p. 74) 'without help, unassisted' and *vágtalan* (p. 75) 'uncut' do not exist. They probably represent Hall's observation of *segélytelen* 'helpless' and *vágatlan* 'uncut.'

The author's knowledge of the Hungarian sound system can be described at best as vague. I am unable to criticize what he calls "the phonemes of Hungarian" because the members of the mechanistic school have not yet agreed among themselves what a phoneme is. At any rate, I have my doubts. I cannot remain silent, however, when on p. 25 Hall makes the following statement: "The following back-vowel nouns shorten (*sic!*) the vowel of the first syllable to form the oblique stem-form (e.g., *agár* 'greyhound' > *agarak* pl., etc.)." The words introduced by this statement cannot "shorten" the *á* vowel of their nominative stems to the *a* vowel of their oblique stems for the obvious reason that *a* [ɔ] is not the short variant of *á* [a:]. Nor can *é* [e:] be shortened to *e* [ɛ], as is claimed by the author on p. 26. What is involved here is qualitative as well as quantitative vocalic variation between the respective vowels of the nominative and oblique stems. At any rate, the list of the nouns subject to this phenomenon, given by the author on pp. 25-26, is both incorrect and incom-



plete. This is true also of the word-lists which appear in the following pages, and indeed, throughout the book. Considering the fact that Hall chose to call his grammar "analytical," it is amazing that he does not even make the pretense of going through the accepted scientific process of analysis. The book abounds in statements such as this: "the action expressed by the verb, viewed as a single act, is indicated by: a. *-äs -és: iräs* 'writing': *irni* 'to write' b. *-mäs -més: ällomäs* 'stop': *ällani* 'to stop.'<sup>1</sup> If this is the analytical method, whence *-és* and *-més*? If this is synthesis, why not illustrate *-és* and *-més*? There are five such unsubstantiated statements on p. 72; eleven on p. 73; eight on p. 74; four on p. 75; eight on p. 80; nineteen on p. 81; and hundreds more throughout the book.

What, then, makes Hall's grammar "analytical" or, for that matter, scientific? And wherein lies the superiority — indeed, the usefulness — of a type of linguistic analysis which corrals spurious facts of speech into the ever-expanding limits of a cabalistic terminology? Hall's "analytical" grammar is the horrible proof that no pseudo-scientific terminology and no browbeaten informant can make up for the first requisite of a truly scientific grammar, which is the grammarian's familiarity with the language to be treated and codified.

LESLIE C. TIHANY

ELIZABETH JUDAS: *Russian Influences on Estonian Literature*. Los Angeles, Cal.: Wetzell Publishing Co., 1941. Pp. 166. \$2.50.

It takes courage and faith to seek a place on the winding road of international politics for the literature of a so called small nation. In fact, no nation is small from the viewpoint of its own history; a small man is no less a human being than is a giant. Estonia is a "small" nation in the sphere of power politics; nevertheless Dr. Elizabeth Judas, an Estonian literary scholar, has made it possible for non-Estonians to get a glimpse of the literature of her native land. Her treatment of the theme is subjective, which does not detract from her intellectual objectivity; her understanding of the creative spirit of this Baltic country is suggested by a feeling for the organic structure of that nation's literature. Except folklore and except works of religious and moral pattern, it is rather difficult to speak or write about Estonian literature. As the projection of artistic awareness, Estonian literature is the experience of only two generations; the Estonians, a branch of the Finno-Ugric family, were for centuries subjugated or influenced by Russians and Poles, by Germans and Scandinavians. Despite their short lived independence in modern times, they developed an aesthetically significant language and creative expression.

*Russian Influences on Estonian Literature* is pioneer work, sympathetic and informative. Dr. Judas has been quite successful in the choice of her material. Obviously much had to be ignored in order to condense into 166 pages information about an unfamiliar literature and about the relationship of that literature to a familiar one, namely to that of Russia.

<sup>1</sup> Incorrect. The verb *ällani* means 'to stand'; the verb *megällani*, 'to stop.'

The book seems uneven; certain parts are overstressed, other parts, in terms of literary history and critical evaluation, are too simple in their presentation. There is some inevitably elementary material. However, the selection is generally good, regardless whether the author portrays the background of Estonian history and literature, or whether that of modern literary achievements.

As the title indicates, most of the study deals with Russian influences on Estonian literature. Dr. Judas aptly points out that foreign literary works are not easy to translate into a language which, in an artistic sense, has meager traditions, and therefore poor translators. The author of this study is evidently not a perfectionist, yet, logically, she wants literary works to remain literary in translation. Her discussion of Jacob Tamm and Anton H. Tammsaare, two outstanding Estonian writers, occupies the major part of the book. The two writers, albeit definitely gifted, were affected by great Russian writers and poets; by Pushkin, Krylov, Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoyevski, Tolstoi, and others. In Tamm's fable, *Punk*, the influence of Krylov is observable; in Tammsaare's *Truth and Justice*, the description of man's battle with God and many other features of the novel reveal the Estonian writer's indebtedness to Dostoyevski. The interrelationship of these Estonian writers to Russian geniuses suggests psychological and ethical affinity. "Suffering humanity," its petty and magnificent perspective, is the objective of their irony and compassion. The parallelism with Dostoyevski and other Russian writers is not stretched too far; only now and then one senses an excessive zeal on the part of the author for overemphasis.

The list of Russian works in Estonian translation and a bibliography complete the useful data that this book offers.

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H. G. WANKLYN: *The Eastern Marchlands of Europe*. New York The Macmillan Company, 1942. \$3.60.

WAR as well as the airplane has made of the world a single parish, which it is the obligation of the citizens of the world's democracies to know something about. For the larger countries, Russia, Germany, England, France, this is quite possible through the flood of popular histories which have followed, if not preceded, American reinvolvement in world affairs. But for the harried amateur it is too much to ask that he should become acquainted with the ins and outs of the life of the many small countries sandwiched between the empires. Yet they too have had their part to play in the wars of the past, and most certainly in the present one. And their future is of vital significance in any arrangement to be made after the present struggle is over.

Miss Wanklyn has performed a distinct service in combining in a single small book a series of essays on the interrelated problems of what she has

feliculously called "The Eastern Marchlands of Europe" — that thin strip of states wedged in between Sweden, Germany and Austria on the west, and Russia on the east. As a geographer, she has tended to lay emphasis upon such geographical factors as climate, soil, mountains, and rivers, but she has taken a long view of the influence of these factors not only in the present but in the past, and each study follows an historical pattern. And hers is a very human geography, with full appreciation of the strength of the age-old traditions of the peoples of these eastern marchlands with their essentially peasant characteristics, at least down until the most recent times.

It is a tremendous advantage that Miss Wanklyn was able to finish her book before the full sound and fury of the war descended upon us, for whatever advantages the war has brought to understanding by providing a resultant to vaguely seen causes, have been more than lost by the inevitable casting aside of calm judgments. One has the feeling that most of the current reports of journalists will suffer the fate of all journalism, but that Miss Wanklyn's study with its cool urbanity will remain substantially untouched by the hand of time.

It is a pity that the book, apparently set up in England, could not have been printed in more stable times, for the many maps, while invaluable, are often on too small a scale for easy reference, and in the text itself there are many minor errors of spelling and similar minutiae, unimportant in themselves but distracting (p. 97, "east" for "west"; p. 113, "Ventispils" for "Ventspils"). With many of the author's conclusions one must inevitably differ, for the tangled skeins of East European politics are too complicated for anyone to untangle to the entire satisfaction of his fellow students. It seems slightly inaccurate to say that the term "Little Russian" was originated in a deliberate attempt by the Russian imperial authorities to emphasize Ukrainian as a mere dialect of Russian — originally "Little Russia" was the regular term for the core of ancient Rus, and far antedated the medieval and indefinite expression "Ukraine". The classification of creeds in the Middle Ages should certainly include Greek Orthodoxy in the East, with Greek as the language of scholars. Nevertheless, the book remains the best study of the frontier states in single compass.

Miss Wanklyn's final warning is one which must be taken to heart: "If the marchland groups are able to work and to travel, to study and to worship as seems best to them within established frontiers, whether as members of an European federation or as sovereign states, their prosperity and liberty will form one sure proof of the peace and order of the continent. But if they are to continue as the pawns of the powers with wider territories or greater resources than their own, it is one ominous sign of persisting struggles for mastery in Europe which reach their climax in the chaos and destruction of war."

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